GUIDE TO THE NS22 TÜBATULABAL FILE

[This file consists of four sources, the major one by Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin. Additional material, principally on kinship and folklore, is added by the other three accounts. Most of the material in the file was gathered in the early 1930's, with the exception of that by Kroeber and Gifford which was obtained earlier. None of these workers was in the field for a full annual cycle, so that information on winter activities in particular is dependent upon the accuracy of the native informants. Kroeber and Gifford are well-known anthropologists of the Boasian "school", while both the Voegelins received their training at California and Yale.

In this file, the data are heavily concentrated in the sphere of non-material culture. There are good accounts of folktales and myths, social organization, subsistence, and distributinnal information. The autobiographical accounts are valuable. Data on material culture is not complete. The major source (1:Voegelin) was written in a telegraphic style which may pose some problems for the reader.]

Processed in 1957

105 and to be restricted solely to that group. No
171 myth collection taken from any primitive group can hope to be all-inclusive for the mythology of the entire group, and this myth has by accident doubtless been previously overlooked, both by native raconteurs and by ethnologists when they have been engaged in myth taking. The approximate distribution of the myth, when known, will be of interest, and if it is found in only one or two other tribes, with its recording will go the last unclouded claim that could be put forward for the unique character of any trait in Tübatulabal culture.

METHOD OF STUDY

● 101 The following ethnographic study of the Tübatulabal, a Shoshonean-speaking people of the southern Sierra Nevada foothill region of California (fig. 1), is based on field work done
[122] near Weldon, Kern county, in the summers of 1931-
115 33 on funds provided in part by the Board of Research of the University of California. My chief

115 informants were Steban Miranda, aged 86 (father 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Palagewan; mother Tübatulabal) and Frances Philips, 68 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso). Mrs. Estefana Miranda Salazar, 40 (father Tübatulabal, mother Yokuts), interpreted for her father, and Mrs. Legora Tungate, 45 (father Tübatulabal, mother 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Koso), for her mother, Mrs. Philips. Other informants and interpreters were Petra Nichols, 89 (father Tübatulabal, mother Palagewan); Mike Miranda, 45, Steban Miranda's son and full brother to Mrs. Salazar; Frank Chico, 30 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso); Fernando Miranda, 47 (father Mexican, mother Tübatulabal); Rosie Pablo, 45 (father Yokuts, mother Tübatulabal); Susie Williams Nieto, 48 (father Kawaiisu, mother Tübatulabal).

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

901
131

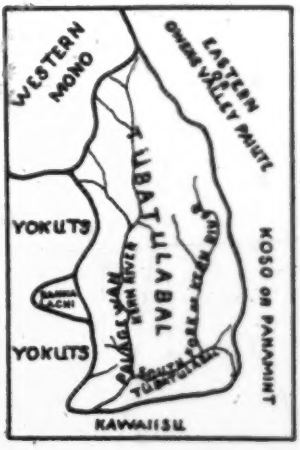

Fig. 1. Tübatulabal and neighboring groups.

[p. 7(c)]

128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dž	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ʒ
c	sibilant	s

HABITAT

● 101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal [[77]] band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tibatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

●101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[72] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[62] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[72] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[24] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[65] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

[p. 9(a)]

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as
SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at
the mission may have caused early depopulation.
Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than
300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years
have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Auto-
biography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; in-
fluenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tüba-
311 tulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn
from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas
S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along
s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r.
gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream
from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point bound-
ary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn
mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE
to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of
area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could
give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b,
193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt.
The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as to-
day, more intimately known and was focus for hu-
man activities.

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly
determined; in all probability did not, as land
ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band
groups consistently denied by informants. Ex-
amples numerous of members of both bands ranging
in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing,
seed gathering.

● 101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r.
and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts.
"When I was a boy I visited them there; we had
relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at
Poso Flat then" (SM). PN located them at Deer
creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S
of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters
of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Hand-
book, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were
shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the
dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suf-
fered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, with-
in the American period or very soon before it,
they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat,
in the more salubrious region of the foothills,
from which they went down to their old home only
once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds"
(Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American
name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is
on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area;
Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat
W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual
Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Pala-
gewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal
area to gather piñons (SM, PN).

101 Neighbors.- Tübatulabal had as neighbors to S the Kawaiisu (ka·wišm); to W at Poso Flat the Bankalachi (to·lowim); to W and SW various Yokuts groups living at Porterville, Shoko, Altau, and Tejon (monila·bal). At Bakersfield and along slough S to Kern lake lived another Yokuts group (pa·labatal). It is interesting to note that these Yokuts groupings as given by SM do not agree with Kroeber's map of the Yokuts terrain (Handbook, pl. 47), SM's information probably relating to later period than Kroeber's.

Farther SW of Tübatulabal were the Tejon Indians or Kitanemuk (witaŋhatal), the Chumash or Ventureño (cucpinu); NW around Tulare lake the Tachi Yokuts (taši); N the Western Mono (winaŋhatal), including the Northfork Mono (winaŋapul); NE and E the Owens Valley Paiute (i·wi·naŋhal); E the Koso or Panamint (ši·gawiyam). Kroeber gives Amahaba as Tübatulabal name for the Mohave (Handbook, 607), but none of my informants recognized this term.

103 Place names.- Large geographical features, as mt. ranges, not named, but several peaks, lakes, streams, and numerous small springs each had designation. Several Tübatulabal place names refer to mythical events which occurred within area; many other names mark sites which were of economic importance. Since entire area not traversed with informant, my list of place names probably represents only fraction of total. Translations of some of some of place names given below are those offered by informants and do not represent etymological analysis. Locations are listed from E (Owens lake) to SW (rapids of Kern r.), thence NE to Mt. Whitney. Section, township, and range are taken from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of Kernville quadrangle.

1. pabunta·bop, Owens lake; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Patsiwat for Owens lake: SM, FP said paca'awat name of village site (p. 41).

2. wɨŋa·l, Walker pass; general term for summit; piñon grounds.

3. a·nandu·giš, mts. E of Canebrake creek; piñon grounds.

4. u·ga·bičiŋ elegapï·ban, Weasel's lookout; boulders on point of hill, W side of mouth of Chimney canyon, SW quarter, sec. 20, T25S, R36E. [773] In a myth, Weasel kept a lookout here for soldiers approaching from W.

5. holomúp, mt. and spring at head of Chimney canyon in piñon grounds.

6. šo·hoptap, creek 1 mi. W of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

7. i·wa'kana·p, 2 mi. N of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

8. palu·hi·yam, Little water; South Fork of Kern r.

9. ha·'alap, spring at head of Smith canyon; piñon grounds.

10. poiwištap, Willow place; head of Scodie canyon; piñon grounds.

11. pa·ša·pan, spot at which there is a split

[p. 40(a)]

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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TÜBATULABAL AND KAWAIISU KINSHIP TERMS

BY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	219
Phonetic Transcription	220
Tübatulabal	220
Kawaiisu	228
Comparison	232
Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu	232
Kawaiisu, Kaibab Paiute, and Uintah Ute	244

INTRODUCTION

In November and December, 1915, the writer was engaged in an examination of the tribes inhabiting the eastern and southern slopes of the San Joaquin drainage basin to determine the limits in California of social and ceremonial organization on the basis of dual divisions.[1] Among the tribes visited were the Tübatulabal of the Kern River region in the southern Sierra Nevada and the adjoining Kawaiisu of the Tehachapi Mountains at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Both of these Shoshonean groups lack the dual organization for which the writer was seeking. The kinship systems of these two peoples are of especial interest, however, and the facts about them are presented in the following pages. Important features of these systems are the use of single terms for reciprocal relationships (identical-reciprocals), the use of diminutive suffixes, and the use of terms and suffixes denoting the condition of connecting relatives.

[1] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291–296, 1916.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

THE TÜBATULABAL.

ORIGIN AND MOVEMENTS.

With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatulabal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water's fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yo Kuts NS29

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishm are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 131 197 177 563 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

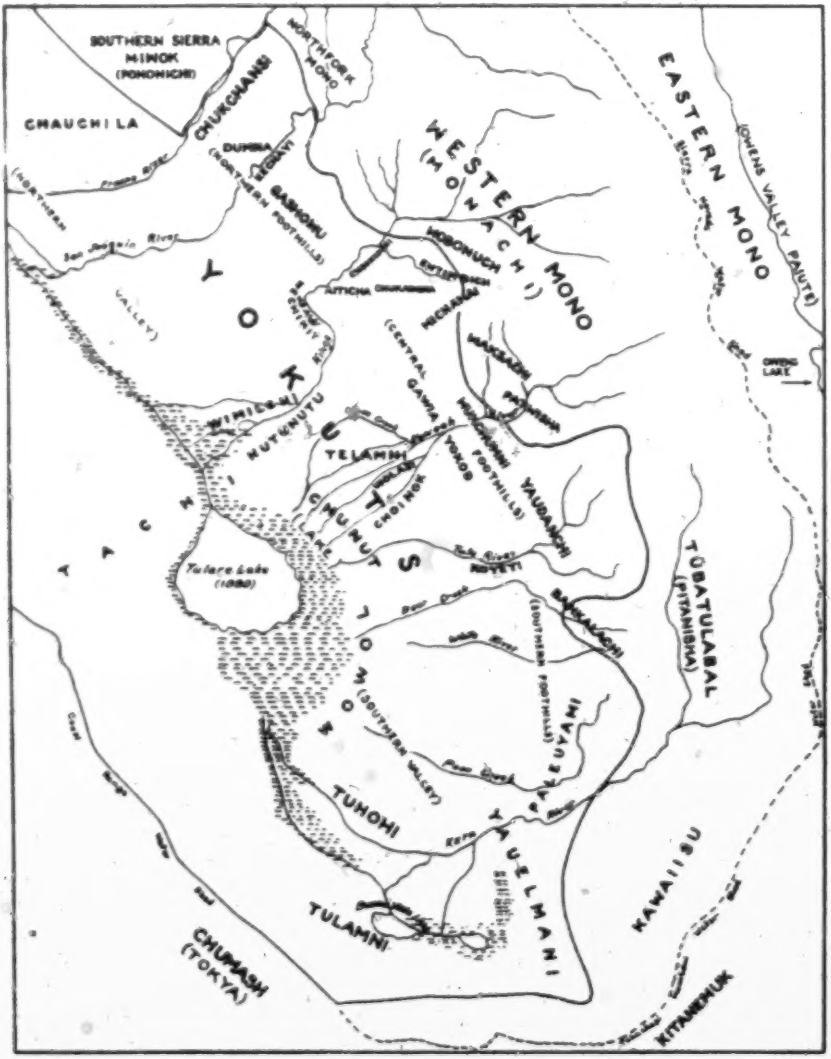
The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

T Y M 101 131 133

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22

[FACING P. 1]



Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

[P. 9a] Tubatulabal NS22

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and [484] elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Y [361] Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɔn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of Y balsas. They had a relative there. On the [164] island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.* The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɔl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on [439] the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɔt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, [411] toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey 101 Flat "over back of Kern River." At another 131 time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɔn, where there was a deep little river."

Localities

Y 103 131 The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

*Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

101 Neighbors.- Tübatulabal had as neighbors to S the Kawaiisu (ka·wišm); to W at Poso Flat the Bankalachi (to·lowim); to W and SW various Yokuts groups living at Porterville, Shoko, Altau, and Tejon (monila·bal). At Bakersfield and along slough S to Kern lake lived another Yokuts group (pa·labatal). It is interesting to note that these Yokuts groupings as given by SM do not agree with Kroeber's map of the Yokuts terrain (Handbook, pl. 47); SM's information probably relating to later period than Kroeber's.

Farther SW of Tübatulabal were the Tejon Indians or Kitanemuk (witaŋhatal), the Chumash or Ventureño (cucpinu); NW around Tulare lake the Tachi Yokuts (taši); N the Western Mono (winaŋhatal), including the Northfork Mono (winaŋapul); NE and E the Owens Valley Paiute (i·wi·naŋhal); E the Koso or Panamint (ši·gawiyam). Kroeber gives Amahaba as Tübatulabal name for the Mohave (Handbook, 607), but none of my informants recognized this term.

●103 Place names.- Large geographical features, as mt. ranges, not named, but several peaks, lakes, streams, and numerous small springs each had designation. Several Tübatulabal place names refer to mythical events which occurred within area; many other names mark sites which were of economic importance. Since entire area not traversed with informant, my list of place names probably represents only fraction of total. Translations of some of place names given below are those offered by informants and do not represent etymological analysis. Locations are listed from E (Owens lake) to SW (rapids of Kern r.), thence NE to Mt. Whitney. Section, township, and range are taken from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of Kernville quadrangle.

1. pabunta·bop, Owens lake; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Patsiwat for Owens lake: SM, FP said paca'awat name of village site (p. 41).

2. wiŋa·l, Walker pass; general term for summit; piñon grounds.

3. a·nandu·giš, mts. E of Canebrake creek; piñon grounds.

4. u·ga·bičiŋ elegapĭ·ban, Weasel's lookout; boulders on point of hill, W side of mouth of Chimney canyon, SW quarter, sec. 20, T25S, R36E. [773] In a myth, Weasel kept a lookout here for soldiers approaching from W.

5. holomup, mt. and spring at head of Chimney canyon in piñon grounds.

6. šo·hoptap, creek 1 mi. W of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

7. i·wa'kana·p, 2 mi. N of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

8. palu·hi·yam, Little water; South Fork of Kern r.

9. ha·'alap, spring at head of Smith canyon; piñon grounds.

10. poiwištap, Willow place; head of Scodie canyon; piñon grounds.

11. pa·šs·pan, spot at which there is a split

[p. 40(a)]

● 103 boulder at base of mts. (pl. 6d), 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, SW quarter, [773] sec. 20, T26S, R34E. Coyote broke this long boulder in 3 pieces when Bluejay tried to build a bridge from top of mts. across valley to Nichols peak.

12. hamboyam, Cane creek; general term for cane.

13. punʒi·ba·n, meadow containing pit mortar at base of foothills, 1/2 mi. NW of Onyx, SW quarter, sec. 5, T26S, R35E.

14. lelet, Nichols peak. At end of Mythical age Eagle elected to live on this peak (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207).

15. cu·iyala'a ka·ʒa·ban, Spider's pot; rocky ledges on w. edge of first flat SW of Wel- [773] don, NE quarter, sec. 22, T26S, R34E. Spider had cooked chia mush; he came here and spread it out on a rock for his children to eat.

16. kutu'wi·ban, spring at head of canyon, first flat SW of Weldon, sec. 23, T26S, R34E. Eagle and his wife lived here.

17. ku·či·a·pu·lap, spring, head of second flat SW of Weldon.

18. wa·tiništ, Juniper place; 3 mi. SW of Weldon in foothills on s. edge of South Fork valley at mouths of 2 intermittently flowing streams; SE quarter, sec. 29, T26S, R34E.

19. Cave, 3 1/2 mi. W of Cook peak on Goat ranch; NW quarter, sec. 6, T27S, R34E. Abode of a mythological man-monster.

20. anayupun, flat, 4 mi. NE of Isabella on Murphy ranch; the E and W winds fought here.

21. paʒat, springs 2 mi. NE of Cook peak, E side of wide plain; SW quarter, sec. 24, T26S, R33E.

22. pi·li·wi·ban, mt. (?) near Isabella; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as Piliwinipan, near Whiskey Flat or Kernville.

23. yaha·waban, junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; "just a name; there was no village there" (SM); Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Yahaua-pan as name for village site here.

24. yu·mu·gi·wala'aŋ pa·i·na·'aban, obscure meaning in reference to mythological creatures; junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.

25. palakuč, fishing site on Kern r., 3 mi. SW of confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; NE quarter, sec. 1, T27S, R32E; near Indian [531 mound, now leveled, on Monroe Bechtel ranch. 532a] Pictographs abundant at this site.

26. pi·ta·lap, summit on road from Hot Springs valley to Caliente and Tejon ranch.

27. palakuič, Walker basin.

28. paluntanakamapan, water where it falls; fishing site at rapids near w. end of Kern r. gorge; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as name for Bakersfield.

29. pawačahalap, acorn grounds 3 mi. W of Kernville, in Greenhorn mts.

30. wa·gi·na·pu·ban, Split mt., NW of Kernville; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Wokinapüipan as village site on Kern r.

[p. 40(6)]

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.

32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.

33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.

34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.

35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Rull Run creek.

36. tunabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.

37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.

38. i·wakanum, Long valley.

39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.

40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.

41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

103
361

*1. iŝwahul, Koso site on Canebrake creek, 4000-ft. elev. Now known as Canebrake; up to 1932 property of FP; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 25, T25S, R36E.

2. paca'awat, Koso site S of spring, 3000-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. Center, sec. 21, T25S, R36E.

3. meyumbašt, Koso-Kawaiisu site at spring, 3500-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 17, T25S, R36E.

*4. u·u·pu·lap, rope place; Tübatulabal hamlet, 2 mi. NW of Pilot Knob, on flat, W side of South Fork of Kern r. (FP); SM gave paca'awat as name for this site, but was probably incorrect. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 100; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 24, T25S, R35E.

*5. čebu·nun, Tübatulabal site, S bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 3000 ft., est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R35E.

6. omomĭp, Tübatulabal site at spring in foothills, N bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2800 ft.; occupied by Tübatulabal family, 1932, and now known as Raphael Chico's place; for est. pop. see no. 7. NW quarter, sec. 3, T26S, R35E.

*7. omomĭp, Tübatulabal site in valley, N bank of South Fork of Kern r., 1/8 mi. NE of Onyx. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. of nos. 6 and 7, 30; occupied by several Tübatulabal families, 1932, and now known as Onyx rancheria. SW quarter, sec. 4, T26S, R35E.

*8. yowolup, Red Dirt place; Tübatulabal site at spring on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 65; unoccupied, 1932.

*9. yĭtiyamup, Tübatulabal site at springs in foothills, n. edge of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 50; owned by SM, occupied by 2 related family groups, 1932, and known as the Rancheria. SE quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R34E.

*10. kolokum, Tübatulabal site, near springs on Fay creek. Elev. 4000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 22, T25S, R34E.

*11. tušpan, Tübatulabal site, near spring, 1/4 mi. N of Weldon, on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 50; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 14, T26S, R34E.

*12. pa·da·ʂap, Tübatulabal site, below and above spring, in foothills S of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R34E.

*13. ha·halam, Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 50; occupied, 1932, by 2 related Tübatulabal family groups and known as Jesus ranch. NW quarter, sec. 16, T26S, R34E.

*14. ? , Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 20. Unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 18, T26S, R34E.

*15. umu·bĭ·lap, Tree Yucca place; Tübatulabal site below spring, on flat, near w. end of South Fork valley. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 12, T26S, R33E.

*16. pažeštap, Palagewan site, at hot spring,

[p. 41 (6)]

● 103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

*17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
[171] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted
592 of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

592

House I

Tübat.♂ (1)	Willy Miranda (3)	Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2)	=Tübat.♀ (4)	Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4)	♀ (9)	Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8)	♂ (10)	plus =Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
	♀ (11)	
	♂ (12)	

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
[343] a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this
[361] hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yo Kuts NS29

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishun are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

●105 This economic adaptation of the Tübatulabal to the resources of their area is peculiarly interesting. Lacking all knowledge of agriculture, the Tübatulabal used as staple vegetable foods the natural products of two, rather than one, culture areas--the acorn of California and the piñons of the Great Basin. Similarly, their flesh foods were a combination of two varieties of wild game--the deer of California and the rabbits of the Great Basin, together with an appreciable use of fish that is more characteristic of California than of the Basin. Taken by and large, as far as the food quest was concerned the Tübatulabal might have been transplanted either over the crest of the Sierras eastward a few miles into the Great Basin desert area, or an equally short distance westward into the Great Valley of south-central California, and they could have adapted themselves with a minimum adjustment in food-gathering techniques to the resources of either of these natural areas. But there were also many varieties of plants available to the Tübatulabal within their region, of which they made no use; a few of these are listed in the following monograph. Such a list illustrates, in concrete fashion, the negative response of Tübatulabal culture to part of the floral environment and indicates selective processes at work, even in this simple culture, which materially affected the responses that the environment elicited.

In obtaining some of their foods, the Tübatulabal displayed an ingenuity that is only fully revealed when all the details of the techniques are considered. Few botanists perhaps realize
[171] that the honey dew deposited by aphids on the stalks of the common cane is capable of being collected in sufficient quantity to be made into sugary cakes, and that this was regularly done among such groups as the Tübatulabal, the Surprise Valley Paiute,[3] the Owens Valley Paiute,[4] and the more distant Yavapai and Papago groups.[5] Or that the minute saline crystals which dry weather brings out on the stems and leaves of salt grass can also be obtained in quantity, by using a technique similar to that employed for beating the honey dew off canes. Yet the Tübatulabal have been treating salt grass thus for generations, and have not yet lost their taste for this pungent plant product. Nor have they ceased to appreciate other of their "luxury" plant manufactures, including a native chewing gum, which is

[3]Kelly, 103.

[4]Steward, 1933, 245.

[5]Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence).

[p. 1(c)]

●105 made from the milky sap of a species of Asclepias that is run into hollow sections of the stalks of an Eriogonum species and laid on hot ashes until the sap congeals; the resulting masticatory excels, in native estimation, any variety of "store gum" that can now be obtained.

The treatment of tobacco by the Tübatulabal also follows along unusual lines. Fortunately, I was able to watch the tobacco process from beginning to end; this was most opportune, since the Tübatulabal are among that compact group of central and southern California tribes* who use tobacco in a peculiar native form. It is true that they smoke it occasionally, as was done over so much of North America; but mainly they chew or "eat" it mixed with lime, and before the tobacco can be consumed thus, it undergoes a lengthy and varied treatment. Access to the plant is easy to the Tübatulabal, since large patches of two species of tobacco grow wild in their area; the plants are not used, however, without expenditure of some care upon them during the growing stage. Wild tobacco plants are partly deleaved and rid of their side shoots at regular intervals before the artificially enlarged leaves are finally gathered; tobacco thus occupies, among the Tübatulabal, the unique position of being the only plant upon which any effort was expended to better its natural growth. The curing of the tobacco also follows along what may seem to us novel lines; the shredded green leaves are rolled up inside bundles of leafy willows, after being sprinkled with water and the broken meats of Digger pine nuts; these willow bundles are then laid out in the sun for several days so that the tobacco inside them may cure. The tobacco is then dried, pulverized, and made up into balls. As for the lime that is eventually mixed with the tobacco just before it is consumed, some of it was obtained from burnt shells, but much of it was and still is dug from natural deposits. Digging lime thus and slaking it with water after burning it is said to have been an aboriginal procedure, though there is room for doubt concerning the accuracy of this latter statement.

The adjustment the Tübatulabal had made to their habitat entailed an appreciable amount of seasonal shifting about from one locality to another in order to take advantage of those natural resources which the region offered. During the winter and early spring they lived in small hamlets situated either on the floor of the valley or in the foothills that rim the flood-plain valley. In summer and early fall family groups moved higher up into the mountains, to fish, hunt small game, and gather piñons. In late fall groups journeyed westward to harvest the yearly supply of acorns, before returning to the hamlets for the winter. Each season had its food gathering and other economic activities

*See tabulation on distribution of tobacco, and the general paragraph about distribution elsewhere (p. 38).

●105 peculiar to it; the period of greatest leisure was encompassed by the winter months. This was the time when the day's work was short, and of no great moment, when stored acorns and piñons, dried fish and flesh, were relied on for food, when long nights could be whiled away in story telling and making ingenious string figures that represented such well-known mythological characters as Hawk flying, or Bear in a house.

During the heat of summer both clothing and housing were at a minimum among the Tübatulabal. Men often went naked; in colder weather men and women wore knee-length double aprons made of tanned deerskin, crude leather shirts, and rabbitskin blankets draped over their shoulders. Women were tattooed slightly, and sometimes applied red paint to their faces as a bleach to lighten the skin. Both sexes ordinarily went hatless; when traveling they wore clumsy fitting moccasins, but mainly went about barefoot. Rawhide sandals were used, but only for a special purpose; men wore them when tending the crackling brush fires on which piñon cones were piled in order to force open the scales of the cones. During the summertime a willow roof, supported by four crotched poles and usually lacking side walls, served as the principal form of shelter. On piñon expeditions several families camped together, sleeping inside a circular brush enclosure, such as was also often used for dances. Hunters often utilized dry cavern-like recesses between two huge boulders for a night's lodging in the mountains. What care the Tübatulabal gave to house building was mainly expended on the domed tule- and brush-covered houses they occupied during the winters. When such a house was to be built, the man of the family obtained the willow poles and set them up in the form of a circular framework; his wife and children collected the tules to cover this framework. Such a division of labor was typical for the Tübatulabal. Men performed the more strenuous, but often irregularly recurrent tasks; women's labor involved a daily routine of duties that were time-consuming, but less strenuous than those of the men. It was always a man's work to handle the bow, woman's to make use of the pit mortar in which acorns and seeds were pounded. This matter was decided long ago, in a contest held during the mythical age, when all the birds and animals were human in form and lived as human beings do now. The humorous series of events that led to the contest arranged by Coyote which set this precedent for the division of labor are narrated in a well-integrated myth given in full in the following monograph. This myth is known at present only for the Tübatulabal, but variants of it will doubtless be found to occur in the mythologies of neighboring tribes when these mythologies become better known.

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Besides her work connected with gathering and preparing plant foods it was also woman's task to weave the several varieties of twined and

105 462 coiled baskets that she used as implements and food containers, and to fashion the few pots used in cooking. Her basketry work was often as fine and well-executed as her pottery was coarse and crude. Some women even went so far as to play with their technique in basketry making, and fashioned coiled jars out of long strands of strung piñons, while camping at the piñon grounds. These "piñon jars" were made in a coil technique, and were similar in shape to the small-mouthed, round-shouldered display type of jar that the Tübatulabal used to keep their clamshell disk currency in. After being made, a piñon jar was filled with loose nuts and brought home from the piñon grounds; eventually it and its contents were shelled and eaten.

105 That the Tübatulabal, in common with a few Yokuts groups, the Western Mono, and the Owens Valley Paiute, had pottery at all is somewhat of an anomaly; as a usual thing people engaged in a seminomadic, hunting-gathering type of culture lack pottery, or if they make it, have obviously borrowed the trait from near-by groups having a more complex culture. Concerning the crude gray-black unpainted ware made by Tübatulabal women, one guess about its origin might be that pottery making was a trait borrowed by the Tübatulabal from certain southern Californian groups with which the Tübatulabal have had trade contacts since early historic times at least. This facile explanation with its "common-sense" basis falls wide of the mark, however; investigation of the problem analytically soon establishes the fact that Tübatulabal pottery differs markedly from that of southern California. That the pottery-making complex as practiced by the Tübatulabal probably derived ultimately from the Southwest was suggested several years ago by Dr. Gayton;[7] a recent study of the distribution of the practice of molding and baking clay artifacts in western North America made by Heizer offers convincing evidence in support of Dr. Gayton's assumption. From northern Arizona to central California there is an almost unbroken line of continuous distribution of true pottery ware;[7a] this shows whence Tübatulabal pottery derived.

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The trips the Tübatulabal made beyond the borders of their own area led them, in early historic times at least, to points a hundred miles or more west and southwestward, and somewhat shorter distances north and eastward. Men and women went on such trips, afoot, in couples or in small groups, to trade and obtain certain natural resources they had need of, that their own area lacked. Being mainly at peace with their immediate neighbors, the Tübatulabal were able to pass through alien territory with a minimum of risk from sudden attacks. By a system of silent trade they exchanged the piñons, balls of prepared tobacco, and other commodities they had brought with them, for lengths of white clam-shell disks which passed as currency among all

[7]Gayton, 1929, 250. [7a]Heizer, 44.

●105 the tribes of this region. Nor did the Tübatulabal traders hesitate to avail themselves gratis of commodities which could be gathered on such trips and put to good use after they had returned home. For example, they picked up lumps of asphaltum on the beach when they visited the Ventureños, and brought them home to be used for a variety of purposes.

The Tübatulabal also traded among themselves; toward the end of winter, especially, dried deermeat might be much in demand; chia seeds, yellowhammer-quill bands, fine baskets, etc., each had a fixed price in the standard lengths of imported clamshell disks used as currency. There were even loans made in this currency, but no interest was charged on such. There were many other ways in which this currency was also used, besides its trade uses. Short lengths of clamshell disks were distributed to visitors arriving from afar for a "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony; they were used to pay the singers and dancers at such a fiesta; strings changed hands frequently during the gambling games that accompanied a fiesta; and lastly, loose clamshell disks were scattered in quantity among the crowd of wailing people circling the fire during the burning of the tule image that culminated a mourning ceremony. At "little fiestas" or face-washing ceremonies, given to absolve mourners from the taboo that enjoined their abstaining from meat after the death of a near relative, money jars full of currency were put on display, and their contents given to certain persons who washed the faces of the mourners before the latter could join in the feast which was served as part of the fiesta. Lastly, the familiar disks were also put to ornamental use, women and girls wearing necklaces, earrings, and bracelets made from strings of clamshell beads.

If a man possessed a large amount of this currency, he stored it, carefully coiled in long lengths, in sacks made of the entire skin of antelope, mountain sheep, or deer. These sacks he hid in some well-concealed crevice on a boulder-strewn slope of the foothills, telling no one where his cache was situated. In event of sudden death, his wealth remained hidden, its whereabouts unknown to his relatives, who might search for it assiduously, but fail to find it. If, however, either in a wealthy person's lifetime or after his or her death, a relative or even a non-relative stumbled by accident on such a cache, it was "finders keepers," and the currency passed into new hands.

Possession of wealth in the form of this native currency was also a factor entering into the selection of a new "chief" or headman, although descent and the character and abilities of the candidate were also taken into consideration by the small group of old men who met from the various hamlets to choose the chief. These old men did not constitute a formal council, nor was the office of chief itself an institution of

●105 any sharply defined formality, yet, nonetheless it entailed upon the man who held it certain judicial and administrative duties, gave him a certain prestige among his fellowmen, and constrained him to observe certain rules of etiquette, none of which latter was, however, of a very onerous nature. "A man with a good heart," who was at least middle-aged, and who preferably possessed some wealth and was related by blood, either paternally or maternally, to a former chief, would be the sort of person the old men would choose. Such a man might expect to occupy the position of chief among the Tübatulabal for life, once he were selected. If, however, his conduct became unseemly during his incumbency, he could expect to have criticism leveled against him publicly during fiestas, to have his decisions disregarded, and finally to be supplanted by another chief whom the old men had chosen.

How large a group did a chief represent and serve? We shall never be able to state, with absolute accuracy, the answer to this question, except for the present time; the total population of the Tübatulabal now, including mixed bloods and individuals who have moved out of the area as well as those who have remained in it, numbers 145 persons. But in aboriginal times, just prior to white settlement of the area, the Tübatulabal and a closely related band, the Palagewan, probably numbered between 300 and 500 individuals. Using a system of checks and counterchecks discussed in detail in the following monograph, the above-mentioned figure seems to be as close an estimate as can now be made of the aboriginal population for the Tübatulabal proper and the now-extinct Palagewan. Together these two groups occupied a mountainous area of some 1300 square miles; much of this area was visited only occasionally, during a few brief months in summer, by individuals from the two bands; a goodly part of it may not have been traversed at all, from one year's end to the next. To say, then, that the Tübatulabal-Palagewan population averaged one person per every 3-5 square miles is somewhat misleading, for the population of these two groups actually centered in the southern third of their territory, within an area of about 500 square miles. This makes the population, for the southern third of the area, 1 person to every 1 or 1.6 square miles.

Both the Tübatulabal and the smaller Palagewan bands were essentially aggregates of a number of tiny hamlet groups; each of these hamlets consisted of from two to six household groups which were, in turn, comprised of the members of a single biological, bilateral family, plus one or two other relatives, such as widowed children or parents, or orphaned nieces or nephews, etc. Sometimes a son and his wife, or a daughter and her husband, might also be included in the household. The members of the household groups comprising a single small hamlet were generally all interrelated by blood, either matrilineally or

105 patrilineally; this made the hamlet groups exogamous units, since the Tübatulabal regarded the marriage of lineal or collateral kin with extreme aversion, as one of the worst deeds of which human beings could be guilty. There was, however, no formal rule of local exogamy between hamlets, nor were there any other exogamic units, such as clans, phratries, or moieties within the structure of this simple society. The personnel of hamlet groups varied somewhat from year to year; families shifted their residence from one hamlet to another, often for very trivial reasons.

If a bride had been paid for, residence of a newly married couple was patrilocal; if a man served the bride's parents in lieu of paying for their daughter, post-marital residence was matrilocal for a few years. In itself, marriage was a simple enough affair; after the first child was born, the young couple generally moved into a house of their own, often situated near the groom's parents' house. For some women childbirth was easy, for others extremely difficult; if a woman were sterile she might be given herb concoctions in order to overcome this undesired condition. During a particularly difficult birth various efforts would be made to relieve the parturient's pain and cause the child to be born quickly; a person possessing an amulet having supernatural power might rub this over the woman's body. Breech presentations were prevented by holding a pregnant woman suspended upside down, with her head hanging downward, for such time until the baby had reassumed a normal position within the womb. After childbirth mother and infant lay on a warm pit for several days.

No puberty ceremonies were held for a girl when she experienced her first menses, nor were there any group initiation ceremonies for adolescent boys. Women ate neither "meat nor grease" during their menstrual periods; and since most of the salt that was procured from the salt lakes on the desert was used to cure meat and fish, and was never used to season acorn mush, the taboo against meat also included an implicit one against salt.

A girl's mother or grandmother instructed young girls in womanly matters, since there was no formal puberty ceremony. The lack of a boys' initiation ceremony likewise put the burden of responsibility for a boy's education on his father or grandfather or some other old man of the group; at sundown old men often lectured to youths about hunting customs, and how they were to behave. But the greater part of a boy's or girl's education consisted in imitation of the acts of his or her elders, with whom they were constantly associated from babyhood onward, except during such times as their parents left them with near relatives and went off on trips that were too strenuous for young children to take.

All misfortune, especially sickness and death, was (and still is) attributed either directly or indirectly to witchcraft. Witches were born to

●105 follow their profession, and had certain supernatural guardian-helpers, such as Coyote, to aid them in their nefarious designs against such persons as had incurred their ill-will. The native term for a shaman is a·ɣowa·l; women might have shamanistic power as well as men, but there were noticeable differences as to how members of the two sexes exercised it. A male a·ɣowa·l could either sicken a person, or cure him of sickness, whereas a woman a·ɣowa·l could only use her power for evil. "Bad" a·ɣowa·ls, women and men who use their power only for giving people "hard luck," are the most feared members of the community; the Tübatulabal gossip about them in low tones and see every misfortune as a result of their malice. The deeds of evil shamans often caused the latter to meet a violent end; exasperated members of the community would first obtain permission from the chief, and then kill such individuals. Curing shamans were on the other hand respected and their prestige grew as the number of cases they cured mounted, just as it dwindled and they became suspect of evil designs when they failed to cure patients. A curing shaman devoted an entire night to ministering to his patient; he danced, sang, and sucked at the affected spot in an effort to extract the disease object which had been injected by witchcraft and was causing the illness. During the night's performance the shaman's animal helper arrived from afar off and advised the shaman how to treat the patient. Any number of persons might witness a curing performance, but the shaman conferred with his supernatural helper privately, outside of the house where the cure was taking place. After extracting the disease object, which often looked like a spider, worm, or clot of blood, the shaman oftentimes gave his patient certain practical advice, such as to move from the dwelling house where he was staying, or to take certain herb medicines. Sometimes a doctor divulged the identity of the witch who had sickened his victim; he always knew, just as he knew who had stolen anything, or where lost objects could be found; if, however, the witch was a relative of his he was likely to shield him or her.

Various herb medicines were also used to treat illness; the plants used were many, but jimsonweed (Datura meteloides) was preëminent among them. Jimsonweed was once a man, who, when he died, told the people to dig his roots if they were in need of help; therefore, before a Tübatulabal digs the roots, he makes a short speech to the plant.

Not only was jimsonweed taken medicinally for various disorders, and used as an anodyne, but young men and women who were past puberty were urged to drink a decoction made from the roots, [776] in order to obtain supernatural guardian spirits and "long life." Small groups of young people who had decided to take jimsonweed were put under the charge of an old man who knew how to ad-

●105 minister the drink, and were not permitted to eat or drink anything for three days; on the evening of the third day they were given a long draft of the jimsonweed drink, and soon fell into a stupor from which they awakened some 12 hours later. During this stupor various animals appeared to some of the vision seekers; these animals became the seekers' "pets," taught them songs, and told them how to obtain amulets, which contained magical properties that protected the wearers from harm. The drinking of jimsonweed was not obligatory for all members of the group, and the drink was never administered in summertime for any purpose whatsoever, since in the heat of summer people could not abstain from water for three days, and if they drank water and then drank jimsonweed they were likely to become bloated and die.

Live ants, wrapped in small balls of eagle down, were also administered to individual vision seekers, as well as to persons suffering from various ailments; the effect produced when the ants bit the lining of the stomach was similar to that produced by drinking jimsonweed.

Besides the jimsonweed ceremony, to which only a minimum of ritual was attached, two other ceremonies were held sporadically among the Tübatulabal; both of these were connected with death. Burial itself was effected with little ceremony; immediately after a death occurred the relatives of the deceased assembled at the house and spent the ensuing night in wailing; the next day the corpse was taken up in the hills and deposited in a shallow grave underneath a huge boulder. The mourners then dispersed. From three weeks to six months later, certain relatives of the deceased, who after the death had not been permitted to eat meat, had their faces washed by one or more friends, whom they paid liberally for this ritual act. If there occurred later a death that obliged one of these same face-washers to undergo the meat taboo, he or she had his face washed by the same person for whom he had previously performed this service and, theoretically at least, paid the former as much as he himself had previously received. Sometimes the return payment fell short of the original, sometimes exceeded it, but some payment in currency was always made. After the face-washing ceremony everyone sat down to a feast, at which the mourner broke his or her fast and ate meat. To partake of any flesh food before the taboo was thus removed was equivalent to eating of the corpse itself, and constituted an insult to the deceased which might be avenged by witchcraft.

A year or so after the death of a person, a "big fiesta" was held, if the relatives of the deceased were sufficiently enterprising and possessed of wealth enough to hold such a ceremony. This mourning anniversary was a six-day affair, to which visitors from other tribes were invited; it entailed the collecting of a large amount of food on the part of the person giving the ceremony,

●105 and encompassed a variety of social activities. Dances were held during the nights of the fiesta, gambling games played night and day, and shamans held competitive "shooting" contests. Before daylight on the last night of the ceremony a tule image of the deceased, and all of his more prized possessions that had not been burned or destroyed immediately after his death, were cast into the flames of a large fire around which the people milled, wailing and crying. The widow or some other relative of the deceased threw shell currency and packets of piñon seeds and other goods into the crowd, and there was a lively scuffle on the part of the visitors to obtain as much of this largesse as possible. After the fire had died down the "big fiesta" was at an end, and the visitors soon left for home.

The souls of the dead lived in a land which lay toward the west; there is a "true story" which the Tübatulabal tell, of a man who once visited this region in search of his dead wife. The wide distribution of this myth, which resembles the Old World tale of Orpheus and Eurydice, over all of North America has recently been pointed out by Dr. A. H. Gayton.*

Sometimes, however, ghosts travel about on earth inside whirlwinds; occasionally they appear to vision seekers, and are held in high esteem by persons so fortunate as to obtain them for their guardians; sometimes they are sent by witches to sicken people. A variety of other spirits lived in the springs, streams, caves, and mountains of the region; most of these were conceived of as human in form, often dwarflike; they were not especially feared, but the Tübatulabal either tried to conciliate them, or fled from their presence when they encountered them. A concept of a supreme deity was lacking, but in the beliefs concerning jimsonweed there is an echo of the dying-god concept found in more pronounced form in southern California.

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171 On the whole, Tübatulabal culture was of the borderline variety, showing affiliations in its material, social, and religious aspects with the Great Basin, (South) Central California, and Southern California cultures. Some of the traits which the Tübatulabal share with tribes in these three areas may be briefly indicated; among traits shared with Basin tribes are the use of piñons, a Great Basin staple, the pitched water bottle, use of honey dew for sugar, the wooden frame cradle, the carrying net, the eagle-down dance skirt, the lack of clans, moieties, or totemism, the classification of cross and parallel cousins with brothers and sisters, the walnut-shell dice game, the round dance, the ceremonial brush enclosure, a belief that the milky way is dove's fire, the belief in water spirits, and so forth. As Dr. A. H. Gayton has recently shown, Tübatulabal mythology is predominantly of Great Basin caste (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595). Our

*Gayton, 1935b, 266.

[p. 6(a)]

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171 knowledge of the Basin cultures is as yet incomplete, so that the foregoing list of traits cannot be taken as a basis for the relative weighting of Basin influences, as against California ones, on Tübatulabal culture. Also, several of the above-mentioned traits, such as the ceremonial enclosure, the wooden frame cradle, walnut-shell dice games, are also found among South Central and Southern California tribes, but, because they probably have had their provenience in the Basin (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, 540, 655), they are included in the foregoing list.

Some of the (South) Central California traits noted for the Tübatulabal are the rejection of all reptiles as food, looped stirrer for acorn mush, chewing of tobacco with lime, shell lime, leaching buckeye nuts, the bottleneck type of basket, bride purchase, clamshell money, unit of measure of such, and name for unit, mourning ceremony, clown, meat taboo with reciprocal washing and payments, swallowing of ants wrapped in eagle down, etc. This list could be appreciably extended, but has not been because of the lack of comparable material from the Basin.

Among the Southern California traits interwoven into the fabric of Tübatulabal culture are the use of asphalt, the coiled basketry cap, presence of steatite objects in area, the dying-god concept connected with the taking of jimson-weed, the application of lighted balls of furze to cure rheumatism, and, in historic times, the introduction of the horse. Direct contact with the Southern California Chumash is known to have occurred after the founding of San Buenaventura mission; whether there was much contact between the Tübatulabal and the Chumash before that time is questionable and seems, judging by some of the traits enumerated above, improbable.

[177] From their contacts with tribes in the three areas mentioned above, the Tübatulabal borrowed, altered, and reshaped cultural traits, and gradually built up their own unique culture, the outlines of which as it existed at the beginning of the historic period have been only too imperfectly sketched in the following pages.

Turning now from the consideration of cultural elements shared by the Tübatulabal and their ethnic neighbors, the question arises whether there are any traits peculiar to the Tübatulabal alone, which can be assumed to have been formed within the group. Here our conclusions are always subject to revision by the addition of new data, but three traits deserve at this time specific mention. They are: the obtaining of lime from natural deposits, for chewing with tobacco; the manufacture of bottleneck-shaped jars from strung piñons; and the myth accounting for the sexual division of labor. None of these traits has been reported as occurring among tribes of the surrounding areas. But if we consider each of the three, we find that the claim of each to absolute uniqueness among the Tübatulabal is not free from doubt. The more usual way in which to obtain lime

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for chewing with tobacco, among California tribes, was to pound up calcined shells. This method was known to the Tübatulabal and practiced by them. There is a good probability that the method of obtaining lime from natural deposits began before the whites actually settled in the Tübatulabal area, but that it was learned by the Tübatulabal from the Koso, some of whom settled, in early historic times, in the area in which the Tübatulabal procured lime from the ground. The Koso could have learned this method from white prospectors who penetrated their area to the east of the Tübatulabal at a comparatively early date. Furthermore, when we consider that slaking the burned lime with water was also claimed by the Tübatulabal to have been an aboriginal process, our suspicions concerning the trait mount. The question, then, must remain an open one at present.

The second trait, that of making jars from strung piñons, seems to have more in its favor in a claim to aboriginality. But another factor merits consideration; the jars are said to have been made in the same shape as the Tulare bottlenecks, so that what we are dealing with here is the transfer of part of a technique into another medium, rather than a totally new trait. If the jars had had a distinctive shape of their own, that, plus the fact they were made with non-basketry materials, would have strengthened their claim to originality, despite the consideration that the idea is obviously a readaptation of the coiled basketry technique. But as it stands, the only novel feature of the piñon jars is that they were made with materials which differed markedly from those generally used in basketry.

In regard to the myth, there is little need to conjecture. It bears too definitely the stamp of aboriginal Basin mythology, details concerning which we know as yet very little, to be the product from beginning to end of a single people,

[p. 7(a)]

105 and to be restricted solely to that group. No
171 myth collection taken from any primitive group can hope to be all-inclusive for the mythology of the entire group, and this myth has by accident doubtless been previously overlooked, both by native raconteurs and by ethnologists when they have been engaged in myth taking. The approximate distribution of the myth, when known, will be of interest, and if it is found in only one or two other tribes, with its recording will go the last unclouded claim that could be put forward for the unique character of any trait in Tübatulabal culture.

METHOD OF STUDY

101 The following ethnographic study of the Tübatulabal, a Shoshonean-speaking people of the southern Sierra Nevada foothill region of California (fig. 1), is based on field work done
[122] near Weldon, Kern county, in the summers of 1931-
115 33 on funds provided in part by the Board of Research of the University of California. My chief

115 informants were Steban Miranda, aged 86 (father 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Palagewan; mother Tübatulabal) and Frances Philips, 68 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso). Mrs. Estefana Miranda Salazar, 40 (father Tübatulabal, mother Yokuts), interpreted for her father, and Mrs. Legora Tungate, 45 (father Tübatulabal, mother 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Koso), for her mother, Mrs. Philips. Other informants and interpreters were Petra Nichols, 89 (father Tübatulabal, mother Palagewan); Mike Miranda, 45, Steban Miranda's son and full brother to Mrs. Salazar; Frank Chico, 30 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso); Fernando Miranda, 47 (father Mexican, mother Tübatulabal); Rosie Pablo, 45 (father Yokuts, mother Tübatulabal); Susie Williams Nieto, 48 (father Kawaiisu, mother Tübatulabal).

[p. 7(b)]

1: Voegelin, Erminie Wheeler. Tübatulabal Ethnography. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 2, pp. 1-90. Berkeley, 1938.

Yale: Nk10-C24 v. 2.

[This is the major source on the ethnography of the Tübatulabal. The people were observed personally during the summers of 1931 to 1933. The author was unable to obtain first-hand information concerning the complete annual cycle. The informants were able to give personal data for the period ca. 1860-1933. The use of tobacco and jimsonweed, distributional evidence and non-material culture are stressed; linguistic, acculturation, kinship and physical anthropological materials are sparingly covered. The source is written in a telegraphic style which at times makes it difficult to comprehend. The author did her graduate work at Yale, and at present is Professor of History and Director of the Great Lakes-Ohio Valley Project at Indiana University. --Analyst]

Field date: 1931-1933
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

2: Gifford, Edward Winslow. Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu Kinship Terms. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 12, pp. 219-248. Berkeley, 1917.

Yale: C52. 07 v. 12.

[This is the main source on Tübatulabal kinship terminology. The terms are listed and compared with the neighboring Kawaiisu and other Shoshonean terminologies. Other aspects of Tübatulabal culture are not mentioned. The author is now Professor of Anthropology (Emeritus) and is still teaching at the University of California (Berkeley). --Analyst]

Field data: 1915
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

3: Voegelin, Charles F. Tübatulabal Texts. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 34, pp. 191-246. Berkeley, 1935.

Yale: C52. 07 v. 34.

[This source contains material on myths and tales, dreams, speeches, and some personal anecdotes. Important is the verbatim autobiography of a male Tübatulabal, which adds to the information in the female account found in 1: Voegelin. The author is currently Professor of Anthropology and chairman of the department at the University of Indiana. He also uses the name Carl F. Voegelin. Footnotes to the Tübatulabal text may be found in category 116, pp. 242-246. --Analyst]

Field date: 1931-1933
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

4: Kroeber, Alfred Louis. The Tübatulabal. Bulletin 78 (Handbook of the Indians of California), Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 605-610. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1925.

Yale: A52. 72 78.

[This is a summary source on the ethnology of the Tübatulabal, part of the result of 17 years of field work among the Indians of California. It contains sections on geography, arts, society and religion. Most of the information contained here is more fully explained in 1: Voegelin. The author is now Professor of Anthropology Emeritus at the University of California (Berkeley). --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

●113 Abbreviations:

A	Anthropos.
AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report.
-B	Bulletins.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
FMNH-AL	Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Leaflet.
-AP	Anthropological Papers.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
PMM-B	Public Museum (City of) Milwaukee, Bulletins.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
USNM-R	United States National Museum, Reports.
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.

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[p. 82(b)]

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

TÜBATULABAL

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

POPULATION AND ETHNOGEOGRAPHY

161 Population estimates.- Population figures and estimates, 1770-1932, are:

Year	Tüb.	Pal.	Tüb.+Pal.	Bankalachi	Authority
(1) 1770			1000		Kroeber, Handbook, 608, 883
(2) 1854			100(100?)	50?	Henley, 511, 515
(3) 1855-60	228	65	293		Village site estimate, 1932
(4) 1863			220		Massacre estimates
(5) 1910			105		Ind. Pop. U.S., Alaska, 18
(6) 1932	145	0	145		Field census

161 (1) Kroeber's estimate admittedly a guess;
●114 probably too high.

(2) Henley, 1854, reports 100 "Kern River Indians"; his assistant mentions "Joaquin's band of 20 men from Kern River" which had been sent [illegible] from Sebastian Military reserve in 1854 previous to Henley's visit to Kern r. If Joaquin's band was not at Kern r. when Henley was there, we should add 100 persons, assuming each man represented 5 individuals, to Henley's figures. Henley's mention of small group to W of Kern r. may refer to Bankalachi.

(3) Village site estimate derived from SM's list of 12 Tübatulabal, 3 Palagewan hamlet sites (p. 41); SM's estimated hamlet populations totaled 475 Tübatulabal plus 110 Palagewan; these totals reduced by 50 per cent because person-by-person listing of inhabitants of hamlet No. 5, in which SM lived as a boy, totaled 14 persons; SM had previously estimated population of 30 for this site.

(4) In massacre 1863, 39 adult Tübatulabal and Palagewan men killed (SM); military reports say 35 (Chalfant, 146). Five adult males survived (SM, PN); these, together with males killed, comprised all adult males of 2 bands. Taking 44 as number of adult males prior to massacre, assuming each represented 5 persons, total population of 2 bands is 220.

[162] (6) Population 1932 distributed as follows: within home area full, 3/4 bloods 65, 1/2 bloods 21, 1/4 bloods 10, total 96; outside home area full, 1/2 bloods 40, 1/4 bloods 9, total 49. Males, 74, females 71; grand total 145.

161 All estimates seem to point to figure somewhere between 200-300 for combined Tübatulabal-Palagewan population ca. 1850, when whites first settled in area. In accepting figure as low as this for population in aboriginal times 2 possibilities have to be considered; San Buenaventura

105 and to be restricted solely to that group. No
171 myth collection taken from any primitive group can hope to be all-inclusive for the mythology of the entire group, and this myth has by accident doubtless been previously overlooked, both by native raconteurs and by ethnologists when they have been engaged in myth taking. The approximate distribution of the myth, when known, will be of interest, and if it is found in only one or two other tribes, with its recording will go the last unclouded claim that could be put forward for the unique character of any trait in Tübatulabal culture.

METHOD OF STUDY

101 The following ethnographic study of the Tübatulabal, a Shoshonean-speaking people of the southern Sierra Nevada foothill region of California (fig. 1), is based on field work done
[2a] near Weldon, Kern county, in the summers of 1931-
115 33 on funds provided in part by the Board of Research of the University of California. My chief

115 informants were Steban Miranda, aged 86 (father 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Palagewan; mother Tübatulabal) and Frances Philips, 68 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso). Mrs. Estefana Miranda Salazar, 40 (father Tübatulabal, mother Yokuts), interpreted for her father, and Mrs. Legora Tungate, 45 (father Tübatulabal, mother 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Koso), for her mother, Mrs. Philips. Other informants and interpreters were Petra Nichols, 89 (father Tübatulabal, mother Palagewan); Mike Miranda, 45, Steban Miranda's son and full brother to Mrs. Salazar; Frank Chico, 30 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso); Fernando Miranda, 47 (father Mexican, mother Tübatulabal); Rosie Pablo, 45 (father Yokuts, mother Tübatulabal); Susie Williams Nieto, 48 (father Kawaiisu, mother Tübatulabal).

[P. 50d] Tubatulabal NS22

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Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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[120] See Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 19.

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[172]

[121] Stode pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[122] Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Tubatulabal NS22

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this locality was probably the dividing line between the Canaliño and their neighbors to the east, the *Shoshoneans.*

The Shoshoneans were the largest and most powerful group bordering on the Yokuts. They extended from the Canaliño to the east and to the north as far as the Miwok. The names of some Shoshonean tribes have been preserved.

Occupying upper Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, the desert territory lying about Willow Springs, and Cummings and Bear valleys were the *Kitanemuk.* When asked for their tribal name some aged Tejon Indians will still answer, *"Ah kik-ke tah nim"*, meaning, my tribe is Kitanemuk." A Kitanemuk village was located on Tejon Creek six miles northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. It was named *Tusin Tinliu.* The site is now occupied by a settlement of Indians of mixed tribes.

The Kitanemuk Indian village on Tejon Creek where the Overland Stage Station was located was named *Ahyah Kahbe,* which means Cottonwood. The village at the mouth of Comanche Creek was named *Cheut* (Che'-oot) *Pahbe.* Comanche Creek and Comanche Point both went by the name of the village there. Comanche is a name applied by white people. The first canyon north of Comanche Creek, and also the Indian Village there, were called *Ahbahvo Kahse.* At the present White Wolf Ranch was a village called *Ahtuse* (Ah-too'-se). The mountain valley there had the same name. Tejon Canyon back of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters was named *Cutset* (Coot-seet) *Ahobe.* Bear Mountain was called *Kiets* (Ki'-eets). Where the Vaquero Headquarters is now at Tejon Ranchos was an Indian village named *Hunah Vahmutch.*

Occupying Tehachapi Valley and the country north through Walker's Basin were the *Kawaiisu.* This tribe occupied territory almost exactly opposite the Yowlumne. On Caliente Creek, where the town of Caliente is now located, was the Kawaiisu village of *Tumayo.* Another Kawaiisu village was *Tahichpiu,* after which modern Tehachapi was named.

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North of the Kawiisu were the *Bankalachi.* As this volume goes to press there is perhaps one aged full-blooded member of this tribe still living, *Las'-yeh,* of Tule River Indian Reservation. She is now probably ninety-five years of age and is still the active head of a household. Together with her late husband, she accompanied me over much of the territory once occupied by her tribe, as well as neighboring Yokuts territory,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts
Tubatulabal NS22

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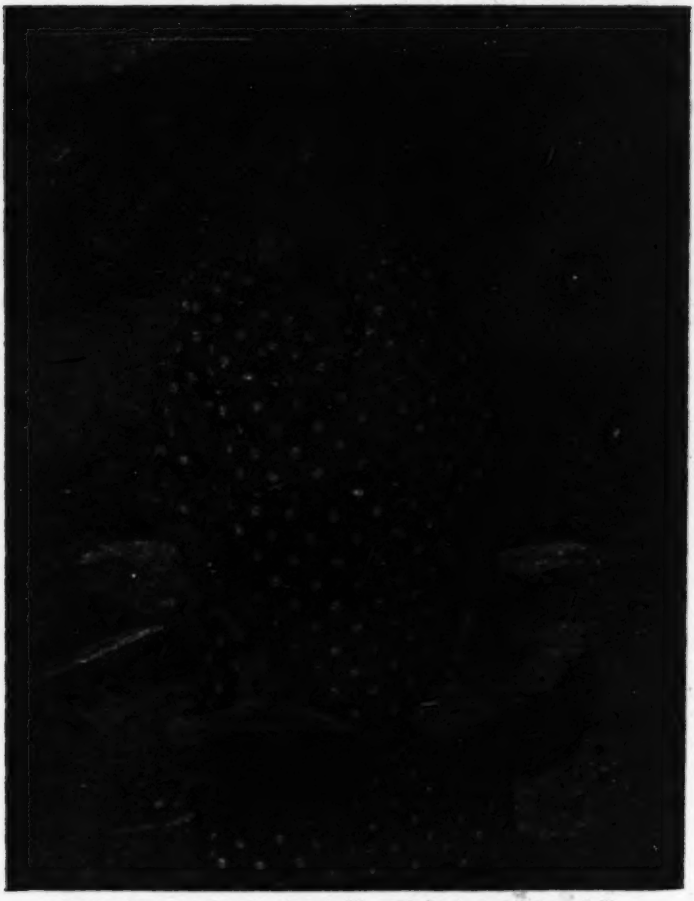

Los'-yeh, now aged about 95 and last surviving full-blood of the Bancalachi Tribe from near Glennville, Eastern Kern County.

and helped record the names of many village sites and natural landmarks. On the site of present Kernville was the Bankalachi village of *Tulonoya*. Another Bankalachi village, *Pitnaniu*, was located where Isabella is now. Where Bodfish is now was the village of *Tumoyo*. *Haukaniu* was located where the old mining village of Keyesville was established. *Mawsow* (ow as in cow) was the Bankalachi name for a village about a mile and a half above the forks of Poso and Little Poso Creeks. It was

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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[title page]

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

TÜBATULABAL ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

ERMINIE W. VOEGELIN

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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[p. i]

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[p. ii]

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

CONTENTS

	Page
000 Salient features of Tübatulabal culture	1
Method of study	7
Habitat	8
Basic subsistence	11
Dress and adornment	22
Shelter	24
Means of transport	26
Weapons	27
Tools	29
Fire	29
Glue, pitch, and asphalt	30
Basketry, woven ware, and cordage	30
Leatherwork	34
Receptacles	34
Musical instruments	35
Tobacco	36
Population and ethnogeography	39
Social organization	41
Cycle of life	45
Recreation	47
War	49
Property, trade, division of labor	50
Myth of contest to determine division of labor	53
Chieftainship, law, conduct	55
Aesthetics and knowledge	57
Therapeutical practices	59
Religious beliefs	60
Shamanism	62
Magic, portents	66
Rituals	67
Autobiography of FP	72
Bibliography	81
Explanation of plates	84

FIGURES IN TEXT

1. Map of Tübatulabal and neighboring groups	7
2. Fish corral	14
3. Moccasin	22
4. Sandal	23
5. Women's tattoo patterns	24
6. Seating arrangement in sweat house	25
7. Flaked artifacts	28
8. Basketry and pottery shapes	31

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

Page

000 9. Basket design elements 33
10. Rabbitskin blanket frame and warp setup 33
11. Map of hamlet sites 42
12. Fingernark game 48
13. Pictographs 61
14. Pictographs 61
15. Position of camps in brush enclosure 69
16. Feather wand carried at burnings 70

PLATES

1. Informants 85
2. Habitat views 86
3. Tobacco field, pruned plants 87
4. Gathering tobacco, preparing leaves for curing 88
5. Cured tobacco, pit mortar, tobacco balls 89
6. Sweat-house ruins, necklace, transitional house type, split rock 90

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

TÜBATULABAL ETHNOGRAPHY

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BY
ERMINIE W. VOEGELIN

SALIENT FEATURES OF TÜBATULABAL CULTURE

[p. 1(a)]

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always
[173] lived in the region where they are found today,
[171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence
[173] of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

[p. 1(b)]

105 This economic adaptation of the Tübatulabal to the resources of their area is peculiarly interesting. Lacking all knowledge of agriculture, the Tübatulabal used as staple vegetable foods the natural products of two, rather than one, culture areas--the acorns of California and the piñons of the Great Basin. Similarly, their flesh foods were a combination of two varieties of wild game--the deer of California and the rabbits of the Great Basin, together with an appreciable use of fish that is more characteristic of California than of the Basin. Taken by and large, as far as the food quest was concerned the Tübatulabal might have been transplanted either over the crest of the Sierras eastward a few miles into the Great Basin desert area, or an equally short distance westward into the Great Valley of south-central California, and they could have adapted themselves with a minimum adjustment in food-gathering techniques to the resources of either of these natural areas. But there were also many varieties of plants available to the Tübatulabal within their region, of which they made no use; a few of these are listed in the following monograph. Such a list illustrates, in concrete fashion, the negative response of Tübatulabal culture to part of the floral environment and indicates selective processes at work, even in this simple culture, which materially affected the responses that the environment elicited.

In obtaining some of their foods, the Tübatulabal displayed an ingenuity that is only fully revealed when all the details of the techniques are considered. Few botanists perhaps realize
[71] that the honey dew deposited by aphids on the stalks of the common cane is capable of being collected in sufficient quantity to be made into sugary cakes, and that this was regularly done among such groups as the Tübatulabal, the Surprise Valley Paiute,[3] the Owens Valley Paiute,[4] and the more distant Yavapai and Papago groups.[5] Or that the minute saline crystals which dry weather brings out on the stems and leaves of salt grass can also be obtained in quantity, by using a technique similar to that employed for beating the honey dew off canes. Yet the Tübatulabal have been treating salt grass thus for generations, and have not yet lost their taste for this pungent plant product. Nor have they ceased to appreciate other of their "luxury" plant manufactures, including a native chewing gum, which is

[3]Kelly, 103.

[4]Steward, 1933, 245.

[5]Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence).

[p. 1(c)]

105 made from the milky sap of a species of Asclepias that is run into hollow sections of the stalks of an Eriogonum species and laid on hot ashes until the sap congeals; the resulting masticatory excels, in native estimation, any variety of "store gum" that can now be obtained.

The treatment of tobacco by the Tübatulabal also follows along unusual lines. Fortunately, I was able to watch the tobacco process from beginning to end; this was most opportune, since the Tübatulabal are among that compact group of central and southern California tribes* who use tobacco in a peculiar native form. It is true that they smoke it occasionally, as was done over so much of North America; but mainly they chew or "eat" it mixed with lime, and before the tobacco can be consumed thus, it undergoes a lengthy and varied treatment. Access to the plant is easy to the Tübatulabal, since large patches of two species of tobacco grow wild in their area; the plants are not used, however, without expenditure of some care upon them during the growing stage. Wild tobacco plants are partly deleaved and rid of their side shoots at regular intervals before the artificially enlarged leaves are finally gathered; tobacco thus occupies, among the Tübatulabal, the unique position of being the only plant upon which any effort was expended to better its natural growth. The curing of the tobacco also follows along what may seem to us novel lines; the shredded green leaves are rolled up inside bundles of leafy willows, after being sprinkled with water and the broken meats of Digger pine nuts; these willow bundles are then laid out in the sun for several days so that the tobacco inside them may cure. The tobacco is then dried, pulverized, and made up into balls. As for the lime that is eventually mixed with the tobacco just before it is consumed, some of it was obtained from burnt shells, but much of it was and still is dug from natural deposits. Digging lime thus and slaking it with water after burning it is said to have been an aboriginal procedure, though there is room for doubt concerning the accuracy of this latter statement.

The adjustment the Tübatulabal had made to their habitat entailed an appreciable amount of seasonal shifting about from one locality to another in order to take advantage of those natural resources which the region offered. During the winter and early spring they lived in small hamlets situated either on the floor of the valley or in the foothills that rim the flood-plain valley. In summer and early fall family groups moved higher up into the mountains, to fish, hunt small game, and gather piñons. In late fall groups journeyed westward to harvest the yearly supply of acorns, before returning to the hamlets for the winter. Each season had its food gathering and other economic activities

*See tabulation on distribution of tobacco, and the general paragraph about distribution elsewhere (p. 38).

[p. 2(a)]

105 peculiar to it; the period of greatest leisure was encompassed by the winter months. This was the time when the day's work was short, and of no great moment, when stored acorns and piñons, dried fish and flesh, were relied on for food, when long nights could be whiled away in story telling and making ingenious string figures that represented such well-known mythological characters as Hawk flying, or Bear in a house.

During the heat of summer both clothing and housing were at a minimum among the Tübatulabal. Men often went naked; in colder weather men and women wore knee-length double aprons made of tanned deerskin, crude leather shirts, and rabbitskin blankets draped over their shoulders. Women were tattooed slightly, and sometimes applied red paint to their faces as a bleach to lighten the skin. Both sexes ordinarily went hatless; when traveling they wore clumsy fitting moccasins, but mainly went about barefoot. Rawhide sandals were used, but only for a special purpose; men wore them when tending the crackling brush fires on which piñon cones were piled in order to force open the scales of the cones. During the summertime a willow roof, supported by four crotched poles and usually lacking side walls, served as the principal form of shelter. On piñon expeditions several families camped together, sleeping inside a circular brush enclosure, such as was also often used for dances. Hunters often utilized dry cavern-like recesses between two huge boulders for a night's lodging in the mountains. What care the Tübatulabal gave to house building was mainly expended on the domed tule- and brush-covered houses they occupied during the winters. When such a house was
105 462 to be built, the man of the family obtained the willow poles and set them up in the form of a circular framework; his wife and children collected the tules to cover this framework. Such a division of labor was typical for the Tübatulabal. Men performed the more strenuous, but often irregularly recurrent tasks; women's labor involved a daily routine of duties that were time-consuming, but less strenuous than those of the men. It was always a man's work to handle the bow, woman's to make use of the pit mortar in which acorns and seeds were pounded. This matter was decided long ago, in a contest held during the mythical age, when all the birds and animals were human in form and lived as human beings do now. The humorous series of events that led to the contest arranged by Coyote which set this precedent for the division of labor are narrated in a well-integrated myth given in full in the following monograph. This myth is known at present only for the Tübatulabal, but variants of it will doubtless be found to occur in the mythologies of neighboring tribes when these mythologies become better known.

Besides her work connected with gathering and preparing plant foods it was also woman's task to weave the several varieties of twined and

105 462 coiled baskets that she used as implements and food containers, and to fashion the few pots used in cooking. Her basketry work was often as fine and well-executed as her pottery was coarse and crude. Some women even went so far as to play with their technique in basketry making, and fashioned coiled jars out of long strands of strung piñons, while camping at the piñon grounds. These "piñon jars" were made in a coil technique, and were similar in shape to the small-mouthed, round-shouldered display type of jar that the Tübatulabal used to keep their clamshell disk currency in. After being made, a piñon jar was filled with loose nuts and brought home from the piñon grounds; eventually it and its contents were shelled and eaten.

105 That the Tübatulabal, in common with a few Yokuts groups, the Western Mono, and the Owens Valley Paiute, had pottery at all is somewhat of an anomaly; as a usual thing people engaged in a seminomadic, hunting-gathering type of culture lack pottery, or if they make it, have obviously borrowed the trait from near-by groups having a more complex culture. Concerning the crude gray-black unpainted ware made by Tübatulabal women, one guess about its origin might be that pottery making was a trait borrowed by the Tübatulabal from certain southern Californian groups with which the Tübatulabal have had trade contacts since early historic times at least. This facile explanation with its "common-sense" basis falls wide of the mark, however; investigation of the problem analytically soon establishes the fact that Tübatulabal pottery differs markedly from that of southern California. That the pottery-making complex as practiced by the Tübatulabal probably derived ultimately from the Southwest was suggested several years ago by Dr. Gayton;[7] a recent study of the distribution of the practice of molding and baking clay artifacts in western North America made by Heizer offers convincing evidence in support of Dr. Gayton's assumption. From northern Arizona to central [171] California there is an almost unbroken line of continuous distribution of true pottery ware;[7a] this shows whence Tübatulabal pottery derived.

The trips the Tübatulabal made beyond the borders of their own area led them, in early historic times at least, to points a hundred miles or more west and southwestward, and somewhat shorter distances north and eastward. Men and women went on such trips, afoot, in couples or in small groups, to trade and obtain certain natural resources they had need of, that their own area lacked. Being mainly at peace with their immediate neighbors, the Tübatulabal were able to pass through alien territory with a minimum of risk from sudden attacks. By a system of silent trade they exchanged the piñons, balls of prepared tobacco, and other commodities they had brought with them, for lengths of white clam-shell disks which passed as currency among all

[7]Gayton, 1929, 250. [7a]Heizer, 44.

105 the tribes of this region. Nor did the Tübatulabal traders hesitate to avail themselves gratis of commodities which could be gathered on such trips and put to good use after they had returned home. For example, they picked up lumps of asphaltum on the beach when they visited the Ventureños, and brought them home to be used for a variety of purposes.

The Tübatulabal also traded among themselves; toward the end of winter, especially, dried deermeat might be much in demand; chia seeds, yellowhammer-quill bands, fine baskets, etc., each had a fixed price in the standard lengths of imported clamshell disks used as currency. There were even loans made in this currency, but no interest was charged on such. There were many other ways in which this currency was also used, besides its trade uses. Short lengths of clamshell disks were distributed to visitors arriving from afar for a "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony; they were used to pay the singers and dancers at such a fiesta; strings changed hands frequently during the gambling games that accompanied a fiesta; and lastly, loose clamshell disks were scattered in quantity among the crowd of wailing people circling the fire during the burning of the tule image that culminated a mourning ceremony. At "little fiestas" or face-washing ceremonies, given to absolve mourners from the taboo that enjoined their abstaining from meat after the death of a near relative, money jars full of currency were put on display, and their contents given to certain persons who washed the faces of the mourners before the latter could join in the feast which was served as part of the fiesta. Lastly, the familiar disks were also put to ornamental use, women and girls wearing necklaces, earrings, and bracelets made from strings of clamshell beads.

If a man possessed a large amount of this currency, he stored it, carefully coiled in long lengths, in sacks made of the entire skin of antelope, mountain sheep, [illegible]. These sacks he hid in some well-concealed crevice on a boulder-strewn slope of the foothills, telling no one where his cache was situated. In event of sudden death, his wealth remained hidden, its whereabouts unknown to his relatives, who might search for it assiduously, but fail to find it. If, however, either in a wealthy person's lifetime or after his or her death, a relative or even a non-relative stumbled by accident on such a cache, it was "finders keepers," and the currency passed into new hands.

Possession of wealth in the form of this native currency was also a factor entering into the selection of a new "chief" or headman, although descent and the character and abilities of the candidate were also taken into consideration by the small group of old men who met from the various hamlets to choose the chief. These old men did not constitute a formal council, nor was the office of chief itself an institution of

105 any sharply defined formality, yet, nonetheless it entailed upon the man who held it certain judicial and administrative duties, gave him a certain prestige among his fellowmen, and constrained him to observe certain rules of etiquette, none of which latter was, however, of a very onerous nature. "A man with a good heart," who was at least middle-aged, and who preferably possessed some wealth and was related by blood, either paternally or maternally, to a former chief, would be the sort of person the old men would choose. Such a man might expect to occupy the position of chief among the Tübatulabal for life, once he were selected. If, however, his conduct became unseemly during his incumbency, he could expect to have criticism leveled against him publicly during fiestas, to have his decisions disregarded, and finally to be supplanted by another chief whom the old men had chosen.

How large a group did a chief represent and serve? We shall never be able to state, with absolute accuracy, the answer to this question, except for the present time; the total population of the Tübatulabal now, including mixed bloods and individuals who have moved out of the area as well as those who have remained in it, numbers 145 persons. But in aboriginal times, just prior to white settlement of the area, the Tübatulabal and a closely related band, the Palagewan, probably numbered between 300 and 500 individuals. Using a system of checks and counterchecks discussed in detail in the following monograph, the above-mentioned figure seems to be as close an estimate as can now be made of the aboriginal population for the Tübatulabal proper and the now-extinct Palagewan. Together these two groups occupied a mountainous area of some 1300 square miles; much of this area was visited only occasionally, during a few brief months in summer, by individuals from the two bands; a goodly part of it may not have been traversed at all, from one year's end to the next. To say, then, that the Tübatulabal-Palagewan population averaged one person per every 3-5 square miles is somewhat misleading, for the population of these two groups actually centered in the southern third of their territory, within an area of about 500 square miles. This makes the population, for the southern third of the area, 1 person to every 1 or 1.6 square miles.

Both the Tübatulabal and the smaller Palagewan bands were essentially aggregates of a number of tiny hamlet groups; each of these hamlets consisted of from two to six household groups which were, in turn, comprised of the members of a single biological, bilateral family, plus one or two other relatives, such as widowed children or parents, or orphaned nieces or nephews, etc. Sometimes a son and his wife, or a daughter and her husband, might also be included in the household. The members of the household groups comprising a single small hamlet were generally all interrelated by blood, either matrilineally or

105 patrilineally; this made the hamlet groups exogamous units, since the Tübatulabal regarded the marriage of lineal or collateral kin with extreme aversion, as one of the worst deeds of which human beings could be guilty. There was, however, no formal rule of local exogamy between hamlets, nor were there any other exogamic units, such as clans, phratries, or moieties within the structure of this simple society. The personnel of hamlet groups varied somewhat from year to year; families shifted their residence from one hamlet to another, often for very trivial reasons.

If a bride had been paid for, residence of a newly married couple was patrilocal; if a man served the bride's parents in lieu of paying for their daughter, post-marital residence was matrilocal for a few years. In itself, marriage was a simple enough affair; after the first child was born, the young couple generally moved into a house of their own, often situated near the groom's parents' house. For some women childbirth was easy, for others extremely difficult; if a woman were sterile she might be given herb concoctions in order to overcome this undesired condition. During a particularly difficult birth various efforts would be made to relieve the parturient's pain and cause the child to be born quickly; a person possessing an amulet having supernatural power might rub this over the woman's body. Breech presentations were prevented by holding a pregnant woman suspended upside down, with her head hanging downward, for such time until the baby had reassumed a normal position within the womb. After childbirth mother and infant lay on a warm pit for several days.

No puberty ceremonies were held for a girl when she experienced her first menses, nor were there any group initiation ceremonies for adolescent boys. Women ate neither "meat nor grease" during their menstrual periods; and since most of the salt that was procured from the salt lakes on the desert was used to cure meat and fish, and was never used to season acorn mush, the taboo against meat also included an implicit one against salt.

A girl's mother or grandmother instructed young girls in womanly matters, since there was no formal puberty ceremony. The lack of a boys' initiation ceremony likewise put the burden of responsibility for a boy's education on his father or grandfather or some other old man of the group; at sundown old men often lectured to youths about hunting customs, and how they were to behave. But the greater part of a boy's or girl's education consisted in imitation of the acts of his or her elders, with whom they were constantly associated from babyhood onward, except during such times as their parents left them with near relatives and went off on trips that were too strenuous for young children to take.

All misfortune, especially sickness and death, was (and still is) attributed either directly or indirectly to witchcraft. Witches were born to

105 follow their profession, and had certain supernatural guardian-helpers, such as Coyote, to aid them in their nefarious designs against such persons as had incurred their ill-will. The native term for a shaman is a·ɣowa·l; women might have shamanistic power as well as men, but there were noticeable differences as to how members of the two sexes exercised it. A male a·ɣowa·l could either sicken a person, or cure him of sickness, whereas a woman a·ɣowa·l could only use her power for evil. "Bad" a·ɣowa·ls, women and men who use their power only for giving people "hard luck," are the most feared members of the community; the Tübatulabal gossip about them in low tones and see every misfortune as a result of their malice. The deeds of evil shamans often caused the latter to meet a violent end; exasperated members of the community would first obtain permission from the chief, and then kill such individuals. Curing shamans were on the other hand respected and their prestige grew as the number of cases they cured mounted, just as it dwindled and they became suspect of evil designs when they failed to cure patients. A curing shaman devoted an entire night to ministering to his patient; he danced, sang, and sucked at the affected spot in an effort to extract the disease object which had been injected by witchcraft and was causing the illness. During the night's performance the shaman's animal helper arrived from afar off and advised the shaman how to treat the patient. Any number of persons might witness a curing performance, but the shaman conferred with his supernatural helper privately, outside of the house where the cure was taking place. After extracting the disease object, which often looked like a spider, worm, or clot of blood, the shaman oftentimes gave his patient certain practical advice, such as to move from the dwelling house where he was staying, or to take certain herb medicines. Sometimes a doctor divulged the identity of the witch who had sickened his victim; he always knew, just as he knew who had stolen anything, or where lost objects could be found; if, however, the witch was a relative of his he was likely to shield him or her.

Various herb medicines were also used to treat illness; the plants used were many, but jimsonweed (Datura meteloides) was preëminent among them. Jimsonweed was once a man, who, when he died, told the people to dig his roots if they were in need of help; therefore, before a Tübatulabal digs the roots, he makes a short speech to the plant.

Not only was jimsonweed taken medicinally for various disorders, and used as an anodyne, but young men and women who were past puberty were urged to drink a decoction made from the roots, [776] in order to obtain supernatural guardian spirits and "long life." Small groups of young people who had decided to take jimsonweed were put under the charge of an old man who knew how to ad-

105 minister the drink, and were not permitted to eat or drink anything for three days; on the evening of the third day they were given a long draft of the jimsonweed drink, and soon fell into a stupor from which they awakened some 12 hours later. During this stupor various animals appeared to some of the vision seekers; these animals became the seekers' "pets," taught them songs, and told them how to obtain amulets, which contained magical properties that protected the wearers from harm. The drinking of jimsonweed was not obligatory for all members of the group, and the drink was never administered in summertime for any purpose whatsoever, since in the heat of summer people could not abstain from water for three days, and if they drank water and then drank jimsonweed they were likely to become bloated and die.

Live ants, wrapped in small balls of eagle down, were also administered to individual vision seekers, as well as to persons suffering from various ailments; the effect produced when the ants bit the lining of the stomach was similar to that produced by drinking jimsonweed.

Besides the jimsonweed ceremony, to which only a minimum of ritual was attached, two other ceremonies were held sporadically among the Tübatulabal; both of these were connected with death. Burial itself was effected with little ceremony; immediately after a death occurred the relatives of the deceased assembled at the house and spent the ensuing night in wailing; the next day the corpse was taken up in the hills and deposited in a shallow grave underneath a huge boulder. The mourners then dispersed. From three weeks to six months later, certain relatives of the deceased, who after the death had not been permitted to eat meat, had their faces washed by one or more friends, whom they paid liberally for this ritual act. If there occurred later a death that obliged one of these same face-washers to undergo the meat taboo, he or she had his face washed by the same person for whom he had previously performed this service and, theoretically at least, paid the former as much as he himself had previously received. Sometimes the return payment fell short of the original, sometimes exceeded it, but some payment in currency was always made. After the face-washing ceremony everyone sat down to a feast, at which the mourner broke his or her fast and ate meat. To partake of any flesh food before the taboo was thus removed was equivalent to eating of the corpse itself, and constituted an insult to the deceased which might be avenged by witchcraft.

A year or so after the death of a person, a "big fiesta" was held, if the relatives of the deceased were sufficiently enterprising and possessed of wealth enough to hold such a ceremony. This mourning anniversary was a six-day affair, to which visitors from other tribes were invited; it entailed the collecting of a large amount of food on the part of the person giving the ceremony,

105 and encompassed a variety of social activities. Dances were held during the nights of the fiesta, gambling games played night and day, and shamans held competitive "shooting" contests. Before daylight on the last night of the ceremony a tule image of the deceased, and all of his more prized possessions that had not been burned or destroyed immediately after his death, were cast into the flames of a large fire around which the people milled, wailing and crying. The widow or some other relative of the deceased threw shell currency and packets of piñon seeds and other goods into the crowd, and there was a lively scuffle on the part of the visitors to obtain as much of this largesse as possible. After the fire had died down the "big fiesta" was at an end, and the visitors soon left for home.

The souls of the dead lived in a land which lay toward the west; there is a "true story" which the Tübatulabal tell, of a man who once visited this region in search of his dead wife. The wide distribution of this myth, which resembles the Old World tale of Orpheus and Eurydice, over all of North America has recently been pointed out by Dr. A. H. Gayton.*

Sometimes, however, ghosts travel about on earth inside whirlwinds; occasionally they appear to vision seekers, and are held in high esteem by persons so fortunate as to obtain them for their guardians; sometimes they are sent by witches to sicken people. A variety of other spirits lived in the springs, streams, caves, and mountains of the region; most of these were conceived of as human in form, often dwarflike; they were not especially feared, but the Tübatulabal either tried to conciliate them, or fled from their presence when they encountered them. A concept of a supreme deity was lacking, but in the beliefs concerning jimsonweed there is an echo of the dying-god concept found in more pronounced form in southern California.

105 171 On the whole, Tübatulabal culture was of the borderline variety, showing affiliations in its material, social, and religious aspects with the Great Basin, (South) Central California, and Southern California cultures. Some of the traits which the Tübatulabal share with tribes in these three areas may be briefly indicated; among traits shared with Basin tribes are the use of piñons, a Great Basin staple, the pitched water bottle, use of honey dew for sugar, the wooden frame cradle, the carrying net, the eagle-down dance skirt, the lack of clans, moieties, or totemism, the classification of cross and parallel cousins with brothers and sisters, the walnut-shell dice game, the round dance, the ceremonial brush enclosure, a belief that the milky way is dove's fire, the belief in water spirits, and so forth. As Dr. A. H. Gayton has recently shown, Tübatulabal mythology is predominantly of Great Basin caste (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595). Our

*Gayton, 1935b, 266.

[p. 6(a)]

105 knowledge of the Basin cultures is as yet incom-
171 plete, so that the foregoing list of traits cannot be taken as a basis for the relative weighting of Basin influences, as against California ones, on Tübatulabal culture. Also, several of the above-mentioned traits, such as the ceremonial enclosure, the wooden frame cradle, walnut-shell dice games, are also found among South Central and Southern California tribes, but, because they probably have had their provenience in the Basin (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, 540, 655), they are included in the foregoing list.

Some of the (South) Central California traits noted for the Tübatulabal are the rejection of all reptiles as food, looped stirrer for acorn mush, chewing of tobacco with lime, shell lime, leaching buckeye nuts, the bottleneck type of basket, bride purchase, clamshell money, unit of measure of such, and name for unit, mourning ceremony, clown, meat taboo with reciprocal washing and payments, swallowing of ants wrapped in eagle down, etc. This list could be appreciably extended, but has not been because of the lack of comparable material from the Basin.

Among the Southern California traits interwoven into the fabric of Tübatulabal culture are the use of asphalt, the coiled basketry cap, presence of steatite objects in area, the dying-god concept connected with the taking of jimsonweed, the application of lighted balls of furze to cure rheumatism, and, in historic times, the introduction of the horse. Direct contact with the Southern California Chumash is known to have occurred after the founding of San Buenaventura mission; whether there was much contact between the Tübatulabal and the Chumash before that time is questionable and seems, judging by some of the traits enumerated above, improbable.

[177] From their contacts with tribes in the three areas mentioned above, the Tübatulabal borrowed, altered, and reshaped cultural traits, and gradually built up their own unique culture, the outlines of which as it existed at the beginning of the historic period have been only too imperfectly sketched in the following pages.

Turning now from the consideration of cultural elements shared by the Tübatulabal and their ethnic neighbors, the question arises whether there are any traits peculiar to the Tübatulabal alone, which can be assumed to have been formed within the group. Here our conclusions are always subject to revision by the addition of new data, but three traits deserve at this time specific mention. They are: the obtaining of lime from natural deposits, for chewing with tobacco; the manufacture of bottleneck-shaped jars from strung piñons; and the myth accounting for the sexual division of labor. None of these traits has been reported as occurring among tribes of the surrounding areas. But if we consider each of the three, we find that the claim of each to absolute uniqueness among the Tübatulabal is not free from doubt. The more usual way in which to obtain lime

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for chewing with tobacco, among California tribes, was to pound up calcined shells. This method was known to the Tübatulabal and practiced by them. There is a good probability that the method of obtaining lime from natural deposits began before the whites actually settled in the Tübatulabal area, but that it was learned by the Tübatulabal from the Koso, some of whom settled, in early historic times, in the area in which the Tübatulabal procured lime from the ground. The Koso could have learned this method from white prospectors who penetrated their area to the east of the Tübatulabal at a comparatively early date. Furthermore, when we consider that slaking the burned lime with water was also claimed by the Tübatulabal to have been an aboriginal process, our suspicions concerning the trait mount. The question, then, must remain an open one at present.

The second trait, that of making jars from strung piñons, seems to have more in its favor in a claim to aboriginality. But another factor merits consideration; the jars are said to have been made in the same shape as the Tulare bottlenecks, so that what we are dealing with here is

the transfer of part of a technique into another medium, rather than a totally new trait. If the jars had had a distinctive shape of their own, that, plus the fact they were made with non-basketry materials, would have strengthened their claim to originality, despite the consideration that the idea is obviously a readaptation of the coiled basketry technique. But as it stands, the only novel feature of the piñon jars is that they were made with materials which differed markedly from those generally used in basketry.

In regard to the myth, there is little need to conjecture. It bears too definitely the stamp of aboriginal Basin mythology, details concerning which we know as yet very little, to be the product from beginning to end of a single people,

105 and to be restricted solely to that group. No
171 myth collection taken from any primitive group can hope to be all-inclusive for the mythology of the entire group, and this myth has by accident doubtless been previously overlooked, both by native raconteurs and by ethnologists when they have been engaged in myth taking. The approximate distribution of the myth, when known, will be of interest, and if it is found in only one or two other tribes, with its recording will go the last unclouded claim that could be put forward for the unique character of any trait in Tübatulabal culture.

METHOD OF STUDY

101 The following ethnographic study of the Tübatulabal, a Shoshonean-speaking people of the southern Sierra Nevada foothill region of California (fig. 1), is based on field work done
[122] near Weldon, Kern county, in the summers of 1931-
115 33 on funds provided in part by the Board of Research of the University of California. My chief

115 informants were Steban Miranda, aged 86 (father 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Palagewan; mother Tübatulabal) and Frances Philips, 68 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso). Mrs. Estefana Miranda Salazar, 40 (father Tübatulabal, mother Yokuts), interpreted for her father, and Mrs. Legora Tungate, 45 (father Tübatulabal, mother 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Koso), for her mother, Mrs. Philips. Other informants and interpreters were Petra Nichols, 89 (father Tübatulabal, mother Palagewan); Mike Miranda, 45, Steban Miranda's son and full brother to Mrs. Salazar; Frank Chico, 30 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso); Fernando Miranda, 47 (father Mexican, mother Tübatulabal); Rosie Pablo, 45 (father Yokuts, mother Tübatulabal); Susie Williams Nieto, 48 (father Kawaiisu, mother Tübatulabal).

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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131

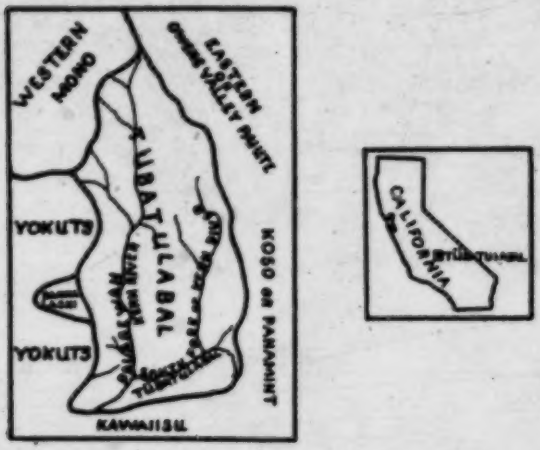

Fig. 1. Tübatulabal and neighboring groups.

[p. 7(c)]

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, who directed my research, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, who offered many suggestions incorporated in the ethnography, I am especially indebted. I wish also to thank Dr. C. F. Voegelin for frequent linguistic aid, Dr. A. H. Gayton for comparative references to mythological material, and Dr. Stanley Newman for information relative to the Yokuts names for tobacco.

128 Botanical specimens were identified and assigned to floral areas by Dr. Herbert L. Mason, of the University of California. Dr. Helen-Mar Wheeler, of the same institution, supplied information from field observations relative to two species of Nicotiana native to the Tübatulabal area. Miss Shirley Andress, of Weldon, allowed me to examine and photograph her Tübatulabal ethnographic specimens; Mr. P. Sumner Brown, of Kernville, put precipitation records at my disposal; and Mr. O. C. Bangsberg, of the Southern California Edison company, supplied information regarding the falls in the augmented Kern.

The occasional ethnographic specimens and models presented by informants and negatives taken during field work have been deposited in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley (museum catalogue numbers 1-28226 to 28228, 28570 to 28577, 28781 to 28789, 28811; 15-10538, 10541 to 10552, 10555, 10556, 10558 to 10560). The Museum has, besides this material, 36 ethnographic specimens from the Tübatulabal (1-19789 to 19825, 21064), collected chiefly by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman, a collection of Tübatulabal baskets from the E. L. McLeod collection (1-20944 to 20961), and 34 negatives (15-6240 to 6274) taken by Dr. Waterman. Museum catalogue numbers are identified throughout by prefix 1- (for specimens) and 15- (for negatives).

Genealogies of all informants and census data collected in the field, as well as a manuscript of 37 myths and variants collected jointly with Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and supplementing Dr. Voegelin's published collection of texts (Voegelin, 1935b), have been deposited with the Department of Anthropology, University of California.

Upon Dr. Kroeber's suggestion the ethnography is written mainly in a telegraphic style. Abbreviations as follows are also used: r., river; N, north (etc.); n., northern (etc.); elev., elevation; mt., mountain; mi., mile; yr., year; Calif., California.

Statements credited to specific informants are followed by the initials of the informant's English name, enclosed in parentheses.

Native names were written in a "broad transcription" with phonetic values as given in the Tübatulabal Grammar (Voegelin, 1935a, 55-87). However, following recent recommendations for a simpler orthography (AA 36: 629), Tübatulabal affricates, for example, being single phonemes,

128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dž	affricate	ǯ
ds	affricate	ʒ
c	sibilant	s

HABITAT

101 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three
131 discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal
[177] band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

197 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of
101 Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tibatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan
[721] territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were re-
[241] moved with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

131 Habitat.- Deltoid-shaped wedge of territory
133 claimed by Tübatulabal and Palagewan (fig. 1) consisted roughly of natural drainage area of Kern r. and its tributaries from river's source near Mt. Whitney to w. end of Kern canyon 14 mi. NE of Bakersfield; this area comprises some 1300 sq. mi., and is mainly mountainous with elevation between 2500-14500 ft. The n. 2 3 of area lies in high Sierras, with many mt. meadows
[312] and numerous peaks of 6000 ft. and more; it is well-watered, both Kern and South Fork of Kern being perennial streams, flowing southward at bottom of deep narrow canyons in parallel courses 20 mi. apart. Lawson gives 2 excellent views of canyon of unaugmented Kern and Little Kern plateau, showing character of region (Lawson, pl. 41a, b).

133 In s. third of area (fig. 1) mountainous character of country continues save for 3 narrow valleys, each drained by a stream, which ray out N-NE, E-NE, S-SW from common flood plain at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r. The n. valley is that of Kern r.; this flood-plain valley extends N, strewn with boulders and gravel, up unaugmented Kern for distance of 10 mi. from confluence, its breadth diminishing from 1 1/2 mi. to few hundred feet. The e. valley, that of South Fork of Kern r., extends E from confluence for 15 mi., with width in its
[134] lower part of more than one mile. In this valley, flood-plain silts and sands mantle stream gravel in large part and make agricultural land. The s. valley, or Hot Springs valley, is a little over 4 mi. long and about 1 mi. wide; it is divided longitudinally into 2 parts by low median ridge of
[312] granitic rock. On e. side of this ridge is flat-bottomed alluviated plain from 1 2-3 4 mi. wide; in this plain are situated several hot springs. On w. side of median ridge in Hot Springs valley is tortuous channel of Kern r.; stream enters this rocky channel through streamworn notch in n. end of median ridge immediately at junction of South Fork and Kern r. Alluvium which forms floor of Hot Springs valley derived from 3 incoming streams, largest of which is Erskine creek which enters valley at s.e. corner and there builds up notable fan which spreads out over its entire width. Second stream is Vaughn creek which centers at s. end and gives rise to less important fan which is confluent with that of Erskine creek; smallest creek is that which drains an incipient canyon in face of steep mt. slope which bounds valley on e. side between Erskine creek and South Fork of Kern r. (Lawson, 399). Lawson gives several photographs of Hot Springs valley and excellent view looking up South Fork valley from confluence of South Fork and Kern r. (Lawson, pls. 39a, b, 40a, b).

133 Near s. end of Hot Springs valley Kern r. enters precipitous gorge through which river rushes over huge boulders, creating continuous rapids for its 25-mi. course through gorge. There are no outstanding cataracts or falls in

133 river as it flows through gorge, but from e. mouth of gorge for 60 mi. downstream there is drop of 50 ft. per mi. in river's course. There are 2 periods of high water in Kern r.; one during winter rain-flood from Jan.-March, second during summer snow-flood, from May-July; lowest water occurs in October (Gifford and Schenck, 17). Minimum flow of Kern in dry season 2700-3000 cu. ft. per second, in season greatest capacity over 19000 cu. ft. per second (Pen Pictures, 248).

133 Three valleys lie at 2500-3000 ft. elevation.
132 They are in a climatic province which is semi-arid, with mesothermal temperature and summer deficiency of rainfall (Thornthwaite, pl. 3). Temperatures from 110-115° F. not uncommon in July-August; winters not severe, but generally some snow falls in valleys, more on foothills, and there are always heavy snows in mts. Precipitation records for Kernville, in Kern valley, are:

Year	Rainfall (in inches)	No rainfall
1924	6.48	May-September (inclusive)
1925	7.43	September
1926	11.66	June-September (inclusive)
1927	10.37	May-September (inclusive)
1928	6.47	June-September (inclusive)
1929	5.04	July, Aug., Oct.-Dec.
1930	6.97 plus 19 in. snow	June-October (inclusive)
1931	9.92	May, September
1932	7.34	July-November (inclusive)

[312] Previous to white settlement and diversion of water for agriculture, South Fork valley contained 2 large lakes, W of Onyx, NW of Weldon on Jesus ranch (SM). In 1776 Garcés, writing of un-
[175] augmented Kern near Kernville, says, "On this famous river, which I named Rio de San Felipe, there are abundant pastures, famous woods, and much irrigated ground (tierra de regadio)" (Garcés, 282). In foothills which enclose valleys are numerous hot and cold springs and intermittently flowing streams.

137 Vegetation of 3 valleys and lower foothill regions mixed; Shantz and Zon include valleys in chaparral area; my botanical collections from valley-foothill region contain specimens from desert, foothill, and Great Basin floral areas. This mixed vegetation area extends in E-W line across s. base of Tübatulabal territory. N of it are several different forest belts extending in N-S line; on w. edge of area along Greenhorn mts., is spruce-fir strip; E of this along canyon of unaugmented Kern strip of yellow pine-sugar pine forest; E of this another spruce-fir strip and finally on e. edge of Tübatulabal territory strip of piñon-juniper forest (Shantz and Zon). In extreme n. part of Tübatulabal area, on w. slope of Sierras, is found subalpine forest and, at higher altitudes, alpine communities (Klyver, 8). In terms of Merriam's life zones, using tree indicators of Grinnell and Storer (Grinnell and

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several in-
241 dividuals have retained land granted them in 1893,
511 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Ma-
[463] jority of young and middle-aged men work as cow-
[462 boys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens,
231] geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the
[222] nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell,
177 cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[24] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
511 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
222 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
224 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rab-
226 bits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[25] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E
[317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger
[776] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM).

[p. 11(b)]

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hel.) [171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tĭba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šĭmĭnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapĭl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ĭ·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapĭ·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ĭihyĭmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apĭ·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu·lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ṣayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellow-hammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gĭnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awĭ·t) and other worms, grubs, in-
[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawĭt) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culušt) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t)
[177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
136 cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yÝta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwÝt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpumt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cümil), gray squirrel (cawanÍnt), blue squirrel (ÝšÝ'Ígal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bÝ·l), bluejay (a·ţayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
[533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not
224 accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space
[237] cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
276 beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and
301] when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large game; deer, antelope never corralled and killed; [231] large game never chased over cliffs; dogs not used for hunting (SM). Antelope chased by one hunter toward second man concealed behind bush or [349] pile rocks; Waterman has picture of pass where trail leads from South Fork valley to Kern valley, showing loose rocks which "are remains of small structure and pit, where lurking hunters shot antelope, which were run through the pass by beaters" (Mus. cat. no. 15-6258).

476 Once a yr. in July Tübatulabal joined with
224 Kawaiisu, Tejon, Ventura Indians, Yokuts for antelope drive (Kroeber, Handbook, 528) in Yokuts territory on plains near Bakersfield. As many as 500 men took part; in drive men stood in circle, 6 ft. apart; circle was from 2-4 mi. in diameter at beginning of drive; men walked inward, driving antelope before them; when circle had shrunk to a few hundred feet in diameter, 10 men (Kroeber, Handbook, 529, says 2 men from each tribe) stepped [411] inside, shot antelope with flint-tipped arrows. No antelope drives held in Tübatulabal area.

224 Mt. sheep shot with bow and arrow; "easier than deer to kill"; often sighted on rocky promontories along n. edge of South Fork valley, W of Onyx. Grizzlies and brown bears shot in summer with bow and arrows; never attacked in caves or shot from trees, but SM had seen latter done at Tejon. Mt. lions shot while on ground; killed after being treed.

476 Rabbits obtained on valley floors by firing
224 dry brush; 20 or more men stood in circle outside burning brush; as rabbits fled men shot them with bow and arrows. Another method was to use nets (wa·na·l), propped up loosely on sticks on level ground; 15-20 men formed straight line parallel to net 1/4 mi. or so away from it and advanced beating sagebrush with sticks, driving rabbits before them. When rabbits encountered net, vertical props fell down; rabbits became entangled and were clubbed with straight sticks or shot with bow and arrows; crescentic rabbit sticks not used. Those rabbits in rear that succeeded in jumping over fallen net became entangled in second net placed short distance ahead of first one. No boss for drive; rabbits collected, evenly divided by throwing each participant a rabbit until pile exhausted. Rabbits also shot by young boys, men, singly or in small groups, with bow and arrows.

224 Woodrats, squirrels, small birds trapped with rock trap (togo·'i·nit) exactly like Havasupai rodent trap (Spier, 1928, 113, fig. 4). For Tübatulabal trap shallow hole 3-4 in. deep dug between upright post and base of rock; acorn impaled on lower stick as bait; when stone slab fell, bird or rodent caught in hole underneath flat rock surface, but not crushed. Men set out 15-20 such traps, especially at piñon grounds during harvest; visited them every 2 days (SM).

224 Small willow blinds like Yokuts model (Kroeber,
349 Handbook, 524, pl. 45), but lacking stone platform, large enough to admit 2 men, built near

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens
[373] when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·št) 7-8 ft.
[227] long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth
[321] water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks (wele·haništ) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrap-
[283] ping of native twine which was given coating of asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (tï·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers
476 done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt
417 upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to
[462] corral, beat water with long willow poles so that all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

226
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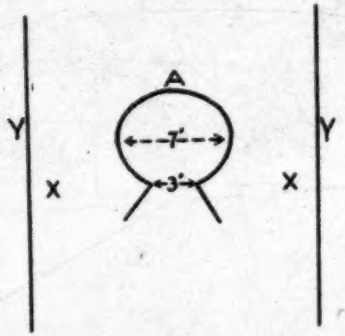

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

Another method of obtaining fish in large
226 quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from
[171] drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly
411 harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes.
[251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

824 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly
137 in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punžil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maŋi·l) from blue oak (maŋi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

824 ing" (SM); "pretty good; not very bitter" (FP).
137 (2) Acorns (wiṇiya·l) from black oak, Q. californica (Torr.) Cooper; grow in Greenhorn mts.; nuts mature biennially; "good, oily; don't need much leaching" (SM); "these were the best; we went for them every yr." (FP). (3) Acorns (yu·mukt) from Wislizenus or live oak (yu·mu·gul), Q. wislizeni A. DC., foothill floral area; grow in some profusion in lower foothills of S valleys; nuts small, mature biennially, "bitter" (SM), "take all day to leach" (FP). (4) Acorns (takwat) from California scrub (takwa·dul), Q. dumosa Nutt. (?); grow "over by Paiute mts., also on Greenhorn mts."; nuts mature annually, "rather small, bitter" (SM). (5) Acorns (wa'anwit) from maul oak (wa'anul), Q. chrysolepis Liebm., foothill floral area; grow "up in mts. W of Chimney meadows" (SM); nuts mature biennially, "pretty bitter" (SM). (6) Acorns (ši·bi·l) from valley oak (ši·bi·'ṯ·l), Q. lobata Nee; grows in San Joaquin valley; nuts large, abundant, mature annually; "sweet"; Tübatulabal made trips into Yokuts territory "around Porterville" to gather these (SM).

*Piñons (tĭbat) from single-leaf or piñon pine, Pinus monophylla, Great Basin floral area; cones mature biennially; nuts rich in oil; piñon pine found at altitudes 4000-6000 ft., chiefly in e. part of Tübatulabal area.

*Pine nuts (wohont) from Digger or gray pine (wohonol), Pinus sabiniana, foothill floral area; cones mature biennially; trees common throughout foothills in area.

Buckeye nuts (pa·ša·'ul) from California buckeye, Aesculus californica Nutt., foothill floral area; grows in great profusion on steep sides of Kern r. gorge.

Sunflower seeds (ta·lata·ugibĭ·l); post-white; formerly planted in gardens.

Seeds, berries (generic term, anht) included: *Chia seeds (pa·ši·l), Salvia columbariae Benth.; *thistle sage seeds (pacist), S. carduacea Benth.; desert floral area.

*Bunch grass or wild rice (u·gibĭ·l), Echinochloa crus-galli (L); alkaline weed.

*Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. (ku·l) and M. gracilenta T. & G., desert and Great Basin floral areas.

*Wild oats (ma·št).

*Rabbit's foot or beard grass (po·mbikanan, furry), Polypogon monspeliensis (L.) Desd.; general in distribution.

*Seeds of wild heliotrope, Heliotropium curassavicum L., alkaline areas in general, and seeds of Eriogonum species (tu·nabo·l). Specimen of 2 other varieties of seed plants (šo·'itih and pa·waṣul) not obtained.

*Gooseberries (wopnil), Ribes quercetorum Greene, foothill floral area; abundant in lower foothills of area.

*Boxthorn berries (pi·'ict), Lycium torreyi Gray, desert floral area.

Manzanita berries (kĭnal), Arctostaphylos sp.

824
137 *Juniper berries (wa·'at), Juniperus californica Carr, var. utahensis and J. utaliensis Lemmon; Great Basin floral area; berries of both species mature second yr.

Elderberries (ku·hupɨl), Sambucus velutina D & H; foothill floral area; eaten (SM), not eaten (FP).

Wild grapes (wo·lo·nt), probably from Vitis californica Benth.; gathered in Koso territory near Inyo-Kern.

Deadly nightshade berries (mane·ʂa'), Solanum nigrum L., foothill floral area.

Roots (generic term wi·šin) included: Tule roots (si'i·bɨ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl; marshes in general.

*Cattail roots (to·ibɨ·l), Typha latifolia L.; general in ponds.

Bulbs (generic term ko·mbin) included: Mariposa lily bulbs (ho·ʂišt), Calochortus venustus Dougl., and C. palmeri Wats.; foothill floral area.

Bulbs (yambal) which were 1 1/2 in. long, "looked like potatoes"; plentiful at Fay ranch in mts. N of Weldon and at Tejon (SM).

Stalks (generic term u·'un) included: *Spanish bayonet (kuyat), Yucca whipplei Torr.; foothill and desert floral areas. Cf. kuya'dibɨ·l, center stalk of Y. whipplei, used in manufacture of bull-roarer.

*Red thistle (čiyiyal), Cirsium occidentale (Nutt.) var. coulteri Jepson; foothill floral area.

Mescal (kukt), Nolina parryi Wats.; desert floral area.

Wild rhubarb (aba·nal), species of dock.

Leaves (generic term nanhabɨ·l), pods, receptacles (ča'a·bil) included: *Leaves, stalks, heads of wild onion (ši·wil), Allium peninsulare Lemmon, A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic (wowo·l, testicles), A. lacunosum Wats.; foothill floral area.

*Leaves of Coreopsis bigelovii (Gray) Hall (ibi·l, also generic term for flower); desert and dry interior floral areas.

*Leaves, stems of small red variety of clover (panwal); of larger variety (panwal u·wan), Trifolium involucratum Ort., foothill floral area; and of variety which was tall, "sour" and grew in moist places (panwal tuwuganan).

*Leaves (tu·t), stems of salt grass (tu·bu·l), Distichlis spicata (L.) Greene; saline soil.

Leaves of Cotyledon laxa (Lindl.) Brew. & Wats. (ma·šali·nu, Spanish loan word); foothill floral area.

Leaves of fiddle necks (ugabul), Lotus scoparius (Nutt.) Ottley, and Ellisia membranacea Benth. (ka·mu·yah), foothill and desert floral areas, respectively.

Leaves, stalks of Monardella candicans Benth. var. exilis Gray (ka·lukt, the armpit); desert floral area; of Pellaea compacta Max (tča), foothill floral area; of mountain tea (u'tu·dul), Ephredra viridis Coville.

[p.15 (b)]

824 137 [117 252]

Leaves, stems watercress (beros, Spanish loan word), Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum (L.) Britt. & Rendle, not eaten aboriginally; sometimes boiled now for greens; leaves of wild mustard (hi·ulit), Sisymbrium officinale L., fried in grease; "learned this from Mexicans" (SM).

Immature pods of tree yucca or Joshua tree (umu·bĭ·l), Yucca brevifolia Engelm.; desert floral area.

Receptacle of cacti (ĭya·l), Opuntia caseyi Britt. & Rose var. magenta Pursh and O. basilans Engelm.; desert floral area.

Some plant species named, but put to no use, as: wild lilac (to·bu·l), Ceanothus divaricatus Nutt., foothill floral area; choya cactus (u·šil), desert floral area; California poppy (yogobul), Eschscholtzia californica Cham. and E. minutiflora Wats. (same name), foothill, desert floral areas, respectively; several varieties of lupines (šĭmĭndĭŋ taman, rattlesnake's teeth, so named because pistils and stamens protrude from keel of flower like teeth, SM), Lupinus sparsiflorus Benth., L. odoratus Heller, desert floral area, L. albifrons Benth., L. densiflorus Benth. var. lacteus C.P.S., foothill floral area, L. microcarpus Sims, var. ruber C.P.S., L. micranthus Dougl. Few other plants also named, rejected as food (p. 12).

For 86 plant species SM could give no economic, medicinal uses or names, referring to all of them as weeds (mašil): Albronia pogonantha Heimerl.; Achillea millefolium L. var. lanulosa Piper; Agoseris alpestris Greene; Azolla filiculoides Lam.; Baeria chrysostoma F. & M.; Brickellia californica T. & G.; Bromus rubens L.; Castilleia miniata Dougl.; Centaurium venustum Rob.; Centromadia (Henizonia) pungens (T. & G. Greene); Cerastium arvense L.; Chaenactis stevioides H. & G.; Cheilanthes covillei Max.; Chenopodium californicum Wats.; Chorisanthe staticoides Benth., C. watsonii T. & G., C. thurberi (Gray) Wats.; Chrysothamnus teretifolius Hall; Cotula coronopifolia L.; Cryptantha miriculata (A. DC.) Greene; Cuscuta californica Choisy; Datisca glomerata Brew. & Wats.; Delphinium hansenii Greene, D. purpusii Brandegee; Dicentra chrysantha (H. & A.) Walp.; Emmenanthe penduliflora Benth.; Encelia actoni Elmer; Epilobium californicum Hausskn.; Epipactis gigantea Dougl.; Ericameria cuneata (Gray) McCl. var. spathulata Hall; Erigeron divergens T. & G.; turkey mullein, Eremocarpus setigerus Benth.; Eriogonum argillosum J. T. Howell, E. angulosum Benth., E. mohavense Wats.; Eriophyllum ambiguum Gray, E. pringlei Gray, E. confertiflorum Gray; Euphorbia serpyllifolia Pers.; Galium angustifolium Nuss.; Gilia latiflora Gray, G. capitata Dougl.; Godetia viminea Spach; Greeneocharis circumscissa (Torr.) Rydb.; Gymnogramma trianularis Kaulf.; Hugelia filifolia Jepson; Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene; Lepidospartum squamatum Gray; Linanthus aurens (Nutt.) Greene; Lotus strigosus (Nutt.) Greene, L. oblongifolius (Benth.) Greene, L. argophyllus

824 137 (Gray) Greene; Lycum cooperi Gray; Marrubium vulgare L.; Malacothrix californica DC.; Melilotus indica All.; Mimulus gluttatus D.C., M. cardinalis Dougl.; Mirabilis laevis (Benth.) Curran; Montia perfoliata (Donn) Howell; Nama demissum Gray; Oenothera alyssoides and O. alyssoides T. & G. var. decorticans Jepson, O. bistorta Nutt., O. caespitosa Nutt., O. contorta Dougl., O. pallida Lindl., O. palmeri Watson, O. scapoides T. & G.; Pallaea and romedaefolia Fee; Penstemon laetus Gray, P. palmeri Gray, P. breviflorus Lindl.; Phacelia tanecilifolia Benth., P. hispica Gray var. cicutaria McB.; Platystemon californicum Benth.; Polygonum persicaria L.; Ranunculus aquatilis L.R. var. cymbalaria Pursh.; Rumex crispus L., R. hymenosepalus Torrey; Senecio douglasii DC.; Sidalcea malvaeflora Gray; Sisymbrium incisum Engelm.; Sphaeralcea (Malvastrum) exile (Gray) Jepson; Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC.) Rydb.; Stephanomeria exigua Nutt. var. pentachaeta Hall, S. virgata Benth.; Tropidocarpum gracile Hook.; Vaccaria vulgaris Host.

This list probably represents only small fraction of indigenous plants available to Tübatulabal, of which they made no use; it serves to illustrate, in concrete fashion, selective processes at work, among people of hunting-gathering culture, in their utilization of their floral environment, and negative rôle which part of that environment played in their culture.

Plants put to other ethnobotanical uses, for curing, house building, etc., referred to in discussions of these subjects.

222 [462] Gathering of plant food.- When acorns ripe, "all the people except very old persons and young children went together to get them" (SM); women chiefly collected them while men hunted, trapped. 251 Acorns gathered from ground in small conical baskets, transferred when baskets full to large basket, in which they were brought back to camp and spread out on deerskins, tule mats for 3-4 days to dry, this preventing acorns from sweating when cached; then stored at acorn grounds, in elevated caches. Acorns gathered near home packed back to hamlets, cached near houses.

222 824 [887] When berries ripe on shrub (opo·bol), Rhamnus californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, which grows in foothill floral area, "the people knew piñons were ready to be gathered in the mts. So some men went out first to see where the piñons were good; just any men went; they decided, and then everybody went to the places where these men said the nuts were plentiful" (SM). All inhabitants of hamlet or of several hamlets went together; sometimes very old persons might not stay at piñon camp when weather became too cold, but return to hamlet alone. Piñons gathered when cones reached maturity, but before they had opened; men, boys knocked cones off trees with staves or pulled down branches with "shepherd's crook" staff; men, women picked up cones, put them in conical lug baskets which were emptied into larger conical

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time
824 to determine whether heat from burning brush had
222 caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on
264] stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which berries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone
412 used in preparing different types plant food.
Mortars (pahal) included pit mortars, which were depressions 2-10 in. deep, 3-5 in. wide in level or gently sloping granite outcrops (Kroeber, [773] Handbook, 524, pl. 45). Manufacture of pit mortars attributed to Coyote, but fact recognized that mortar holes enlarged with use until at depth of 10 in. they became unusable.

412 Portable stone mortars (ku·pahal) from 6-35 in.
322 in total diameter; made by pecking out depression
324 in round soft gray stone with harder, pointed rock (SM). Small stone mortars readily transportable; taken on piñon expeditions. Large wooden portable mortars (ku·pahal) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45) made from hard wood, oak (SM), juniper (FP); bowl burnt out and interior smoothed with rough rock. These latter "easier to make than stone mortars" and commonly used around home, but were too large to take on trips. Basketry hopper used. Pestles (poho'owal) for all types mortars were roughly cylindrical, granite or slate rocks, picked up in river beds, used as found; length of pestles varied from 5-20 in., width from 2 1/2-5 in., depending on size of mortar.

412 Grinding slab (mana·l) oval or roughly rec-
324 tangular piece of granite or black slate, from 14-20 in. long, 10-15 in. wide, and 2-4 in. thick; used on one side only; grinding surface flat or slightly concave. Suitable slabs fairly abundant in area, and woman always kept one such in house, leaning up against wall. With slab, either small ovoid rub stone (takibit) 3-4 in. long, about 3 1/2 in. wide, 2 in. thick, flat on top and bottom surfaces (Gifford and Schenck, 92, pl. 31), or larger stone of same shape (takin) used; these picked up in river beds. Long cylindrical mullers not used. When in use, grinding slab set up with flat rock, about 2 in. thick, placed under upper end of slab, so that slab slanted downward, away from operator. Lower end of slab rested on flat basketry tray.

412 All informants familiar with 3-legged metate
177 and horned muller (Steward, 1933, 341, pl. 5g),
252 because one such introduced among them by former Jesus Miranda, Mexican who married Petra Miranda, Tübatulabal woman; this metate used primarily for grinding corn (FP). However, present-day Tübatulabal ordinarily pound parched corn or wheat into meal in pit mortars, following older pattern.

252 Cooking techniques included stone boiling, boiling in clay pots, parching with live coals on basketry tray, parching in fire, roasting on coals, in ashes, in pit ovens, on spits, in fire. General pattern of native cookery, which resulted in economy of effort, was to apply heat only once to any variety of food intended to be eaten in cooked state. Thus small seeds which had already been parched, and previously roasted piñons, after they were ground into meal, were merely mixed with cold water when made up into gruel (u'u·gil); neither seed nor piñon meal recooked by stone boiling (or any other method), parched foods being

252 regarded as "already cooked" (ES). Same applies now to parched corn or wheat ground into flour; further instances of this general rule of using heat only once in treatment of plant foods can be noted below.

252 262 Acorns shelled as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 21); if woman had large family "everybody helped" (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Shelled kernels dried; pounded in pit mortars; flour sifted with basketry tray and leached with warm water in round pit scooped out of wet sand; woman tasted meal occasionally to test it for sweetness; leaching took about 1/2 day, depending on variety of acorn. Acorns never buried in mud to leach. Sometimes 2 varieties of acorn meal mixed; maul oak acorn flour too bitter to use alone, so was mixed with sweeter variety. Leached meal and water put in cooking basket; hot stones added with looped-stick stirrer (wo·do'oli·l) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, fig. 38) made of willow (PM), Digger pine, oak (SM), and tied with twine. Mush (ča·mil) cooked until of consistency of "canned tomato soup" (FP); eaten with meat. Sometimes hot mush poured into small coiled baskets which were set in cold water until mush had cooled, then mush taken out in form of biscuit which would keep 2-3 days (SM).

Piñons which had been previously roasted in cones, heaped by handfuls on grinding slab, gently crushed with small rub stone, using rotary motion; this done outdoors, where wind blew some of shells away, remaining shells winnowed from nut meats on large basket tray. Nut meats then "cooked like beans" in clay pot or reduced to meal on grinding slab; this latter operation accomplished with larger rub stone (supra) which was grasped in right hand and drawn backward and forward up and down surface of slab. Meal mixed with cold water, made into white piñon mush which was eaten occasionally with meat, but mainly alone (SM). Black piñon mush was made from those nuts which had been gathered from ground; these were cracked, winnowed as described above, nutmeats were then parched in ovate tray with small pieces of live charcoal, pounded into meal in pit or portable mortar and water added to meal to make thin dark mush.

Digger pine nuts which had previously been roasted were cracked on grinding slab, shells winnowed out, nutmeats eaten thus or "boiled like beans" in clay pot. Buckeye nuts peeled, leached whole in warm water for 3 days, boiled in pot or dried, pounded into flour in pit mortars, water added to flour and mixture stone boiled.

Small seeds treated in variety of ways; chia, wild oats, Eriogonum and Mentzelia seeds winnowed, parched with live coals "for about a minute"; hot sand not used. Chia and wild oats pounded in pit or portable mortars; Mentzelia seeds ground on slab. Bunch grass and heads of Polypogon burned; seeds of bunch grass caught on tray as they fell out, ground on grinding slab;

252 heads of Polypogon held over fire to singe off
262 awns, head rubbed between hands to extract seeds and these pounded in pit mortars. All small seeds
[264 mixed with cold water and made into thick gray-
272] colored gruel (ha·yi·l) which was drunk for refreshment, "like lemonade"; women often gave children drink of this gruel between meals. Two varieties of chia might be used mixed together, but neither mixed with Mentzelia seeds. Although small seeds now regarded as something of delicacy, they are still occasionally gathered in large quantity, using aboriginal methods; in 1933 some Kawaiisu brought 10-lb. flour sack of chia seeds to SM's rancheria, offering them for sale.

243 Wheat now cut by hand, piled up on piece of
252 canvas and thrashed with 4-ft. pole; winnowed in
262 flat tray, parched in oven, pounded into flour in pit mortars, and flour mixed with water and little sugar to make stiff mush. Corn is eaten on cob in roasting ear stage or allowed to dry on cob; 2 cobs twisted against each other to remove kernels, which are parched, pounded, winnowed, and meal made into mush.

252 Juniper berries boiled fresh; when dry and
262 fully ripe seeded by hand, flesh pounded in pit mortars and eaten raw; pounded mass never dried into cakes or beverage made from berries. Flesh of juniper berries "sweet." Ripe boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, taken up in hands, mixed with small amount of water and made into "biscuits" which were dried in sun; no fat added. These small balls stored; when used broken up, soaked in water, eaten; tasted "just like grapes." Elderberries boiled in clay pot with water and
[251] eaten (SM); FP said they "tasted queer." Never stored for winter.

Rush roots peeled, sun-dried, pounded into flour (obolinil) in mortar, mixed with water and stone boiled into mush.

252 Several plant foods roasted; for mescal short
264 trench dug, fire made in trench, tender young
262 stalks cut in half, laid on fire, covered with dirt and left overnight. In morning stalks uncovered, peeled, and eaten. Quantity of Spanish bayonet stalks laid directly on top of blazing brush fire; stalks turned once while cooking; when soft, stalks buried in dirt or sand, left to cool; burying made peel "slip off easier" (SM). Fleshy receptacles of Opuntia buds held over fire on end of sharp-pointed stick to singe off stickers (ukun), then spread on hot flat rock placed at bottom of pit, covered with another hot rock and pit filled with loose earth or hot ashes. Receptacles left to roast for about 8 hours; when taken out of pit outer skin peeled off and inner part eaten. Fleshy stalks wild rhubarb roasted overnight in hot ashes, eaten next morning.

252 Immature pods of tree yucca, while still in-
262 side green sheath, "boiled like cabbage" in clay pot (SM).

Several plant foods eaten raw by gatherer on spot; such included berries of deadly nightshade;

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin., utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July,
258 August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice inside the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey
171 dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[445 had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten
774 after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
609] might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uṭa·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
491 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
[415] "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
487 day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

251
343 sional use such as pack baskets, baby cradles, fishing gear, sacks, etc.

251 Fresh meat dried in sun by being cut into thin strips, 6 x 12 in. or smaller, hung up, either salted or unsalted, on branches of tree or on line made from native twine strung between 2 trees; drying generally took from 6-7 days. Fish split, cleaned, salt rubbed over them; hung up on willow branches to dry in sun during summer months. Neither meat nor fish smoked or dried over fire; dried fish "would last a long time" (FP, SM). Wild grapes spread out in sun to dry "like raisins" then stored for winter use; box-thorn berries dried whole or in cakes; rush roots sun-dried, stored; small seeds stored, either parched or unparched, in skin sacks or baskets, in storage house.

221 Staples: yearly consumption of food.- As food
262 calendar shows (p. 11), during spring and summer seasons Tübatulabal had relatively varied vegetable diet, but by fall their plant foods decreased in variety and during winter they "just ate acorns, piñons, and meat of any sort they could get, and dried and fresh fish" (SM). Of 2 vegetable foods eaten during winter, acorns figured as staple; "more acorns were eaten than piñons; old-timers ate acorn mush with deermeat, like bread. We just get acorns now once in awhile, because now we have white flour" (SM). That piñons were, however, also important in Tübatulabal diet, is shown by amount stored during good piñon yrs. However, abundant crops occur at best only every second yr., whereas acorns, of which Tübatulabal had 6 varieties to draw upon, could be procured in one locality or another annually.

Regarding proportion of animal, vegetable food eaten, my meager data on subject indicate meats, including birds and fish, may have com-
[146] prised 40 per cent of food consumed throughout yr., acorns, piñons (if crop good) 40 per cent, small seeds, stalks, raw foods, etc., 20 per cent. As to amount of food consumed by family throughout year, data lacking for flesh foods, but for acorns SM said family 2 adults, 3 children needed one acorn granary (of dimensions given above), full, to have sufficient acorns for year. "If they had a larger family, they made a bigger granary" (SM). To this amount of acorns should be added contents of smaller acorn granary family might have near home. Piñon supplies varied, but in yrs. of good crop family of 5 stored cache such as described above, full of piñons, besides bringing several sackfuls home at end of piñon-gathering period.

251 Since all foodstuffs in order to be kept prop-
262 erly had to be sun-dried before being stored, weather which prevailed at season when wild foodstuffs were available for gathering and storing often regulated to a degree amount of food stored from yr. to yr. This consideration applies especially to storage of fish and some of minor plant foodstuffs, such as salt from salt grass,

251 sweets made from cane, wild grapes, etc. Acorns
262 and piñons on other hand required shorter drying periods than any of above-mentioned foods, and furthermore, after gathering them, drying could be postponed for few days, if necessary, without danger of their spoiling.

312 Control of water.- Tübatulabal controlled water to degree of making ponds (pacu'a-t) near sweat houses; these ponds large enough for person to jump into after taking sweat bath. Ponds dug out with stick (nahat, also used for cane); water run into them from near-by spring. Springs also dug out to obtain drinking water, but no boxing in of sides, as is done now (SM).

312 Patches of wild seeds never irrigated as among
177 neighboring Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 247). An irrigation ditch, course of which is still traceable, formerly brought water from Canebrake canyon to former Indian settlement at mouth of Chimney canyon in arid e. end of South Fork valley. This ditch constructed by Koso Indian refugees who settled in Tübatulabal territory at this spot ca. 1863. At time of its construction white settlers had been ranching in South Fork valley nearly 20 years and ditch seems obviously native borrowing of white culture item.

231 Domesticated and captive animals.- Regarding
[262] possession of dogs (pungul, pet; pukubišt, specifically dog), and their use as food, PN, oldest informant, stated Tübatulabal had dogs and roasted them to eat, as Yokuts did (Kroeber, Handbook, 526), before whites entered region. She described native dogs as "small, white, short-haired"; denied they were procured from Mexicans or other outside sources.

231 SM, however, said Tübatulabal did not possess
262 dogs until whites brought them in. His statements
177 at different times on use of dog for food contradictory; once he said Tübatulabal roasted and ate dogs after latter introduced, but subsequently stated dogs never eaten. He knew of use of dogs by Yokuts, stating: "The Bakersfield Indians always had dogs and ate them; they'd buy dogs from each other for (the equivalent of) $2 apiece." FP said Tübatulabal "had dogs pretty early, but got them from whites; after they got dogs they did not eat them." These statements reconcilable because they probably reflect cultural divergency between Palagewan and Tübatulabal bands; Palagewan, situated nearest Yokuts, in all likelihood most affected by Yokuts customs. PN's mother member of Palagewan group; PN's second husband a Yokuts; in discussing dog PN probably had Palagewan in mind, although this point not specifically stated at time. Reason for SM's confused statements may also have been this cultural divergency, but in statement of FP, whose affiliations lay with Tübatulabal and Koso to E, we have clear-cut denial of trait.

000 Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could PN give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·ŝawIt) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcat (Steward, 1933, 254), except that TÜbatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
[773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down from them; their statements agree with data on
[171] use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 [422 436] [262] Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM). Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibi·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

291 of tanned buckskin with lacing like that on skirts at top of shoulders and from armholes down sides, and with 10 to 12-in. laced slit in front from neck downward, worn against cold (FP).

Bearskin robes with hair left on may have been worn occasionally, but were "too heavy" (SM). Feather, squirrelskin capes never made; sea-otter [439] capes not obtained in trade though SM had seen them worn by Chumash at Ventura.

292 171 Shamans engaged in curing, competitive contests, and dancers wore skirts (wi·la·t) made same style as Owens Valley Paiute, Koso skirts (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7d; Kroeber, Handbook, 508, pl. 42a). Some dancers also wore bands of yellowhammer feathers around waist (FP).

292 Men when hunting in winter kept fingers warm, limber by putting them inside wildcatskin quiver, which had hair left on inside and was worn slung across chest.

291 Headgear and footwear.- Men went hatless; women wore coiled basketry cap (poŋgat) when using pack strap for carrying loads, but not habitually; these caps round at top, came down nearly to eyebrows. Hair nets not used. Men rarely seen now outdoors without hat; women wear them less frequently; FP habitually wore black cloth stocking cap resembling basket cap in shape. Some 60 years ago FP's aunt (Koso) made coiled hats of same material used for basketry cap, but patterned hats like "store hats"; sold these to several Tübatulabal men who wore them "all the time" (FP, SM).

292 301 171 Shamans and dancers wore feather headdress consisting of fillet (še·mapun) of eagle down, and crown (anambul) of magpie (?) feathers, similar to Owens Valley Paiute dancer's headdress (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7a, b).

291 281 Moccasins (wahcibi·l), made from tanned buckskin taken from neck region of deer "where the hide is thick" (SM); made to extend well above ankle (fig. 3). FP in cutting out model in cloth

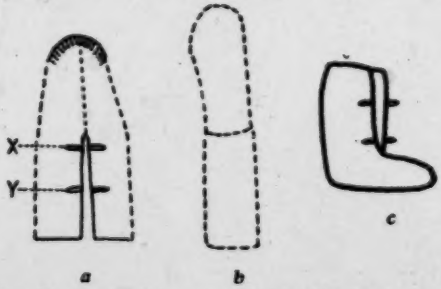

Fig. 3. Moccasin. a, side strips, puckered at toe ends; thongs at x and y; seams occur along dotted lines. b (upper half), sole, (lower half), back strip. c, completed moccasin.

(Mus. cat. no. 1-28226) first cut out sole, then sewed straight piece of cloth 6 in. long, 3 1/2 in. wide onto back section of sole and then 2 straight pieces 12 in. long, 4 in. wide on sides and front of sole, puckering 2 pieces at toe end.

[p. 22 (b)]

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in
[314] front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of
[412] soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

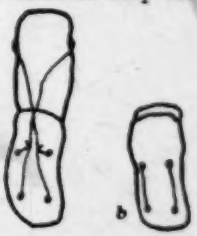

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow
132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, 1929, pl. 97a, b); banging done by holding front
[372] hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens James (cĭw'wĭ·ĭbĭ·l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

302 [765] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., [824] pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. 388 [515] (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit [296] of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (YihabY·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for [301] several days. At dances women put loose eagle down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wŋŋIt) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native [413] string to form flat, narrow brush. This hairbrush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, [177] long shell cylinders (hobo'apIn) made from columnella of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (naŋgawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

302 men, women (SM), women only (FP), for dances. Women, young girls sometimes rubbed mashed roots of Plagiobothrys nothofulvus Gray (ši'iwišt), foothill floral area, over cheeks to color face red; this done merely "to make themselves pretty" (FP). Women also sometimes painted faces with earth and kept paint on all day, staying indoors, [756] "to make face lighter" (FP). Shamans engaging in contests painted faces with alternate stripes of red and white raying out from nose across cheeks; rest of body not painted; paint not applied in [317] honor of visitors. Red earth obtained from vicinity of Koso Hot Springs, east of Little lake in Koso territory; Tübatulabal either went for it or Koso brought it to them.

304 Tattooing done on women only; women "had it done because they liked it, to make them look pretty" (FP); not done at any specific age, although small girls were not tattooed "because it hurt too much" (FP). Old woman, not necessarily relative, did the tattooing; all women formerly had one or more marks. Pattern drawn on skin with charcoal (tu·l), obtained from "any wood" (FP); pricked in with spine of Tetradymia spinosa H. & W. (pokpo·giništ); marks, black at first, later turned blue. Usually done on face between mouth and chin, on back of hand, inner surface of forearms (fig. 5).

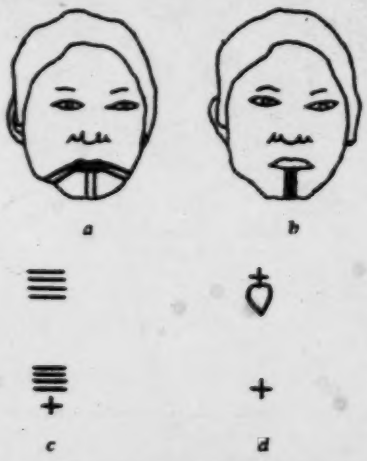

Fig. 5. Women's tattoo patterns. a, b, facial; c, 1½ in. long, inner surface of forearms (FP); d, inner surface of forearm.

Women had septum of nose pierced with pointed hot stick for nose plugs; after piercing, stick kept in hole about 7 days until wound healed. This done "any time" (SM). Lobes of female infant's ears pierced for earrings shortly after birth, "because the baby doesn't feel it much [302] then" (SM). Some men pulled out facial hair around mouth; others wore sparse mustaches (kaŋa·l), 4-5 in. long.

[p. 24(a)]

SHELTER

342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohošt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yĭhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; TÜbatulabal houses had
[71] no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set
[221] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in
[841] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 Most of TÜbatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
[221] about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

178 342 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 342 More elaborate type of summer shelter, referred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept [221] under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 361 Camps.- At piñon grounds Tübatulabal often camped in large group, within circular corral-like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

[p. 25(a)]

349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (tĭngi·l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

Women pounding meal, etc., at pit mortars on hot days piled up scrub oak or willows to height of 4-6 ft. around mortar bed, in order to have shade while working.

343 171 515 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu·šaht) resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tübatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 515 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft. deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 515 372 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders (po·'anapĭ'l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

482 415 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (poŋgon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 372 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 415 Carrying net.- Men used carrying net (tambahal) exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 482 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men, women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 854 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

Between ages of 5 months and year, child "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work [71] to do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in Tübatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

352 deer sinew (tohi·lĭŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bĭ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
[221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with PN's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

501 481 baskets not used for ferrying; breast stroke used chiefly in swimming (SM).

231 492 Horses mounted on right side; bridles made of native twine, saddles of tules.

WEAPONS

411 Bow chief weapon; spears may have been used in warfare; clubs not used, "because men didn't get that near to each other when they fought" (SM); spear thrower, shield, armor not used; aboriginal use of slings denied.

Bow.- Both for war and hunting large game, used sinew-backed bow (a·lit tupani·l), made from juniper (wa·dul), Juniperus californica Carr., var. utahensis Engelm., foothill floral area; bows also occasionally made from tamarack (išwa'adul). Such bows were "hard to make," and "took a long time to shape" with flint knives; furthermore one could not "get a good piece of wood for a bow every day" (SM, ES). Method of manufacture was to select suitable piece of wood, cut it, peel bark off immediately and shave bow into shape with knife, then warm bow in hot ashes or hold it over fire and flatten 2 ends over knee. Next, cord tied taut from one end to other, over back of bow, thus bowing length of wood in arc opposite to that in which it would bow when used. Tied thus, bow left to season for 6-8 days; was then untied and 2-1/2-in.-wide strip of water-wetted sinew (tupani·l), from backbone of deer, glued on to back of bow and overlapping edges glued down on sides. At 2 ends of bow, ends of sinew backing wrapped around wood several times to form knobs which prevented bowstring from slipping; neither end of bow notched for stringing. After sinew had dried, bow wrapped at grip (po·ho·nil) with strip of buckskin. Bowstring (piho·lit) of sinew, 3-ply, rolled into cord on knee (SM). Sinew-backed bows were some 48 in. long, 2 in. wide, 1/2-3/4 in. thick at grip; back and under side flattened, edges rounded; ends about 1 in. wide, 1/4 in. thick and either slightly re-bowed, or straight.

For hunting small game plain bow (a·lit) with rounded edges, made either of willow or juniper, used. Bowstring for such made from native twine. SM said such bows were about 45 in. long, 2 in. wide at grip; specimen 1-19808, of willow, is 50 in. long. In 1932, FC had willow bow he had made, which MW said was similar to bows Tübatulabal used formerly for shooting rabbits; FC had made his from green willow, first shaping it with knife, then bowing it in at grip by laying length of willow on 2 flat rocks which were set some 16 in. apart, so when weight was put on top of central section of willow it bowed downward between the 2 rocks. Ends were rebowed by placing flat rocks beneath and on top of each tip and suspending rock from underneath unfinished bow at points 8 in. inward from ends. Thus weighted, bow was left to dry and season for 8 days. Length of this

411 bow was 68 in., width at grip 1 3/4 in., at tips
[176] 3/4-in. SM denied that Tübatulabal formerly ever bowed in grip; FC very probably had introduced this feature.

Boys used small plain willow bows and willow
[462] arrows "before they began regular hunting" (SM). Bows, arrows made by men only.

Arrows.- War arrows (pa·hal) were 34-36 in. long, with wooden foreshaft (wawpit), some 8 in. long, made from hard wood set into cane mainshaft made from stalks of cane (paha·bĭ·l), same variety as that from which women obtained sweets (p. 19). Mainshafts also sometimes made from wood. Cane mainshaft (u·gat) straightened by being gently rolled at joints in round groove and over shallow incisions of heated stone arrow straightener (u·gišt). Mainshaft notched at upper end for insertion of bowstring; foreshaft split at end for insertion of arrowhead. War arrows had 3 vanes, square-trimmed, 1 in. wide, set on spirally and attached at each end with sinew; "if only 2 feathers were put on, the arrow didn't shoot straight, it went sideways" (SM). FC's arrows nevertheless had 2 vanes, set on spirally. Feathers from eagles, crows, owls,
[324] 3 varieties of hawks among those used. Arrowheads (kĭyi·l) were flaked from obsidian (tu·gu··pĭl tĭnt, black rock), obtained near Mt. Whitney (SM); from bluish gray rock procured in mts. (SM), at Koso (FP); from a red rock (flint?) obtained near Tejon or on Mohave desert. Stone "cooked" first in fire, then broken into small
[412] pieces (FP). Deer-bone awl used to flake arrowheads; palm of left hand protected with piece of buckskin. Heads varishaped (fig. 7), "because some men liked this kind, some that" (ES), but all heads shouldered. Beautifully shaped head (fig. 7), 3 1/4 in. long, 1 in. wide at top, found by FC on old battlefield on Nichols peak, in s. border of Tübatulabal area; SM said this
[317] probably head for war arrow, as heads for such often 6 in. long(!). Asphalt (tu·šanat) used to set heads into foreshaft; no mention made of sinew lashings. Poison (pohil), source of which was unknown to informants, said to have been used on both war, hunting arrowheads (MM); only on hunting arrowheads (SM).

Hunting arrows (šu·mu·na·l), for use on large game, similar to war arrows save that they were 48 in. long, with 9-in. wooden foreshaft and were often tipped with smaller, black obsidian heads which were inserted rather loosely into foreshaft so that shaft fell out after animal was shot, leaving head firmly embedded; or if shaft did not fall out, it could be pulled out easily, head then cut out with stone knife.

Arrows of foregoing type used with sinew-backed bow; with willow bow cane arrows (šu·mu··na·l), 40 in. long, 2-3-vaned, tipped with wooden foreshaft, point of which had been sharpened by rubbing on rough rock, used to shoot rabbits, etc. For birds, shorter cane arrows with pointed

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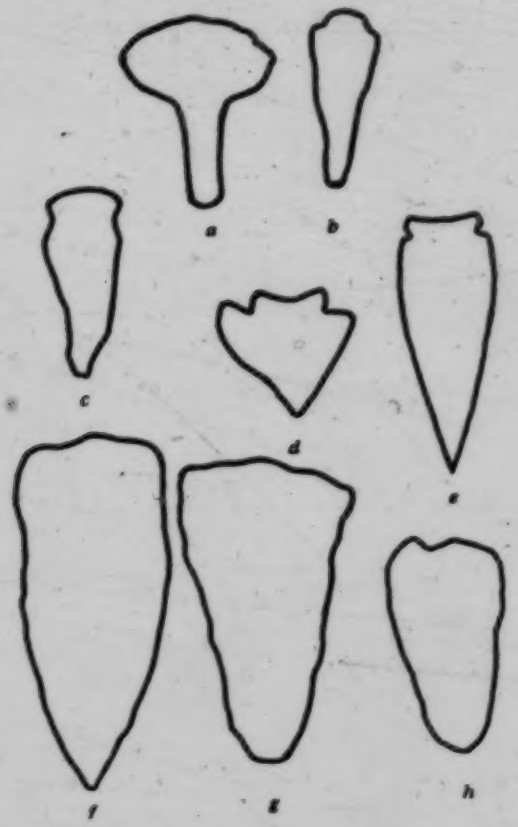

Fig. 7. Flaked artifacts from Andress collection. a, white quartz strike-a-light, 1 5/8 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; b, c, obsidian arrowheads, 1½ in. long, 5/8-in. wide at shoulders; d, red flint arrowhead, 1 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; e, arrowhead from Nichols peak (see text); f, g, h, red flint artifacts, lengths respectively, 3¼ in., 2 3/4 in., 1 7/8 in., widths at top, respectively, 1¼ in., 1½ in., 1 in., either spearheads (FP), unfinished arrowheads (SM), or knife blades (?).

411 wooden foreshaft used; for waterfowl, cane arrows had sinew wrapped thickly around joint where foreshaft entered cane mainshaft, so as to produce bulge which made arrow skip over water in flight, [171] similar to Owens Valley Paiute arrows for ducks (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3d). Specimen 1-19809 consists in part of 2 unfeathered arrows with cane mainshafts 46 in. long, foreshafts 4 1/2 in. and 2 in. long; such arrows might have been used by boys or else are simply, as collector has noted, very poor specimens.

415 Quiver.- Sacklike quiver (ma·šat, also term for sack), made from whole untanned antelope, coyote, or wildcatskin with hair left on; men going hunting carried quiver in carrying net,

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

411 Arrow release.- Man shot either standing or kneeling; if kneeling, weight rested on left knee, which touched ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz;
[171] 18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term), used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc., consisted of flaked obsidian blade about 5 in. long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens
[171 Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j),
317] except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted knives aboriginal (SM).

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades,
[171] an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber, Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped
[317] with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buck-
[462] skin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right hand; this awl essentially man's tool.
Women used smaller awl (wīŋabït), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kīče'apïl) surmounted with small lump of asphalt, when making coiled baskets.

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener [171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central 324 groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife. [171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose [171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable; 286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night; 372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside under shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at 373 spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man kmelt (Kroeber, 462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from 177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibĭ·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·nun) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

337 and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

285 [171] Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray [462] (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed [756] by shamans in shooting contests.

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to [171] inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 16a, b).

285 824 Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wĭnapĭ·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šĭ·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šĭ·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

285 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for
824 various types twined ware made from whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots, roots of tree yucca, outer bark of willow. Tules used considerably for baskets, mats; there are few tules in either Kern or South Fork valleys now, but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

292 Coiled baskets included:

171 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled
285 Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 (b) Sifter (wa·t) or small tray; slightly
285 concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

(c) Parching tray (ša·gišt); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers.

[525] This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

(d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in.

[252] wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

415 285 in. high, 6 1/2 in. in diameter at top, 4 in. at base. Used by individuals for drinking soup; also used for shaping biscuits of acorn mush (p. 18).

(f) Meal basket (ponol); was about 16 in. high, flat-bottomed, with sides which curved inward toward top; latter about 6 in. in diameter. Used as container for freshly ground chia seeds, etc. (Fig. 8b.)

(g) Mortar hopper (hoyanut, PN); was made from old cooking basket with bottom cut out; height, diameter varied, depending on size of mortar; some hoppers 6-8 in. deep, 16 in. in diameter across top. Attached permanently to mortar with asphalt; PN had seen hopper attached to small portable stone mortar used for mixing tobacco and lime; FP had seen Bob Rabbit, widowed Kawaiisu rain doctor, using hopper on mortar hole in log at piñon camp, "where there was no stone." Hopper helped prevent small seeds from flying out of mortar during pounding.

[317]

415 323

Fig. 8. Basketry and pottery shapes. a, tule tray for drying sweets; upper part, body of tray, lower part, handle end which was folded over at broken line. b, coiled basket used for storing small seeds. c, pottery bowl in Andreas collection, height 4 in., width at mouth 4¼ in., thickness ¼ in.; surface find in mts., Tübatulabal area. d, bottleneck money jars (1-20952, 20953).

415 285 (h) Money jar (ukulušt) or "Tulare bottleneck" (fig. 8d); most elaborate basket type; specimen 1-20951, 20953 (O. T. Mason, 479, pls. 193, 194), made by FP's mother, ornamented around

[p. 31(b)]

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
[237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in.wide at
[171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tÿbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
[482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Lug basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on upcurve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to win-
[252] now piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
[222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

415 285 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 2 willow rods (pi·mm) sewn around top for reinforcement; 2 cloth lugs attached to rim on opposite sides. Seeds, berries collected in this basket as they were knocked off bush with seed beater.

415 285 482 (b) Burden basket (wa·niht); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket, about 29 in. deep, 26 in. in diameter at top. Warp and weft of peeled willow shoots; basket banded with oak rod attached to rim with split willow shoots. Two pieces of willow, 3 in. long, sewn on inside of basket horizontally 9 in. below rim and 6 in. apart; lengths of twine attached to these pieces of willow to make 2 loops (pu·niwa·n) 6 in. long, which came through basket and hung down on outside; pack strap attached to these 2 loops. On some baskets 3 willow bands encircled basket on outside as reinforcement, being put on at top, 1/3 and 2/3 of way down. Specimen 1-19815, small burden basket made by PN, is 20 in. deep, 23 in. in diameter at top; has 2 willow rods around top, with top rod left bare except at intervals where it is stitched to rod underneath it. Rod sewn on inside basket for attaching twine loops. Uses have been mentioned (ante).

[171] (c) Water bottle (iwat); resembled that of Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55e), but had flat base (all informants). Made in 2-ply diagonal twining with warp of whole peeled willow shoots, weft of split willow shoots; 2 loops attached to side as on burden basket, with long string which passed over carrier's forehead, fastened to loops. Bottle pitched inside and out (see section on Glue, Pitch, Asphalt); stoppered with roll of grass (pa·niŝwa·n). Small girls packed little water bottles "like the one in the picture" (Handbook, ibid.); adults larger ones, some 16 in. tall, on trips into dry country. Large bottles, often 17 in. in diameter, used to store water in at dry piñon camps and as water containers at hamlets.

[171] Tule baskets and traps were all of 2-ply diagonal twining; soft tule baskets such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50c) not manufactured among Tübatulabal.

227 285 Tule objects included:

(a) Conical trap; some 4 ft. deep, 3 1/2 ft. wide at top, made similar to burden basket; this trap set below fall in river, secured between 2 sticks as among Owens Valley Paiute [171] (Steward, 1933, 251); set in evening and left overnight.

[171] (b) Tubular trap (wa·mat); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), but made from tules; this staked down in smooth water; "when a big fish got inside, it couldn't turn around to get out" (SM).

[171] (c) Conical scoop (ši·diŝt); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33b), but lacking inner cone and made from tules; used to scoop up stupefied fish from pools.

285 415 (d) Tule tray (ši'i·bɪ·l u·zi·l); shaped something like seed beater but with broader

[p. 32 (b)]

285 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

[492] (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules. In contrast to twined ware, all of which was
415 plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had de-
531 signs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

531 Either informants had forgotten them, or else few designs had names; when shown some 26 designs taken from Tübatulabal basketry collections, SM recognized 3 (fig. 9) which had descriptive names, king snake design (pokpo·go'no·lo·wun),

Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wun), rattlesnake
[532] design (cĭmĭndiŋlo·wun), "a hard pattern" (ES). Human figure design aboriginal (SM); pictographs of human figures in territory tend to confirm this, although Kroeber holds human figures on baskets result of American influence (Kroeber,
[171] Handbook, 541). ES recognized several Yokuts designs (Kroeber, Handbook, 533, fig. 47, nos. 1, 8, 15, 16) which she had seen on Tübatulabal baskets, but did not know names for them.

285 Mats.- Mats (paht) were made from whole dried trimmed tules, which were soaked before being woven; mats 3-5 ft. wide, of varying lengths, made in plain twined weave with each series of tule weft elements spaced about 3 in. apart. Top, bottom edges finished with tule braid (ta·ža·bil). Specimen 1-21064, large tule mat used for house covering, has braid edge, as has fragment of mat 1-28574; specimen 1-28575, also fragment, has wrap edge. Large mats used to cover walls, floors of living houses, to sit on while working outside, to sleep on. Small tule mats bordered with tule braid, but lacking weft bandings, used on both types baby cradles; hood for baby's second cradle also of tules.

281 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihnibĭ·l)
286 made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.

a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winišt) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from
[171] inner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

283 it was wrapped around left wrist. Made by men, women; used extensively for nets, fish lines, bridles, forehead band on pack strap, loops on pack basket, on water bottles, as warp for rabbitskin blankets, bowstring for rabbit bows, foundation for eagle dance skirts, to tie babies on cradles, tie newborn child's umbilical cord, as thread to sew up sacks, etc.

Rope (tu·mayu·t) made from outer bark of Fremontia californica Torrey (u·pul); long branches, trunk of shrub peeled, fresh bark softened between hands and 3 strands braided into rope which was used to lash bundles of tules together for raft, to tie up crook on piñon staves, to bundle firewood into load, for 2 ends of pack strap, etc.

LEATHERWORK

281 Tanning.- Tanning done chiefly by men, although women sometimes dehaired skins. Green hides (tu·šu·but) hung up to dry, doubled over line with skin side out, for 6-8 days. If not to be tanned immediately they were folded up, stored in house. When tanned, hide soaked in cold water 3 days (SM); MM said soaked for week, being taken out at intervals and as much hair as possible [412 171] pulled out with fingers. After thorough soaking, hair and fat, if any, scraped off with deer-bone scraper as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 118). Hide put in warm water to which deer brains had been added, and soaked overnight. Next morning hide dried, then returned to brain solution, [401] soaked again for 24 hours. Hide then rinsed out in clear water, looped around post and wrung out using short stick as lever (Kelly, pl. 21a, b). Lever, with hide still tightly twisted into coil around it, stuck between pole on which hide was looped and another pole 1 ft. away and hide left thus, tightly twisted, for about 30 minutes; after this hide slipped off lever, flattened out, stretched, rolled, and rubbed between hands. After fibers thus partly softened, hide draped over horizontal bar set into forks of 2 upright posts 3 ft. high, 3 ft. apart; hide pulled back and forth over bar, man often working with hide thus at intermittent intervals for 2-3 days. Tanned hides (takta·šat) not smoked; sometimes whitened; negative 15-6273 shows Tübatulabal man softening clay-whitened deerskin.

Skins to be tanned with hair on, as wildcat skins used for wrapping up infants, were scraped clean on skin side, skin wet, and deer brains, which had been soaked in small amount water, rubbed into hide with hands. Hide then allowed to dry and pulled, rubbed between hands until soft. Bear hides also tanned with hair left on, brains being worked in with scraper.

237 Fresh deer brains could be used for tanning hide, but usually dried brains used, prepared as follows. Deer skull cracked open with rock, brains scooped out, smeared over both sides cir-

237 cular mat (či·gon) 8 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women [42] used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·gul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

T 323 [171] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

T 415 Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes T [532] being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little [857] girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); PN denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.

756 177 [32] Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

756 177 latter possessed similar objects, used for rain making in early days, but that such "were buried with owner when he died."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Musical instruments few, simple; 3 varieties rattles used; drum (tamburin, Sp.) lacking; SM had made one at Tejon and brought it home, but "Tübatulabal didn't use them." Musical rasp also lacking.

Rattles.- Split-stick rattle (ka·ba·ba·yništ) made from peeled stalk dry elderberry (ku·hupīl), Sambucus velutina D. & H., foothill floral area, split down center; split ends both same length; total length of specimen made by SM 18 in., length of split section 14 in., handle 4 in. Made by men; used at dances to accompany dance songs (SM).

[171] Cocoon rattle (pa·ʒo·alginišt) similar to Maidu rattle (Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37b); consisted of slender stick about 12 in. long with 4-6 cocoons (či·ko·lolondiŋ hani·n, butterfly's house) tied on upper end. Slit made in cocoon at one end, 2-3 small pieces rock put in, slit end tied with twine and cocoon attached with twine to stick. Old men used cocoon rattles to accompany songs they sang softly to themselves at night after going to bed (SM).

Dewclaw rattle (ša·lišt) consisted of 8 dewclaws (ša·lu·n) threaded through short buckskin thongs knotted at one end and tied to stick about 5 in. long. When rattle shaken, end of stick to which dewclaws attached held downward. This rattle used by rain doctor.

Whistle.- Quill whistle made "from a big feather cut like a [cane] pipe," mentioned by FP; her father had used such (see p. 73). PN agreed quill whistle used, but neither informant could remember name for this whistle or give further details; SM knew nothing about it.

Boys and girls made whistles from short hollow sections of Eriogonum nudum Dougl., foothill floral area (šiko·nišpu·l).

Flute.- Flute (lu·lu'išt) made of peeled elderberry stalk from which pith had been poked out with stick; about 26 in. long; had 6 holes, first of which was 8 in. below mouth end, other 5 spaced at 1 1/2-in. intervals beyond it toward distal end; end blown. Man played flute to himself, for own amusement during daytime; did not take it into sweat house to play; young men sometimes played it when courting (SM).

Musical bow.- Musical bow (pi·bi·wi·ništ, also name for jew's-harp) used occasionally, "not very much"; man plucked bowstring of hunting bow with index finger as he held one end of bow in mouth (SM).

[p. 35(6)]

524 534 Bull-roarer.- Bull-roarer (ku·lišt, lit., instrument for playing, i.e., toy) made from stalk of Spanish bayonet, Yucca whipplei Torr., foothill, desert floral areas. Stalk dried, split in half, section 8-10 in. cut off, attached at center (sic) to 4-ft. length of native twine; stick handle lacking. Boys' toy (SM).

TOBACCO

137 249 Two species of tobacco (šo'ogonht), Nicotiana bigelovii Wats. and N. attenuata Torr., grow wild on floors of Kern and South Fork valleys and on slopes of lower foothills, at elevation from 2500-2800 ft. Of 2 species, N. bigelovii commoner than smaller-leaved N. attenuata, but native term is same for both and 2 species grow side by side, sometimes less than 1 ft. apart. At various points in South Fork valley not yet under cultivation wild tobacco plants are concentrated in 1- or 2-acre patches or fields (šo'ogonhtiŋ ugan), sparsely interspersed with low clumps of brush and turkey mullein; from such fields (pl. 3) tobacco was and still is (1933) being gathered for use by Tübutulabal women.

249 Tending and preparation.- Tobacco patches never burned over in fall; although ES drew my attention to half-burned clump of brush situated in patch she and FP were "working" in 1932, saying tobacco seemed to grow better where ground had been burned over, she and SM both said tobacco patches were never fired in order to produce better stands of plants next year. "The rain is what makes the plants grow" (SM).

In spring, about June 1, when plants 18-24 in. high, and beginning to blossom, women working singly or in groups of 2-3 began tending wild tobacco. This first tending consisted in snipping off, with thumb and index finger of right hand, side shoots and occasionally tips of plants. Hardy plants, mainly of bigelovii species, which did not have too many small shoots clustering around base of main stalk, selected for attention; after woman had pruned plant she would sometimes, but not always, wrench off some of large leaves which grow flat on ground around base of plant, and occasionally she would uproot weed growing close by plant. Selection of plants to tend made more or less at random from among numerous healthy specimens surrounding women workers; according to MM it was owing to this that later, several pruned plants were overlooked at final harvesting of crop. At first pruning of their 1932 crop ES and FP worked from 6 a.m. to around 10 a.m.; all trips to tobacco patch made early in morning, to take advantage of comparative coolness for, although pruning itself not difficult, it necessitates almost constant stooping over plants in full glare of hot midsummer sun. Also sun makes tobacco "strong" and sticky

249 to handle after morning coolness has passed off (ES).

Week after first pruning, plants again denuded of sideshoots which had sprouted out afresh; new bottom leaves and some of flowering tips also snipped off. By this time tended plants had 6-8 leaves on solitary mainstalks; these leaves noticeably larger and thicker than more numerous leaves on bushier, untended plants growing beside them.

One more pruning, week later, followed; plants left to develop further for 10 more days, then leaves gathered. Fleshy leaves, which were often 3-4 in. wide, 7-10 in. long, still green, stripped off stalks by hand; stalks left standing, leaves deposited, after gatherer had accumulated as many as she could hold in sheaf in left hand, in sack gatherer kept on ground beside her. In 1932 LT assisted ES and FP in gathering crop; this was longer and more arduous task than previous prunings had been. The 2 younger women, LT and ES, actually gathered leaves; FP sat on ground in middle of patch and, as sacks of leaves brought to her, she emptied contents of sacks on piece of canvas spread out in front of her and tore leaves apart, discarding midrib (u·n, stalk) of each leaf. If midribs had not been removed, "they would have tasted just like wood" in the tobacco (FP). Later in morning, after ES and LT had finished gathering leaves they assisted FP in her task. Five wheat sacks of leaves gathered; this amounted to 2 washtubs, 2 ft. in diameter and about 20 in. high, of half-shredded leaves from which midribs had been removed.

Tobacco, thus far prepared, taken home by FP and LT and allowed to stand in washtubs 2 days. On morning of second day 2 youths sent to banks of South Fork of Kern r. to obtain small truckload of willow shoots (poyiwoŝt), Salix hindsiana Benth., S. exigua Nutt. When boys returned with willow FP and ES took shoots, pailful of cold water to which cupful of shelled, slightly crushed pine nuts had been added, and the 2 tubfuls of shredded tobacco and set to work on ground in shade of large cottonwood tree. Aided by ES, who handed her bunches of willow shoots, FP spread 12-15 shoots on ground parallel to each other to form leafy mat; she then took 1 or 2 generous double handfuls of green tobacco and spread it out in center of matted willows, sprinkling tobacco thoroughly with water in which pine nuts floated. After doing this she took more willow shoots which she spread on top of tobacco to cover latter completely; whole affair then tied with strips of burlap into cigar-shaped bundle 4 ft. long, 1 ft. in diameter. Ten such bundles prepared; set out in sun in open field adjacent to FP's house, where they were left for 10 days, after which they were piled up in shade, untied, and opened. Tobacco, black, wet, strong-smelling, removed from willow casings with fingers and spread out thinly on squares of canvas to dry in sun; willows in which it had

249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bottomless form, similar to those used in making
[177] adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop
435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls
[438 and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; consti-
439] tuted, both in aboriginal times and to some extent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 299).

[p. 37(a)]

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits
317 in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars.
789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).
276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."
757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.
[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and
887 female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

276 small mortar, and powdery substance stuffed into
887 tubular pipe (wo·ša·giništ) made from 4- to 10-in. length of hollow cane (paha·bul), Phragmites communis Trin. Old men smoked once or twice daily while in sweat house or after morning, evening meals, "not all the time, like people do now" (MM). Smoker held pipe horizontally; took long slow puff from it, inhaling deeply, then removed pipe from mouth and closed lips; exhaled smoke slowly through nostrils. "The smoke went up from the smoker's lungs right to the top of his head, because that smoke was so strong" (MM). From 2-3 such long puffs, no more, taken at one smoking; tobacco so strong it soon caused smoker to tremble violently as though intoxicated. After indulging thus, smoker extinguished pipe by rubbing it in palm of hand, then set it aside for future use. When tobacco in
[323] pipe consumed, cane tossed away. Pottery pipe not used; steatite pipes used by rain makers.

171 Distributional discussion.- In general dis-
276 cussions of the use of tobacco in North America the trait of chewing tobacco with lime is mentioned as having a continuous distribution from the North Pacific Coast tribes S through the greater part of Calif. (Linton, 2; Wissler, 26, fig. 6; Sayce, 200; West, 99-100). Dixon, how-

Tribe	Tobacco species	Native names
C.,S. Miwok	N. bigelovii	ka´sü; kaku; hū´tĭa
W. Mono		pamu; cokx
O. V. Paiute	N. attenuata	pāmüpi; páʰmū; sāgō
Koso		sohon, shogun
Tübatulabal	N. bigelovii; N. attenuata	šo'ogonht
Kawaiisu	N. attenuata; N. trigonophylla	soóda; koópi
Yokuts		sɔhɔw, personal name of plant; só.Gɔn, tobacco, tobacco plant; ba'um, tobacco smoke, cigarette
Costanoan		
Salinan		
Chumash	N. species	
Kitanemuk	N. species	tsiwut
Alliklik	N. species	
Gabrielino	N. species	shuki
Cahuilla	N. attenuata	pivat

[p. 38(a)]

171
276

ever, has shown that it was not tobacco, but some unknown masticatory, which was chewed with lime by the Tlingit and Haida (Dixon, 146-150). For Washington, Oregon, and n. Calif. tribes I have found no references to the chewing of tobacco, or any other plant substance, with lime; for the Quinault (Olson), Klamath (Spier, 1930, 87), Karok (Harrington, 10), and Wishram (Spier and Sapir, 269) the trait is denied. It is only when the Miwok of central Calif. are reached that chewing of tobacco with lime is reported; from the Miwok S the trait has a continuous distribution among a compact group of c. and s. Calif. tribes, as is shown in the tabulation below.

Tobacco chewing is not mentioned for any other S Calif. tribes; among Kamia (Gifford, 1931, 25; 1932 a, 25), Southeastern Yavapai (Gifford, 1932 a, 213), Akwa'ala (Gifford and Lowie, 342) absence of trait noted.

In regard to the use of tobacco and lime outside of California, MacLeod has pointed out the interesting fact that green leaves mixed with lime and tobacco mixed with the ashes of burned insects were used in Valley of Mexico; he also refers to a mention of the chewing of tobacco in the origin myth of the Chitimacha, and to the swallowing of a tobacco composition in the form of a pill, among the Natchez (MacLeod, 418-419).

Uses	Source
Eaten with lime by men, women, to induce vomiting.	Barrett and Gifford, 193, 195
Smoked; eaten with lime (?).	Gifford, 1932 b, 23; Kroeber, 1907, 77, 94; Tüb. informant (SM)
Smoked by men, doctors; chewed with lime by women only.	Steward, 1933, 319-320
Chewed (?).	Kroeber, Handbook, 627
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked by men, doctors.	
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked.	McCown, MS.
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked by doctors.	Newman; Kroeber, Handbook, 516, 538, 617
Chewed with lime; smoked.	Kroeber, Handbook, 469, 826
Chewed with lime; emetic; smoked	Kroeber, Handbook, 548; J. A. Mason, 165
Chewed with lime.	Garcés, 277
Chewed with lime; emetic.	Kroeber, Handbook, 613, 628
Chewed (?).	Kroeber, Handbook, 538
Eaten with lime, medicinally.	Kroeber, Handbook, 627, 628
Chewed; smoked.	Barrows, 74

[p. 38(b)]

POPULATION AND ETHNOGEOGRAPHY

161 Population estimates.- Population figures and estimates, 1770-1932, are:

Year	Tüb.	Pal.	Tüb.+Pal.	Bankalachi	Authority
(1) 1770			1000		Kroeber, Handbook, 608, 883
(2) 1854			100(100?)	50?	Henley, 511, 515
(3) 1855-60	228	65	293		Village site estimate, 1932
(4) 1863			220		Massacre estimates
(5) 1910			105		Ind.Pop. U.S., Alaska, 18
(6) 1932	145	0	145		Field census

161 (1) Kroeber's estimate admittedly a guess;
114 probably too high.

(2) Henley, 1854, reports 100 "Kern River Indians"; his assistant mentions "Joaquin's band of 20 men from Kern River" which had been sent away from Sebastian Military reserve in 1854 previous to Henley's visit to Kern r. If Joaquin's band was not at Kern r. when Henley was there, we should add 100 persons, assuming each man represented 5 individuals, to Henley's figures. Henley's mention of small group to W of Kern r. may refer to Bankalachi.

(3) Village site estimate derived from SM's list of 12 Tübatulabal, 3 Palagewan hamlet sites (p. 41); SM's estimated hamlet populations totaled 475 Tübatulabal plus 110 Palagewan; these totals reduced by 50 per cent because person-by-person listing of inhabitants of hamlet No. 5, in which SM lived as a boy, totaled 14 persons; SM had previously estimated population of 30 for this site.

(4) In massacre 1863, 39 adult Tübatulabal and Palagewan men killed (SM); military reports say 35 (Chalfant, 146). Five adult males survived (SM, PN); these, together with males killed, comprised all adult males of 2 bands. Taking 44 as number of adult males prior to massacre, assuming each represented 5 persons, total population of 2 bands is 220.

[162] (6) Population 1932 distributed as follows: within home area full, 3/4 bloods 65, 1/2 bloods 21, 1/4 bloods 10, total 96; outside home area full, 1/2 bloods 40, 1/4 bloods 9, total 49. Males, 74, females 71; grand total 145.

161 All estimates seem to point to figure somewhere between 200-300 for combined Tübatulabal-Palagewan population ca. 1850, when whites first settled in area. In accepting figure as low as this for population in aboriginal times 2 possibilities have to be considered; San Buenaventura

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly
621 determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). FP located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on s. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, FP).

101 Neighbors.- Tübatulabal had as neighbors to S the Kawaiisu (ka·wišm); to W at Poso Flat the Bankalachi (to·lowim); to W and SW various Yokuts groups living at Porterville, Shoko, Altau, and Tejon (monila·bal). At Bakersfield and along slough S to Kern lake lived another Yokuts group (pa·labatal). It is interesting to note that these Yokuts groupings as given by SM do not agree with Kroeber's map of the Yokuts terrain (Handbook, pl. 47), SM's information probably relating to later period than Kroeber's.

Farther SW of Tübatulabal were the Tejon Indians or Kitanemuk (witaŋhatal), the Chumash or Ventureño (cucpinu); NW around Tulare lake the Tachi Yokuts (taši); N the Western Mono (winaŋhatal), including the Northfork Mono (winaŋapul); NE and E the Owens Valley Paiute (i·wi·naŋhal); E the Koso or Panamint (ši·gawiyam). Kroeber gives Amahaba as Tübatulabal name for the Mohave (Handbook, 607), but none of my informants recognized this term.

103 Place names.- Large geographical features, as mt. ranges, not named, but several peaks, lakes, streams, and numerous small springs each had designation. Several Tübatulabal place names refer to mythical events which occurred within area; many other names mark sites which were of economic importance. Since entire area not traversed with informant, my list of place names probably represents only fraction of total. Translations of some of place names given below are those offered by informants and do not represent etymological analysis. Locations are listed from E (Owens lake) to SW (rapids of Kern r.), thence NE to Mt. Whitney. Section, township, and range are taken from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of Kernville quadrangle.

1. pabunta·bop, Owens lake; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Patsiwat for Owens lake: SM, FP said paca'awat name of village site (p. 41).

2. wiŋa·l, Walker pass; general term for summit; piñon grounds.

3. a·nandu·giš, mts. E of Canebrake creek; piñon grounds.

4. u·ga·bičiŋ elegapī·ban, Weasel's lookout; boulders on point of hill, W side of mouth of Chimney canyon, SW quarter, sec. 20, T25S, R36E. [773] In a myth, Weasel kept a lookout here for soldiers approaching from W.

5. holomup, mt. and spring at head of Chimney canyon in piñon grounds.

6. šo·hoptap, creek 1 mi. W of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

7. i·wa'kana·p, 2 mi. N of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

8. palu·hi·yam, Little water; South Fork of Kern r.

9. ha·'alap, spring at head of Smith canyon; piñon grounds.

10. poiwištap, Willow place; head of Scodie canyon; piñon grounds.

11. pa·šs·pan, spot at which there is a split

[p. 40(a)]

103 boulder at base of mts. (pl. 6d), 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, SW quarter, [773] sec. 20, T26S, R34E. Coyote broke this long boulder in 3 pieces when Bluejay tried to build a bridge from top of mts. across valley to Nichols peak.

12. hamboyam, Cane creek; general term for cane.

13. punʒi·ba·n, meadow containing pit mortar at base of foothills, 1/2 mi. NW of Onyx, SW quarter, sec. 5, T26S, R35E.

14. lelet, Nichols peak. At end of Mythical age Eagle elected to live on this peak (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207).

15. cu·iyala'a ka·ʒa·ban, Spider's pot; rocky ledges on w. edge of first flat SW of Wel- [773] don, NE quarter, sec. 22, T26S, R34E. Spider had cooked chia mush; he came here and spread it out on a rock for his children to eat.

16. kutu'wi·ban, spring at head of canyon, first flat SW of Weldon, sec. 23, T26S, R34E. Eagle and his wife lived here.

17. ku·či·a·pu·lap, spring, head of second flat SW of Weldon.

18. wa·tiniš̌t, Juniper place; 3 mi. SW of Weldon in foothills on s. edge of South Fork valley at mouths of 2 intermittently flowing streams; SE quarter, sec. 29, T26S, R34E.

19. Cave, 3 1/2 mi. W of Cook peak on Goat ranch; NW quarter, sec. 6, T27S, R34E. Abode of a mythological man-monster.

20. anayupun, flat, 4 mi. NE of Isabella on Murphy ranch; the E and W winds fought here.

21. paʒat, springs 2 mi. NE of Cook peak, E side of wide plain; SW quarter, sec. 24, T26S, R33E.

22. pi·li·wi·ban, mt. (?) near Isabella; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as Piliwinipan, near Whiskey Flat or Kernville.

23. yaha·waban, junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; "just a name; there was no village there" (SM); Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Yahaua-pan as name for village site here.

24. yu·mu·gi·wala'aŋ pa·i·na·'aban, obscure meaning in reference to mythological creatures; junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.

25. palakuč, fishing site on Kern r., 3 mi. SW of confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; NE quarter, sec. 1, T27S, R32E; near Indian [531 mound, now leveled, on Monroe Bechtel ranch. 538] Pictographs abundant at this site.

26. pi·ta·lap, summit on road from Hot Springs valley to Caliente and Tejon ranch.

27. palakuič, Walker basin.

28. paluntanakamapan, water where it falls; fishing site at rapids near w. end of Kern r. gorge; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as name for Bakersfield.

29. pawačahalap, acorn grounds 3 mi. W of Kernville, in Greenhorn mts.

30. wa·gi·na·pu·ban, Split mt., NW of Kernville; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Wokinapili-pan as village site on Kern r.

[p. 40(6)]

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.

32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.

33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.

34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.

35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Bull Run creek.

36. tunabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.

37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.

38. i·wakanun, Long valley.

39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.

40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.

41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

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361

*1. iŝwahul, Koso site on Canebrake creek, 4000-ft. elev. Now known as Canebrake; up to 1932 property of FP; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 25, T25S, R36E.

2. paca'awat, Koso site S of spring, 3000-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. Center, sec. 21, T25S, R36E.

3. meyumbašt, Koso-Kawailsu site at spring, 3500-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 17, T25S, R36E.

*4. u·u·pu·lap, rope place; Tübatulabal hamlet, 2 mi. NW of Pilot Knob, on flat, W side of South Fork of Kern r. (FP); SM gave paca'awat as name for this site, but was probably incorrect. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 100; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 24, T25S, R35E.

*5. čebu·nun, Tübatulabal site, S bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 3000 ft., est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R35E.

6. omomĭp, Tübatulabal site at spring in foothills, N bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2800 ft.; occupied by Tübatulabal family, 1932, and now known as Raphael Chico's place; for est. pop. see no. 7. NW quarter, sec. 3, T26S, R35E.

*7. omomĭp, Tübatulabal site in valley, N bank of South Fork of Kern r., 1/8 mi. NE of Onyx. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. of nos. 6 and 7, 30; occupied by several Tübatulabal families, 1932, and now known as Onyx rancheria. SW quarter, sec. 4, T26S, R35E.

*8. yowolup, Red Dirt place; Tübatulabal site at spring on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 35; unoccupied, 1932.

*9. yĭtiyamup, Tübatulabal site at springs in foothills, n. edge of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 50; owned by SM, occupied by 2 related family groups, 1932, and known as the Rancheria. SE quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R34E.

*10. kolokum, Tübatulabal site, near springs on Fay creek. Elev. 4000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 22, T25S, R34E.

*11. tušpan, Tübatulabal site, near spring, 1/4 mi. N of Weldon, on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 50; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 14, T26S, R34E.

*12. pa·da·ţap, Tübatulabal site, below and above spring, in foothills S of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R34E.

*13. ha·halam, Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 50; occupied, 1932, by 2 related Tübatulabal family groups and known as Jesus ranch. NW quarter, sec. 16, T26S, R34E.

*14. ? , Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 20. Unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 18, T26S, R34E.

*15. umu·bĭ·lap, Tree Yucca place; Tübatulabal site below spring, on flat, near w. end of South Fork valley. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 12, T26S, R33E.

*16. pašgeštap, Palagewan site, at hot spring,

[p. 41 (6)]

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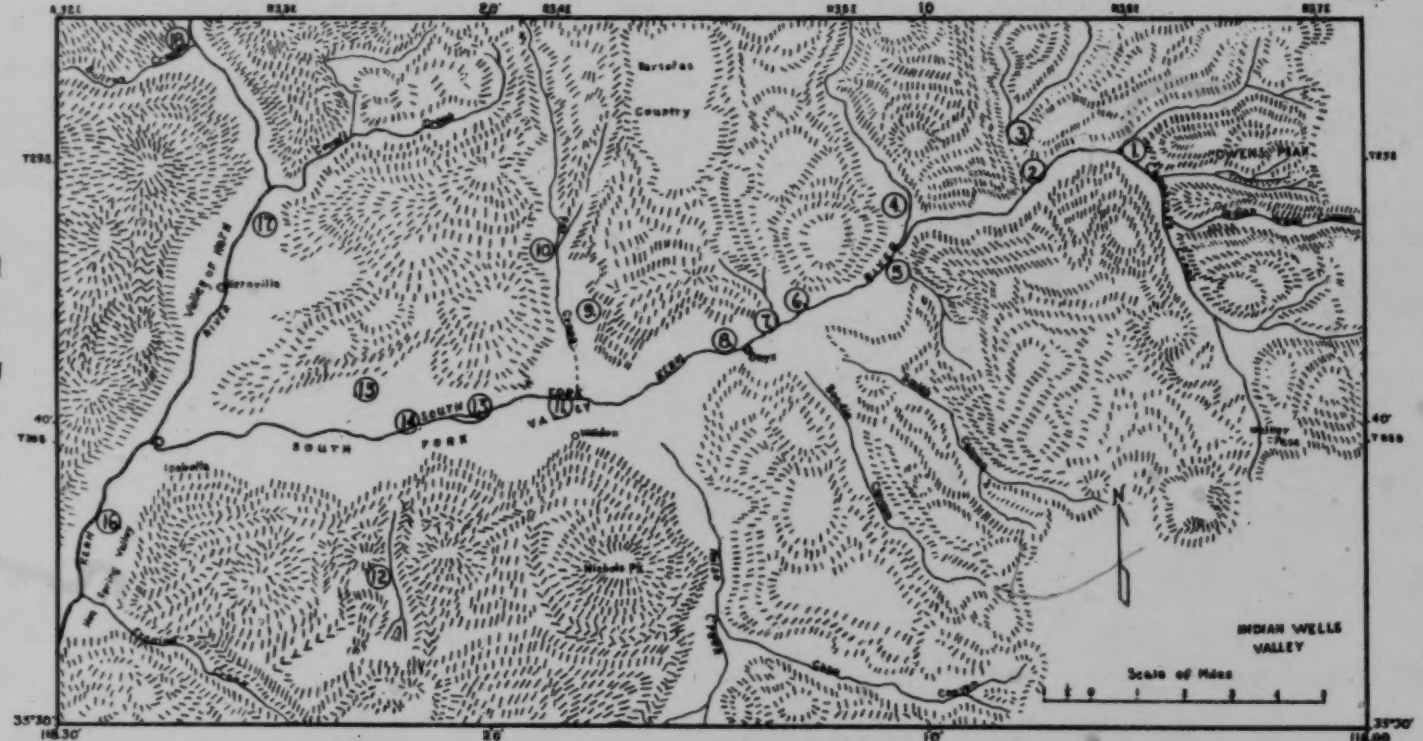

Fig. 11. Map showing three valley regions and Tübatulabal hamlet sites, s. part of Tübatulabal area.

[P. 42]

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

a17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
[171] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted
592 of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

592

House I

Tübat.♂ (1) — =Tübat.♀ (2)

Willy Miranda (3) — =Tübat.♀ (4)

Steban Miranda (5)

Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4) — =Tübat.♀ (8)

♀ (9)

♂ (10)

♀ (11)

♂ (12)

Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13) plus =Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
[343] a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet
[361] no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting [584] parties; most customary form was so-called marriage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

[p. 43 (6)]

584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MM).

587 583 Man marrying second time did not buy second wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

582 835 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'iŋn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'iŋn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

595 837 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as wo·'iŝn.

163 165 In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born, 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died before they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (3M); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or [578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 784 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

CYCLE OF LIFE

843 Birth.- Woman knew she was pregnant when menstrual periods stopped; during her pregnancy she "worked hard, climbed mts.; if she stayed in the house she'd get fat and the baby wouldn't move" (FP). During last month of pregnancy woman [262] ate no meat, very little salt; if she ate meat then, her husband would fail to see deer when hunting (SM). Some husbands did not kill any animal or eat meat when wife pregnant; others did so. One man "killed a fox by smashing its head, while his wife was pregnant; the baby was [845] born without any eyes or nose. Another time that same man killed a king snake when his wife was carrying a baby; the baby was born with a king-snake mark across its chest" (FP). Husband could have intercourse with wife during period of pregnancy. Sudden fright during pregnancy caused miscarriages; FP, LT said some babies born at 8th month, but expressed surprise when 7-months babies mentioned.

844 Older woman, usually a relative, attended woman in labor; husband often assisted, sometimes attended wife if no woman relative available. Husband or attendant dug shallow trench about 3 ft. long, either inside or outside living house, depending on weather; fire built in bottom of trench, slabs of stone laid on top of fire, then layers of earth, tule mats on top of stones. Woman in labor lay on top of this trench (to-ništ); during childbirth knelt, grasping [171] vertical stick; attendant pushed baby down onto mat on ground as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 158). Woman stuffed her hair in her mouth to prevent vomiting as baby emerged. To prevent breech presentation, if this expected, woman held suspended head downward; baby righted itself inside womb and would be born head first (FP). In [789] protracted labor person possessing amulet containing supernatural power might be called on to rub amulet over parturient's body (see Autobiography of FP).

Mother of baby pulled out afterbirth, cut cord and tied it about 3 in. from navel, with native twine; cord usually dropped off after 3 days; was saved by mother and kept wrapped in buckskin. Newborn baby washed in plain warm water by attendant and wrapped in soft deerskin, wildcatskin blanket. Maternal grandmother of infant buried afterbirth outside house.

846 After birth mother and infant lay on mat over [853] hot trench for 6 days. First 2 days baby fed thin gruel made of water, acorn or piñon meal, from mother's fingers; mother milked out colostrum for ca. 2 days, baby nursed on third day. If mother had no milk she rubbed her breasts with soaproot brush dipped in warm water to induce [262] flow. For one month she drank only warm water, "else her blood would get thick and she'd die" MM.; ate no meat, salt or grease as these foods would get into her milk and make baby sick (FP); if she ate meat husband would not be able to see deer (SM).

[p. 45(a)]

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child
[862] of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when
[841] latter seated. If mother became pregnant while child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins over-
[597] worked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

848 married, "child would then have a stepfather, who would treat him as his own child" (SM).

551 553 Names, nicknames.- Name given child week after birth, usually by child's maternal grandmother, but also by paternal grandfather or father; either man, woman named boys and girls. Little formality attached to name giving; person "just told the parents the child's name." Children named for ancestors who had to have been dead at least 2, 3 yrs.; now sometimes named also for living relatives (SM). FP thought people "didn't care whether children were named for relatives or not." Names for males, females not used interchangeably; names not kept secret, often used in direct address; no taboo against pronouncing name of dead. Most names meaningless. Some examples of names follow; Gifford also gives several (Gifford, 1917, 227):

551

Men	Women
yukaya (MM)	wišimlīt
še·weh (SM)	čiwa'agum
tiya'bi ("Little Bill" Chico, dead)	šo·anuh
po'onol, a type of basket (Jose Chico, dead)	am ba šum (LT)
wo·go·loh ("Old Bill" Chico, dead)	mapali·p
yu·hu·nuc	ča·gum (Petra Miranda)
ne·yil (Tony Pablo)	ačawi·lot (FP, dead)
tu·gayaya·l, a mythical bird (FM)	či·wa·wugum (PN)

551 553 Nicknames bestowed on men, occasionally on women by relatives, friends; had meanings; sometimes used oftener in referring to individual than proper name, but some individuals' nicknames not known generally. A few nicknames were:

551

Men	Women
mo'olohy, brown bear (SM)	u·nal, bear
elemgil, greedy	
muhumbišt, owl	
išt, coyote	
tomogul, bumblebee	

855 Childhood.- Young children seldom whipped, but frequently scolded; LT threatened to whip 4-yr.-old daughter with nettles once in my hearing, but was on whole indulgent to child, feeding her whenever she whined for food, holding her on lap frequently, always taking child with her on short trips, etc. MM so markedly indulgent with his adopted son, 8 yrs. old, that SM, MM's father, criticized him for always buying boy [857] candy, giving him what he asked for. Older children of 12-15, both boys and girls, took protective interest in younger siblings, but were seldom left to take care of them for any length

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na-mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-
[582] washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other; man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.-

881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual intercourse with him, as this would affect his [841] hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MM).

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones, attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death de-
763 termined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives, friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one [765] person would start crying, then everybody would cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule 767 mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-887 handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position, face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM). [766] Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SWN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

[p. 47(a)]

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575),
[177] fragment of tule matting with braided edge (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- TÜbatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi-mapï-l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players kneit in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu-bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

Yokuts NS29

T 524 525 Play began with right-hand man on one row, who held stick in hands behind back; his 3 partners had no sticks, "just sang" (SM). False call on part of guesser, the left-hand man on opposite side, made by pointing from one to other side of person holding stick, at same time watching individual closely; true call made by clapping and pointing with hand. At true call player with stick opened hands, held them in front of him; if guesser had missed, his side forfeited counter and same side again hid stick, but if guess correct counter (?) and stick given up to guessers and right-hand man on winning side hid stick. When he lost, player next to end man on opposite side hid stick, which passed to each man in turn. Men who were watching stakes joined in singing for one or other side; often wives of players sang for husbands' side also. Each side played for counters until pile exhausted, then 2 sides played until one had won all counters; winners then took stakes and game started afresh.

T Y 524 525 Fingermark game (ša·hil) played by Yokuts at Tejon, but not by Tübatulabal, described by SM. This game played by men only, with 2 sides of 4 players each. Each side held basketry sifter (wa·t); 2 men, one on each side, held sifters in front of their right hands and with 3 middle fingers of right hand they simultaneously made one of 6 combinations of marks (fig. 12) on ground in front of them, behind the trays; then

Fig. 12. Combination of marks for fingermark game. Solid lines, marks always made; broken lines, optional marks.

simultaneously they held up trays and showed what marks they had made. If guessing side failed to duplicate opponents' marks latter side took money (counters?). When player tired of making marks he passed tray on to his left-hand neighbor.

T 524 No guessing of hidden fingers (Kroeber, Handbook, 540).

Women's basket dice game (wi·ša·išt) played by 8 women with large flat tray and 8 (SM), 6 (FP), dice (wi·ša·išt) consisting of half walnut shell filled with greasewood pitch in which were set varying number of bits of white shell (Kroeber, Handbook, 598, fig. 54; Culin, 168, fig. 208). Betting was on number thrown face up; if all blanks thrown, turn passed to next player. No songs accompanied this game.

J

Women's stick game (kuča·ništ) played on ground; 8 (SM), 6 (FP), small pieces cane colored red on one side thrown; no songs.

T 526 Hoop-and-pole game (howi·l) played with buckskin-wrapped hoop (tu·gu·lišt), 15 in. in diameter with hole in center 4 in. in diameter. Poles

[p. 48(a)]

526 (hali·wišt) made from willow, 6 ft. long, pointed on one end. Two lines of willow brush piled up
[525] about 20 ft. apart; 2 players, men and onlookers placed bets with third man before game commenced. Women never played; "it was too hard a game for women" (SM). One player started hoop rolling toward opposite brush fence, then both players shot at hoop with poles; if one man slid pole through rolling hoop he won and new game started immediately; if hoop came to rest with pole touching top or side of it, this counted a point for owner of pole; 6 points made game. Very popular game, played "every day" (SM).

524 Shooting game (po·ẓil) played with small marks (po'ozišt) made of pieces of tule well wrapped in bit of buckskin described by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

526 Men's shinny game (pa·wa·šil) played with
525 single oak shinny stick (pa·wa·šišt), curved at lower end, and oak ball (homoyišt); goal posts (mu·giništ) for each end of field consisted of 2 posts set 10 ft. apart, with nothing strung between them; distance between 2 sets of posts about 600 ft. Each team composed of 5 men; no umpire; 2 men on each team guarded their team's goal posts; when one team succeeded in getting ball through opposing team's goal, game ended; stakes collected and divided between members of winning team; in reply to my question whether bets wagered on this game, ES replied with fine scorn, "Certainly they bet; they wouldn't run on a hot day for nothing!" Shinny contests often intertribal affairs, held between Kawaiisu-Tejon Yokuts at Tejon; Kawaiisu-Chumash in Kawaiisu territory; Tübatulabal-Chumash at Tejon, etc.

524 No information obtainable on racket game, noted for Yokuts (Culin, 595). Descriptions of several games played by boys 35 yrs. ago given by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

Toys.- Acorn tops (pu·lu·'inlšt), made from maul-oak acorns, used by boys; same as top figured by Kroeber (Handbook, 449, fig. 41a), except that Tübatulabal top was spun on pointed stick which protruded from bottom as well as top of acorn; upper end of stick twirled between hands and then pushed forward to spin on ground (SM).

Dolls and animal figurines made from red clay by children (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227); boys played with small bows and arrows, bull-roarer (see section on Musical Instruments).

538 Telling of myths.- Occasions for telling myths (tI'Ybinuga'adwal) in winter often of social nature; persons gathered after supper at house of old man or woman who had reputation for narrating stories well; when it grew dark old person, who owned certain myths, would tell these until about midnight; after this his auditors slept until morning star appeared in sky, when they were roused by old people and told to go outside and jump in pool of icy water once (SM); 3 times (MM);

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as [552] means of illustration. Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in [171] hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

721 who had no friends, and with the Koso; the Tübatulabal and the Koso once had a big fight at Walker's pass." FC had picked up arrowheads on a battlefield on Nichols peak, which lies on border of Tübatulabal-Kawaiisu areas. As among most California tribes, wars did not last long, nor were [727] fatalities heavy.

[754] Motives.- Motives for making war of usual variety (Kroeber, Handbook, 843), except witchcraft not mentioned by informants. Not every quarrel led to war; when Tübatulabal on one occasion broke formation at communal antelope drive (see section on Basic Subsistence) and Yokuts killed some of Tübatulabal taking part in drive, revengeful actions by their hosts did not lead to Tübatulabal-Yokuts war; "the Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Tejon, and Ventura people who were taking part in the drive just went home right away, and the Tübatulabal didn't keep fighting with the Yokuts because of this" (SM). On other hand, theft of seeds from women by strangers might promulgate series of intertribal raids.

726 Personnel of war parties.- Thirty soldiers
701 (wa·tam), grown able-bodied men, constituted "a big war party" (SM). Night before going to war, soldier could sleep with wife; in morning he rose early, swam; not subject to any food taboos. Soldiers took only arrows with them, no food, because "they didn't go a long way off to fight, and they'd come back in evening." Women did not accompany war parties. Raids staged in usual manner (Kroeber, Handbook, para. 2, 400); if possible men, women, children killed inside houses, after which raiders hurriedly retreated. Little hand-to-hand fighting in open warfare; half of force not left behind for reserves, as is situation mentioned in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 201). All fighting stopped at nightfall, or "when they had no more arrows they quit and came home to make some more" (SM).

701 Leader (nomo·i'il) selected by chief, who did
553 not himself accompany war parties; leader would be man who had killed one or more foes in previous fights and thus earned title of nomo·i'il, previous to his appointment to leadership. After some of Koso had settled in South Fork valley they and [648] Koso across Sierras to E were asked by Tübatulabal to aid latter in war against Yokuts group; these allies not paid for their assistance, but gave help as evidence of their friendliness.

727 Prisoners, war dance.- Prisoners of either sex not taken; scalping, torture denied by all informants. Soldiers took dead enemies' bows and arrows, or "just one arrow" (MM) and displayed these when they returned home; these bows (mugutiŋ a·lin, dead bow) put to practical use by men who had taken them (SM).

726 War dances of incitement, or victory dances
727 after return home not held (SM); FP said no victory dance, but described a round dance, which was

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:
"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
people would come; it lasted one night. Men and
726 women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and
they danced around a fire in a big circle for a
long time. A few singers who knew the war songs
stood between the fire and the circle of dancers;
they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for
dances at a burning. During the night of a war
dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly,
principally to the men. The next morning the men
would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups il-
173 lustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to
[602] him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs, outfit either buried with him or passed on by in-
538 heritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither
423 band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here,
[551] but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish, muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdzu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here
[648] again and died here. The Tübatulabal never had any fights with them."

Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

425 Patches of wild tobacco were free to be used
423 by anyone, but once woman had started tending plants in particular patch, plants became hers and sometimes women marked boundaries of their patches with sticks laid on ground. Same woman did
[421] not, however, tend one patch year after year (FP). No ownership of eagle eyries, seed areas, piñon or acorn trees (SM, FP).

428 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband
768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

428 was, however, mainly burnt, destroyed, or given
768 away at owner's death or at burning later. Quantity of property destroyed at burnings varied; in event all not destroyed, some of man's property might find its way into his brother's or sons' hands, some of woman's into her sister's or daughter's keeping; husband did not inherit any property from wife or vice versa. FP complained that after her husband's death, SM, her husband's brother, tried to get some of his brother's property; "that was the way they used to do; they'd take everything away from the widow."

428 If man left 3 sackfuls shell money at his death,
556 son "might save out 2 of them from his father's
768 burning and keep them" to help establish himself as a rich man; this was all right, "because that relation (deceased) would know the son was going to burn that money again later on" (i.e., when son himself died). Man's bow, arrows usually not burnt because "they were hard to make"; deceased woman's mortars, metate, mullers, sometimes necklace, some of her baskets might also be saved by her relatives.

221 Movements and trade.- From Feb. through middle
484 of Aug., food-gathering activities kept Tübatulabal shifting about in family groups in lower altitudes (2000-4000 ft.), chiefly in lower and upper Sonoran life zones, in valleys, foothills, river canyons. From Aug. to middle of Nov., groups moved into higher altitudes (5000-6000 ft.), first E to piñon grounds on w. slopes of Sierra Nevadas in Transition zone, then W to acorn grounds in Greenhorn mts. in upper Sonoran zone; family groups or individuals might also go on trading trips after piñon harvest. During short winter season from middle of Nov. to Feb., family groups returned to valley-foothill region in lower and upper Sonoran zones and men did some hunting, fishing, and procured salt from desert, but at this season people "mainly stayed home, not doing anything" (SM) and lived in small hamlets (fig. 11).

487 Adults, in couples or small groups, also trav-
484 eled quite a bit outside home area (SM); Powers, 1875, met a Palagewan at Tule R. reservation who had visited Hopi (Powers, 394). Desire to trade, to hunt, fish, or gather food in certain areas, to play games, obtain services of shaman among reasons mentioned for taking trips. To E, Tübatulabal went as far as Randsburg on Mohave desert; to S, SW to Tejon in Tehachapi mts. and to Chumash villages near Ventura on Pacific coast; to W as far as Tulare lake, in central San Joaquin valley. As girl FP had camped on desert (see Autobiography of FP); SM as boy of 9 had been to Tejon ranch and Ventura with his father; in going to Chumash villages near Ventura, route lay through Walker's basin to Caliente, thence to Yokuts village, Lapau, then to Tejon, thence via Comanche creek to 2 Chumash villages, makakak and alko·laupal, near Ventura. Trip took 2 days on foot to Tejon, 2 more days from Tejon to Ventura (SM). MM's narrative of trip from Tejon to Caliente confirms former part of this

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tüba-
487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštĭh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).

435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštĭh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hĭštĭh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštĭh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštĭh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštĭh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

426 Borrowing of clamshell money frequent in wintertime, "to pay for dry meat"; in summer "they didn't do that, because they had lots then, lots of seeds." No interest charged; borrower "just brought back whatever amount he had borrowed" (SM).

462 Division of labor.- Men and women both actively contributed to solving problem of basic subsistence, but along some lines of endeavor connected with subsistence there was well-established division of labor on sex basis. Men hunted, skinned their kill and packed home meat; speared fish, made corrals, and obtained salt. Women might help them in minor way during coralling of fish or at rabbit drives, but these essentially masculine enterprises. Women gathered vegetable foods, tobacco, prepared such for consumption; procured wood and water necessary for roasting, boiling various foods. They manufactured salt from salt grass and sweets from cane. Pounding of foodstuffs markedly woman's task and was frequently mentioned as hardest of her domestic occupations. On whole, men's duties usually called for expenditure of appreciable amount of vigorous, but sporadically applied exertion; women's tasks lighter, but lasted longer, more continuously pursued. Practically qualitative differences in physical capacities of men and women recognized by Tübatulabal, but this recognition remained largely unconscious, as myth given below shows. Also other factors, such as environmental considerations and age of men particularly, regulated matter of sexual division of labor; manner in which these several factors operated illustrated in customary activities of men, women when gathering piñons and acorns. At piñon harvest adult men and boys climbed trees to knock off cones, while women gathered cones from ground, prepared brush bed for roasting them and worked with men in taking nuts out of cones. Men [887] did some hunting at piñon grounds, as MM's autobiography shows (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227), but SM said few deer ranged to E where piñons abundant, so men did not occupy themselves with hunting much at this time, although old men might do some trapping. At acorn grounds, however, where deer came to feed on acorns and were plentiful, men hunted almost exclusively while women gathered acorns, which fell from trees and only needed to be picked up and dried (SM).

Another example of interplay of various factors which guided sex regulation of labor illus- [887] trated in tending and pruning of tobacco plants. Ordinarily all this was done by women, but it was not unusual for old couples to work together pruning and harvesting plants (see Autobiography of FP); this part of tobacco process required greatest amount of physical activity. Rarely, if ever, though, did old man run counter to basic pattern and help his wife pound or "cook" tobacco.

Why hunting man's work, preparation of food

462 Why hunting man's work, preparation of food
773 woman's, rationalized in Coyote myth, recorded in English from MM; shorter variant was given in Tübatulabal by SM (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). This myth, told in answer to query whether women ever hunted, may have wide distribution, but so far no parallels to it have been recorded among Californian or Great Basin tribes, although Dr. A. H. Gayton tells me that she has found mention that sexes were originally separated, in mythology of Navaho, Yana, Miwok, and Assiniboine. The myth is as follows:

462 Myth of Contest to Determine Division of Labor
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Before Indians lived on this earth, there were many different kinds of animals and birds living here; Chicken Hawk, Sparrow Hawk, Mt. Lion, Bear, Coyote, Eagle. Eagle was the chief. And all of these were men; there were no women, it is said.

These men hunted rabbits every day; but Coyote stayed home every time they went hunting, and hauled wood for his companions. He brought wood to each man's camp; that's all Coyote did all the time.

And when the men were tired of hunting rabbits, they hunted deer for a change. The next day, when all of them went to hunt deer, they went farther off than when they hunted rabbits; they went away up in the mts.

Up on the mts. the hunters saw smoke rising from a peak, opposite where they were standing. They said, "Perhaps somebody is living over there; perhaps there are people there." One hunter said, "I think we should tell Coyote about this, when we get home tonight." That's what he said.

In the evening the men returned home; every one of them had a deer. And Coyote had the firewood piled up at each man's camp. Each man cut a little piece of meat and gave the meat to Coyote; every man did this. Coyote ate that meat for his supper. After supper the men told Coyote, "We saw smoke from the top of that mt.; we saw it across on another mt., a long way off." And Coyote said, "Perhaps there is somebody living over there; let's send somebody over there tomorrow, to find out."

So the men chose one man to go, Road Runner (the chaparral cock). They said, "This fellow, Road Runner, can travel fast." Next morning Road Runner started, after breakfast; the rest of the men went off to hunt again. But Coyote stayed home to haul wood for the camps.

Road Runner went way up on the mt.; and as he went he saw a lizard running close beside him. Road Runner got close to Lizard; he grabbed Lizard and swallowed him. Perhaps Lizard was Road Runner's "life" and that was why Road Runner swallowed him.

Over on the mt. where Road Runner was going there were many women-creatures; lots of women, Eagle-Woman, Coyote-Woman, Mt. Lion-Woman, and

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[83]

many others. And all those women were sitting around a big pit mortar bed that had lots of mortar holes in it; lots of women were sitting down there pounding piñons. There were no men, only women there. Suddenly one woman said, "Oh! The edge of my vagina is pulsating." All the women laughed; soon another woman said, "Oh! mine is too." Then one of the women said, "Maybe somebody is coming; perhaps a man is coming." And all the women said, "Perhaps." Then one of those women looked and saw a man coming. She said, "You see; I told you. Somebody is coming, coming from over there now."

Road Runner saw those women sitting down there at the pit mortar, all of them. So he went down there; he said, "Hello."

"Hello," said all the women; and they asked him what he was doing up there in the mountains.

Road Runner said, "My companions saw your smoke yesterday, from across on that mt. And they told me to come here and find out whether people were living here. All of them are men over there," Road Runner said.

"And here there are no men," the women told Road Runner; "here all are women."

Soon all the women got up; they called to Road Runner, "Come on; come on down to our house," they said, and Road Runner went with them. When they arrived at their house they told Road Runner, "Come in."

They selected a cooking basket and they mixed ground chia seeds with water in the basket, until the basket was almost full, and then they gave the chia gruel to Road Runner to eat. Also they gave him a piece of deermeat.

Road Runner drank the chia; he drank it all, and when he was through eating he sat down for awhile. After awhile the chia made him sick; he felt like vomiting, and he vomited; he vomited lizard and the chia. Lizard chased all those women; they got up and ran when he chased them. "What kind of food does this man eat?" they said. Lizard was alive.

Then Road Runner recovered and those women returned after he recovered. Mountain Lion-Woman went into the house and brought out chia seeds, tied up in a little bag. She said to Road Runner,

"When you get home give this to Mt. Lion."

Road Runner replied, "All right."

And another woman, Chicken Hawk-Woman, came out of the house with the same thing, a little bag, with acorns in it. She gave the bag to Road Runner. "When you get home you give this to Chicken Hawk," she said. Road Runner said, "All right."

Each of the women gave a little bag of food to Road Runner for each man over there at the camp. Road Runner told each one, "All right." The last woman to come was a big fat woman; she too had a little bag of seeds, and she said to Road Runner, "You give this to Coyote."

Then the women said, "In 3 days we will come over to your camp; 3 days from now we will all

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come over." Road Runner replied, "All right." Then he returned home; he had a large load to pack home.

Over at the hunters' camp Coyote kept watching all the time for Road Runner; Coyote was in a hurry, he wanted to spy Road Runner first. Every little while Coyote went up on a hill and looked to see whether Road Runner was coming. Then in the evening he saw Road Runner returning. Coyote went to meet him; he wanted to learn what Road Runner had discovered over there.

Coyote said to Road Runner, "Did you find out about things over there?" And Road Runner replied, "Oh, you'd better wait; you don't want to be told now; you wait." But Coyote came alongside of Road Runner and whispered,

"Hurry up! You'd better tell me!"

Road Runner said, "Wait until all our companions come home. Then you will find out," he said.

Soon the hunters returned to camp, in the evening. After supper they all gathered together; they were going to learn what Road Runner had discovered, now.

Road Runner said, "There are all women over there where I went; lots of women. Each woman gave me a little bag," he said, "and they told me to give each one of you a bag," Road Runner explained. Then he gave each hunter what a woman had sent by him. He told the hunters, "These women said they were going to come over here in 3 days."

"Good, good, good!" said Coyote.

In 3 days' time the women came. Each woman had a pack; one woman had acorns, one chia, one piñons -- all the different sorts of seeds to eat. And each woman had a bow and arrows; all of them had arrows, all those women. Road Runner went to meet the women; he went to tell each woman where each man's camp was situated. He said, "There's Mt. Lion's house over there; Mt. Lion lives over there." So Mt. Lion-Woman went over to Mt. Lion's house.

"There's Chicken Hawk's house over there; that's Chicken Hawk's house," said Road Runner. Chicken Hawk-Woman went over to Chicken Hawk's house.

Each of the women went to the house of the man who was of her own kind, as Road Runner directed. At last only one woman was left; oh!, a big woman; she came to Road Runner and he said, "There's Coyote's house, way over there." So the big, fat woman went to Coyote's house.

The next day all the men went hunting and all the women went to grind acorns and chia. The hunters returned in the evening; the women had everything cooked and ready for them when the hunters came home for supper.

The following day the women told the men, "We are going to go hunting now; you men go and grind some acorns."

When the women returned in the evening, each one of them had a deer; every one of the women

462 773 539 had a deer. Some of the men had finished their work and had come home before the women returned, but some of the men were still over by the pit mortar, cooking acorns; they didn't know very much about cooking acorns, those men.

At sundown, Coyote had not returned home; he was still up at the pit mortar, leaching acorn meal. Coyote felt aggrieved; he was angry, too. When sundown came and Coyote had not yet come home, Coyote-Woman went over to the pit mortar to help him. Finally Coyote and his wife finished leaching the acorns, and returned home too.

Next day all the men went up on the hills to hunt, and all the women went to the pit mortars to grind acorns and seeds. All the men went to hunt deer and this time Coyote went, too. He didn't haul any more wood; he went hunting. When the men had gotten far up on the mt., Coyote said, "You men wait. We're going to talk about those women." So the men stopped.

"Those women have bows and arrows and they hunt; they send us over to the pit mortars to grind acorns," Coyote said. "That's not right. I think women better handle the mortar and pestle," Coyote said. "That's just right for them; that's a woman's job, not a man's," Coyote said. "Tomorrow we're going to talk it over; we will have a big talk. We are going to shoot at a target. If those women win, then they can handle the arrow. If we win, then we can keep on hunting and handle the arrow, and the women will handle the pestle, all the time."

Everyone said, "All right. We'll do that."

When they returned home in the evening, after supper Coyote called to everyone to gather together; he told all the men and women to assemble, and then he said, "We are going to have a big talk here. Tomorrow we are going to shoot at a target; if you women win then you can handle the arrows, and we men will handle the pestle and grind acorns. But the way it is now, you women going hunting and we men grinding acorns - that's not right. That's women's work," Coyote said. "Tomorrow morning I am going to set up a target; we will shoot at it."

The women said, "All right."

That night Coyote couldn't sleep. At midnight he got up; he went way up on top of the mt. and built a fire. Then he returned home, and when he came back he said, "You people get up now; the morning star is up; get up now, hurry!"

Road Runner got up; he looked and said, "Oh, that's not the morning star over there; that's a fire you built up there on top of the mt., you devil," Road Runner told Coyote.

Coyote called out again, "Hurry up!" But everyone went back to sleep again. When daylight really came everyone got up; after breakfast Coyote set up a target, and then he called out, "Everybody line up to shoot. Get ready!"

One of the women, Mt. Lion-Woman, was a good shot; she was pretty hard to beat shooting.

Each couple lined up in a double column; each

462 woman was standing beside her mate, and each
773 pair were going to shoot together, both at the
same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart,
539 over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to
shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going
to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So
Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and
his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a
527 big time" for his induction; "everybody came;
they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to
all the people; he told them to put their money
down to give to people who were sick or poor,
and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP).
New chief bore part of expenses for this feast;
people present also contributed money and food;
no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month
after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, as-
[702] sembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his
[728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief him-
[754] self did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sick-
627 ness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among
[171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 396) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to
578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely
576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his
[525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people;
[574] "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported
462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, FN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

[p. 55(b)]

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unaugmented Kern, koŝumye·he·huk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kuni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ku·dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 206, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 756 627 [579 177] Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community who deliberately set fire to others' property;
158 insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be
[753] watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
[624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[171] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while [537] narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation. <1

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, Tübatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyI

533 773 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were 532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hI'lwal) who 173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM). [776] Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

531 Symbolism apparently entirely lacking; informants could give no explanations for feather wand, woodpecker bands, other paraphernalia carried at mourning ceremonies (see Rituals); one item common among Great Basin, California tribes, that of decorating baby cradles according to sex of child (Kelly, 134; Steward, 1933, 273; Kroeber, Handbook, 536) consistently denied among Tübatulabal. A few basket patterns had descriptive names (ante).

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance;
773 not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earth-
773 quakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

[p. 58(6)]

THERAPEUTICAL PRACTICES

757 General good health induced by sweat bathing, observing pregnancy, menstrual taboos, bathing in hot springs, taking some simple herb medicines, as salt-grass crystals in warm water every morning for laxative purposes, to clean out stomach. In sicknesses, before taking patient to shaman for treatment which partook of nature of religious ceremony herb medicines (ti·bo·hišt) might be administered by old man, woman. Such persons often doctored ailing members of family, without any singing ceremony; "anyone who knew the right medicine for an ailment would do this; 759 sometimes a herbalist would be sent for to treat 757 a sick person; in that event he'd be paid. People learned about the medicines from their parents or grandparents, or a man would know about a medicine and other people would pay him to tell them. [177] They learned a lot about medicines from the Mexicans, too. Now the witches have spoiled all the plant medicines except jimsonweed; they can't spoil that because it's too strong" (SM). In situations where shamans failed to effect cure, herb medicines might be administered after shamanistic treatment.

757 Ants also used as medicine; charms sometimes applied to body to relieve pain.

Plant, insect remedies.- Following plant, insect remedies, unless initialed otherwise, given by SM.

757 Piece jimsonweed root (mo·mo·ht), Datura 824 meteloides HBK., weed, about 12 in. long, dug, washed, macerated, set to soak for day in 2 qts. 278 cold water; in evening water strained, given to patient, who had abstained from food, drink for 3 days and had cleaned out stomach every morning during fast with bitter drink made from roots of reise blanco. After taking dose patient fell into stupor which lasted 12-24 hrs.; during this time he was turned from one side to other; if he lay on his back or stomach he would fail to revive. FP's father blew whistle when giving her jimsonweed (see Autobiography of FP). While under influence drug patient might walk around, but was watched carefully; sometimes had visions (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215); SM imagined row of fence posts were dancers in feather costumes when he took drug; MM one time saw man who told him to take jimsonweed again in week; next time MM took it he saw white lizard drop from his shoulder, black one from his knee; when he awoke his rheumatism had disappeared. Sometimes patients, upon advice of person seen in stupor, drank jimsonweed 3 times before they were cured.

Before digging root plant addressed briefly; drink could not be administered in summer as "the roots are all right then, but when it's hot you want water; if you drink water and then drink jimsonweed, you get bloated right away" (SM). If drug taken without fasting at least 3 days, dose immediately vomited.

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824
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SM had given jimsonweed to MM for rheumatism, after shaman failed to cure him; to RP when she was badly bloated, constipated; had taken it himself when wounded in leg, as anodyne; FP had taken it for rheumatism (see Autobiography of FP).

Dry pounded jimsonweed root used as poultice on sores to relieve inflammation.

Powdered tobacco and lime snuffed to clear nose during colds. Tobacco, lime mixed with water, drunk in evening in sweat house, among groups people or by individuals in order to induce vomiting, thus insuring dreamless slumber.

Large root of yerba mansa, Anemopsis californica (Nutt.) Hook (čahpanĭ·l), boiled in qt. water for hour, decoction strained, cupful drunk every 2 hours for day or so, for heavy colds. Piece of root 1 in. long of Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene (paništ), desert floral area, boiled in pint of water few minutes, dose taken 3 times during day for colds.

As laxative, 4-5 tsp. salt-grass crystals (p. 15) mixed with 1 tsp. ordinary salt in cup warm water used.

Leaves, flowers Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC) Rydb. (ča·dača·dapĭl), foothill floral area; stalks, flowers Ericameria monactis (Gray) McCl. (same name); roots of Encelia actoni Elmer, desert floral area, boiled, affected parts washed with decoction for rheumatism.

Leaves, flowers Diplacus longiflorus Nutt., or D. aurantiacus Jepson, both foothill floral area, boiled, decoction strained, drunk for stomach-ache. Dry heads Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled, tea drunk for stomach-ache, diarrhea.

Entire plant of turpentine weed, Trichostema lanceolatum Benth. (ši·gišt), foothill floral area, boiled, infusion snuffed up nose to stop headaches, nosebleed.

For bloody flux, entire plant Heliotropum curassavicum L., general in alkaline soils, boiled, decoction drunk; handful of dried flower heads of Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled 1/2 hr. in water, decoction strained, cupful given 3 times daily; mild enough to give children.

Stalks, leaves of Indian tea, Ephredra viridis Coville (u'tu·udul), desert floral area, boiled; decoction "good for blood" (SM), used for syphilis (?).

Entire plants Eriogonum virgatum Benth. (šiko··nišpul), foothill floral area; E. baileyi Wats., E. gracillimum Wats., Chorizanthe staticoides Benth., desert floral area, boiled, infusions used as lotions for pimples.

Ripe seeds Argemone platyceras Link & Otto (šo·'lolo·pul), Great Basin floral area, pounded, used as poultice on open sores, piles. Ripe seeds of Echinocystis brandegei Cogn. (čawakišt) and E. horrida Cogn., foothill floral area, burned until black, rubbed with fingers in palm of hand until reduced to greasy paste which was smeared over pimples, rubbed over baby's umbilicus after navel

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šimindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, moreover, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
[754] something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[771] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
776 said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at ayeček,
[823] "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[171] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

774 776 human or animal in form, who dwelt in certain localities; all these humanly shaped beings, together with shaman's animal helpers and many other animals, as bear, deer, coyote, rattlesnake, owl, hawks, etc., referred to generically as yu·mu·gi·wal, ter[illegible] SM equated with Yokuts tipni (Kroeber [illegible], 512) when it was used in reference to [illegible]. Belief in these yu·mu·gi·wal entered into many phases of daily life; yu·mu·gi·wal not necessarily malevolently inclined, but all such had to be respected, more or less feared. Included among them were small dwarfs or "brownies" (ya'hI'Iwal) about 3 ft. high, who "looked like Indians." When hunters out camping at night, these dwarfs sometimes threw pebbles at them as they sat around fire; men picked up pebbles, spat tobacco juice on them, threw them back to dwarfs who could be heard sniffing greedily at rocks in dark, licking off tobacco juice. Brownies also occasionally actually appeared to people (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207); "when he was ill, Tony Pablo saw one of these yumugiwal looking in through the window at him; the dwarf had come to see what was the matter with him, but he didn't make Tony sick" (MM). While in jimsonweed trance MM had seen dwarf, who advised him to take second dose of jimsonweed. Pictographs in area (figs. 13, 14) also attributed to these brownies.

Many yu·mu·gi·wal are water spirits; in every spring, pool, river there dwells spirit who owns that particular body of water. One evening SM had

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Fig. 13. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 6.

[p. 61(a)]

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Fig. 14. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 2.

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776 seen an old woman going from one spring to another on his rancheria; this old woman lived in and owned one of the springs; at another spring an otter (?), le·uše·p, could often be heard, crying "č, č, č." Man fishing at Kernville had seen small person, pa·nugiš, with human hands, fingernails 2 in. long, pulling at his line in water, whereupon fisherman had fled. Very tall man, black-skinned, was seen one morning standing on rock beside Fay creek; man who saw him went toward him, thinking creature was human being, but when man approached him, creature jumped in water, "where he lived in a large rock, which was his home" (SM). A tall man, poko, who wears a long dress of feathers or fur, lives in large rock by Chimney canyon; imut, another manlike creature, lives in mts.; anaŋgayat lives in deep fissure

[p. 61 (6)]

774 776 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe mĭgĭtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 775 [828] Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·num; also name for heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu··lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

773 [171] Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gayton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

Reference has already been made in section on Recreation to social setting in which narration of myths occurred.

SHAMANISM

Shaman (a·ɣowa·l, curing shaman, witch) either man, woman; male shamans both cured and witched; women shamans always malevolent, never cured (all informants). Transvestites not shamans. Two brothers, Jose and Bill Viejo Chico, both dead, last male shamans among Tübatulabal; Jose Chico both cured, sickened persons; Bill Viejo, who had more power than Jose, mainly killed people (SM). In 1932 there were 2 women witches, whom everyone feared, living at Onyx rancheria.

Basis of shamanistic power.- Shamanistic power (po·nun) generally came unsought; "a person was born a doctor; when he was born he knew he was going to be one. He dreamt about getting the feather-tipped wand (see below); then he went far away and got it. If a man was not born a doctor, nothing could make him one. Some people were born bad doctors; they couldn't help it" (MM). "A doctor, when he was little, dreamt bad, then he became an a·ɣowa·l"(FP). Consensus of opinion was that drinking jimsonweed had nothing to do with acquiring shamanistic power; however, SM in 1932 stated that shamans drank jimsonweed after adolescence, "then they knew they were going to be doctors. The Kawaiisu doctors just dream; they don't take jimsonweed." As questing for supernatural power other than doctoring, by taking jimsonweed, well developed (see section on Rituals), perhaps drinking of jimsonweed had also become incorporated to some degree in pattern of acquiring shamanistic power, although statements of majority of informants point to conclusion that shaman's career foreordained, whereas acquirement of other types supernatural power depended on individual's initiative.

During shaman's training, animal appeared to prospective doctor in dreams and became doctor's pet (pungul). This animal fell into general class of supernatural beings referred to as yu·mu·gi·wal. Pet told prospective doctor what to do; gave latter songs in his dreams at night. Doctors dreamt for 3 nights; began dreaming when young men, women. While training they would go out in night and talk to pet; sometimes latter came to doctor "from over the ocean" (MM) after night of singing, when doctor in his teens.

Doctors with power to cure had birds as pet; eagle, tugayayal (species of hawk), chicken hawk, etc.; no small birds. If prospective doctor saw deer in dream, obtained song from deer. Witches advised in dreams by coyote, spike buck, ghost of dead relative, rattlesnake; one of these talked to prospective witch in dreams, told him, her how to make people sick, kill them. Songs animals gave had words, were doctor's property (see section on

[p. 62(b)]

756 825 Aesthetics). Other animals as wolf, lizard, hummingbird, frog also helped witch in actual practice of craft (FP).

756 428 Although inheritance of shamanistic power in family lines denied by SM, FP pointed out that among Tübatulabal all shamans for past 4 generations had belonged to one family; Jose Chico, Bill Viejo Chico, 2 brothers, both shamans; Jose's daughter, makiawint, was witch; 2 of Bill Viejo's daughters are witches.

754 Witchcraft.- All illness, insanity, caused by evilly disposed shamans; "if there had been no a·ɣowa·l, people would have lived forever" (SM). Instances of witchcraft legion; witches killed young children with their power, "if they wanted to give the parents hard luck"; often killed close relatives, parents, siblings' children, for what reason unascertained. Bill Viejo Chico announced at fiesta he was "going to kill all the children"; other instances witches boasting of power openly, threatening victims referred to. In 1933 witch held to have caused death of Tübatulabal woman's son so that mother of dead man would have to pay witch for having her face washed before she could eat meat.

Shaman practicing malevolent powers went out to mts. and talked to his animals; animals went to prospective victim, spoke to latter in dream; next morning victim would be sick, and illness would increase daily, because witch talking to animal every night, thus causing victim to "dream bad." Examples of bad dreams were: MM dreamt he was cow, pursued by bull. He climbed tree; while in tree he changed into human form, saw bull, also as human, at foot of tree. Then both changed again into animals; bull gored cow's leg. Immediately after having had this dream MM became very ill. If he had dreamt bull killed cow, he would have died. SM dreamt rattlesnake bit him; this dream also sent by witch. Several other examples of bad dreams recorded (see Autobiography of FP; Voegelin, 1935 b, 215). In general, to dream of Coyote portended misfortune; Coyote witch's helper par excellence, often sent to make persons ill. If one dreamt Coyote bit one, sickness followed. To dream of witch injecting pain in certain part of body caused that region to become affected. To dream of witch, even though witch did not send dream, enough to cause illness.

754 775 Witches might also send ghost of dead relative, traveling in dust spout as among Miwok (Merriam, 1909, 433), to sicken person; "the whirlwind strikes one, enters one's head, and one dies" (SM); FP had this happen to her. Lights, which could be seen traveling fast at night, sometimes sent by witches to look for victim; MM, from home in foothills, some 25 yrs. ago, saw 2 lights racing over floor of valley; lights approached gate of rancheria, retreated. Capture of person's soul by witch one cause of insanity (SM). Air shot, such as used in shamans' contests, not used by witches to sicken victims.

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over patient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13 Chumash NS7

T 756 759 American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee T [426] not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), 756 789 all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawai- 821 isu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash 791 from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until C part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from 821 him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz 789 crystals used for making thunder showers in summer [823 and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in 415] striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, [276] rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dew-claw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" K (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had 821 "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled 789 with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in 791 water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, al- T though there were no clouds in the sky when he K began" (FP).

Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just 821 made rain lots"; however, when women went to 789 gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, 791 women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain T now, because the white people won't pay him to do C it" (FP).

An interesting extension of rain doctor's ac- 824 tivities as SM knew them from his Chumash step- 821 father, briefly described. At new moon, in month 789 "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain 791 doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

T 821 789 791 Among Tübatulabal, rain machines sometimes buried at owner's death (SM); SM, however, had expected to inherit his stepfather's outfit, before key part of it was stolen, and be taught songs which accompanied its use; what remained of outfit SM had, in 1932, in his possession (pl. 1a).

T 754 791 Bear shamans.- Bears feared, respected (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215, 219); Bill Viejo Chico, shaman, boastingly said when he died he would turn into bear (PN). Bear shamanism, however, only weakly developed; if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bearclaw, from bear; one man, who died at Ventura (Tübatulabal?), took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house while among Tübatulabal (SM). FP said man with power from bear cured people by singing, smoking; never sucked out disease, but kept patient with him all night. All informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears.

T [75] C [171] Bear shamanism, strongly developed according to my informants among Chumash, was, however, of great interest to Tübatulabal. SM had heard from grandfather of prowess of Ventura bear shamans, who used dried bearskins which were stored in cave N of Tejon. "When they got mad at each other they used to kill persons with that bearskin. Somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him. When they first made that bearskin, no one would tell when he saw it, because if you told, the bear would kill you. The Tübatulabal didn't do this; just the Ventura Indians" (SM).

C 773 754 791 [41] 789

C T 754 789 791 Chumash also had peculiar development of bear shamanism which Tübatulabal were aware of but did not imitate; this consisted of "bear machine" which SM's grandfather had told him about, but which SM had never seen. To make machine run, Chumash used white powder (ayi·p, alum?) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory. Since so little is known of Chumash ethnography, SM's description of Chumash apparatus and its use is given here in full. "The Ventura Indians used a bearhide and made it run like a car. When the old men made this machine they tried that bear. They came over here (to Tübatulabal area) and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place 10 mi. above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bearhide was standing up, like a real bear. It had 2 reins on it, like a horse; when the driver wanted to turn around he pulled a rein. He was sitting inside the bear, on a flat rock; he looked out through the eyeholes. They traveled at night only, and made bear sounds as they traveled. The driver talked to the bear as the bear

T [823]

C 754 789 791

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 [171] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

Y
756 in red and white stripes (see section on Dress
789 and Adornment). Then they came back to a level
[415] place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind
791 a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry
sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do
the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about
100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his
tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N,
then S; then he held it over the fire twice and
rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third
time, after he held it over the fire, he put it
against his chest and talked, and as he talked
he blew toward the other men, and in this way got
the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot;
he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard
out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill
Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the
same time shot substance, paring from coyote's
nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot,
they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could
extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient
power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man
remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but
no one ever died. After being shot men sweated
freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot,
T missed opponent, spectators standing near by not
V in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

Although most of informants said this was
756 doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only sha-
789 mans, but persons having power from visions en-
791 tered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used
T in these contests:
173 One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon;
756 in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that
789 game; the white man saw when they shot each other.
791 "Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't
believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you
go and stand over there; we're going to try you
out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down
to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait
for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?"
to that white man. And that white man put a
steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said,
"Yes," and got off his horse. They told that
white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a
lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood
there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't
going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting
said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recovered from effect of taking drug, and could by
[262] then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet. Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life "would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
[777] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured;
[778] often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

788 little balls." In evening grandfather took youth
787 outside, questioned him about what he had seen in trance; boy told old man what life he had obtained, if any. All youths could take ants thus; "many of them did" (SM).

787 Youths of 16 or more also fasted single day,
788 in evening swallowed small ball of tobacco and
776 lime, either in sweat house or outside in hills;
276 sometimes animal appeared to seeker, became latter's pet (SM). FP said younger women also took tobacco for same purpose.

788 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing
765 ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by
572 certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service. PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

T 788 765 572 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [784] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

788 765 768 764 person's things, the ghost would return every night, looking for his things, and frighten the relatives when they went outside after dark. But if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 765 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usually given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made for him; if his relations didn't make one, they [768] buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anangat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

788 765 173 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil, Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl after death of wife, described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 765 173 "After that Kawičina showed the people where to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and

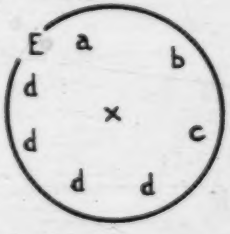

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

[p. 69(a)]

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
788 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
765 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
173 and went around the fire inside the enclosure,
535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupÏl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug
765 a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
768 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feathers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pÏl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomip, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

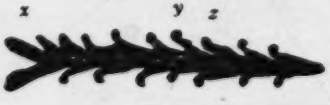

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wišt) tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totshoid" dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elaborate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (FN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans
[177] were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

535 Social dances sometimes given "just for fun" according to FP, although SM denied this; in summer such dances held outdoors; in winter, inside sweat house (PN), or dwelling house if latter large enough. Not customary to hold dance at end of piñon, acorn harvests (FP, SM), although people "could, if they wanted to" (FP).

788 Minor rituals, elements of ritual.- Several minor rituals have been referred to; they include weather shaman's treatment of seeds (see section on Shamanism), deer hunting ritual (see section on Basic Subsistence), offering of tobacco at eclipse, etc. At strange body of water, before drinking, person put small amount of eagle down on water and said to spirit living in stream (SM), "I am going to drink this water; don't make me sick." Offerings for minor rituals included tobacco, eagle down, shell money; seeds, meal not used. From context of informants' remarks eagle down not attached to ends of stick, although I did not inquire specifically about this. Offerings were left on bare ground which had been brushed clean with hands; no altars; formulas accompanied most ritual offerings.

346 Ceremonial structure for larger rituals and ritual dress have been mentioned; ritual apparatus simple (above). Ritual number 3; dancing proceeded clockwise.
[801]

[p. 71(b)]

159 The following autobiography was taken in English from FP, her daughter LT interpreting, in 1933. FP gave the autobiography within a space of 2 weeks; a day or so after our last session together she went to Bakersfield for shamanistic treatment; on the return trip she was run over by a car and killed.

When first asked to tell the story of her life, FP demurred, saying she "had never been anywhere, just stayed in the South Fork valley all her life." The autobiography she gave is little more than an outline, which she was beginning to fill in with increasing amounts of detail, however, during the last few days I worked with her.

For the sake of clarity I have arranged the material in chronological order; parts of it were not so dictated. A photograph of FP is given in pl. 1b.

An autobiography of MM, FP's husband's brother's son, the Mike Miranda of the following pages, was obtained in text by Dr. C. F. Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

I was born about 2 yrs. after the soldiers killed all those Indians over at Kernville (1863); my older brother was still being kept in a cradle then and I was born about 2 yrs. later.

159 My mother used to tell me about the massacre;
173 Jose Chico pulled my father out from those men and the soldiers didn't kill him; he ran away. There was one man who was shot in the eye, but he had power and recovered. Lots of men were killed. The fight started over the Indians' killing other people's cattle; Jose Chico interpreted for the white men and the Indians; he was the man who took my father out. There were 3 men saved when the soldiers shot at the Indians.

159 One man had an amulet, a bearclaw with beads
173 on it. He was running and he got out of breath
751 and dropped that claw; then he was killed. The people found it afterward. If he hadn't lost his power he would have escaped all right. Another man had rattlesnake for his pet. He was badly hurt; his insides were all cut up; when the people saw him after the massacre there was a rattlesnake lying on top of him, and that snake made that man get all right. Rattlesnake was his pet and took care of him. That man's name was hi·ay·ši·l; he was a Monilabal (Yokuts). He got all right again; my father saw him when he was helping bury those dead Indians; he saw that rattlesnake come and help him. PN has a rattlesnake for her pet, too; perhaps she got it from dreaming. She never took jimsonweed, I know.

159 I was born at omomĭp (no. 6, fig. 11). My
163 mother had 8 children; most of them died before
165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

159 When I was a little girl I used to go with my
482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy
857

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomĭp
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomĭp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had dis-
[262] appeared. I could straighten out my arm again. After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomïp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l(p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomïp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomïp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[265] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 28). [p. 73(b)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.-- Analyst]

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the
other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots
of them, at a spring. He made a little brush
house and sat inside that house; when the doves
came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't
see him inside the house and he shot them with
bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring
half a sackful to camp; those doves were good
and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people
camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I
was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone;
there was no one else with us. We traveled all
night on that desert; it was moonlight. There
are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots
of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe
they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and
we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When
we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring,
we wanted to drink that water there. So we
stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a
hill above the spring a little way off; we ran
the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
[171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the
spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill
us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they
didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then,
lots of them; they chase women, right away when
they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the summit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested a little, because we were tired. It was sunup when we got to the summit. Then we came down to Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid and ran over on a little hill where we watched them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people living there. We were going home to omomip from there, but they told us my mother had left omomip to gather chia seeds and that nobody was home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody from omomip was over at Scodie's mt., so that same day we went over there. We were very tired, but we couldn't stay over at omomip all alone, with nobody in the house. We found my mother all right.

My grandmother came back from over on the desert a week after we got back. That girl who came home with me that time is still living; she lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady. She looks young yet; the Indians never used to get old-looking for a long time in the old days;
[262] these young people do now though because they eat everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wišimlit (SM's

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over
there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had
died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlĭt was making
a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They
killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they
boiled and fried it. I met wišimlĭt's youngest
son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him
before, because after wišimlĭt's man was killed
in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to
Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and
lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back
here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was. He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.
582 "Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."
But my mother didn't want me to go with him;
he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay
with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from
Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one
eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big
the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the
mts. near the man's place for a long time. The
man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that
man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of
a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way
off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming
he would fly close to him, knock him down with his
wings; then he would cut that man's load all to
pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man,
too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he
never came back any more. That old man raised him;
anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago.
The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles
on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."
Four men went with him, away up on the S side
of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got
up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around
the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down
over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let
go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad
doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That
time my mother said to him, "You're all right."
Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and
helping us. His mother, wišimlĭt, didn't pay any-
thing for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's
brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal
woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good
worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlĭt paid for her
and brought her to yĭtiyamup to be Steban's wife.
Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working
down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know
anything about it. When he came home there was a
wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we
came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yĭtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yĭtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and
[273] got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yĭtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yĭtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 "You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomïp was visiting
781 my grandmother at yïtiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anangayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomïp, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali-p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wiśimlīt's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yĬtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[769] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
[285 with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
438] of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

159 764 765 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't because Pete had children and the horses belonged to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 768 ents took away the man's possessions instead of letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 765 My husband was killed in November and I didn't eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[177] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 626 522 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a long time afterward Legora heard that man tell somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 591 585 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old then. We lived up at yĭtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 578 278 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River reservation man living up here. They got into a quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yïtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; [487] Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake [221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling
484 around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
591 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left;
[245] he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money
484 over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

[p. 80(a)]

159 ing over; everybody here stopped going. The last
484 time we went to Visalia we left Annie and Irene
up at Onyx and then they went to Riverside, to
school down there.

159 I was feeling good all that time. We always
221 used to go live at Canebrake in the summer, and
753 then we'd come down to the Mack ranch in winter,
so that Esther and Johnnie could go to school at
Weldon. At the Mack ranch though I began to
dream bad again; I'd see one woman whom I don't
know, holding my head. That's why my ear hurts
now; I have been sick like that for 4 yrs.

159 Then we had to leave our house at the Mack
ranch. A white man wanted to live in that house.
We moved up to Rafael Chico's place; they kept
asking us at the Onyx rancheria, "Why don't you
move up here, to Rafael's?" But there were too
many drunken men around up there; they would come
and fight inside the houses. We didn't like that.
And those witches live too close to Rafael's. I
was sick all the time up there. We lived there 2
months; I coughed, coughed all the time. So 2
yrs. ago last April we moved down here (near
Weldon) from there. When we moved down here I
got well. But last summer I got this cough again,
only not so bad as I have it now. I can't do
much now; I can't make tobacco this year, because
I'm too sick. We got lots last year; enough to
last this year too, I think. I got some chia seeds
last year too, over by the little hill in Charley
Andress' meadow. But it's too hot to go cut the
tobacco this year, and kneeling hurts me. I'd
like to go to that Indian doctor they have over
at Bishop; there's a good one over there. Maybe
Legora and I will go over this fall. If I could
see that doctor I think I'd be all right again.

Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut.
February 20, 1936.

[p. 80(b)]

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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113 Abbreviations:

A	Anthropos.
AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report.
-B	Bulletins.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
FMNH-AL	Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Leaflet.
-AP	Anthropological Papers.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
PMM-B	Public Museum (City of) Milwaukee, Bulletins.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
USNM-R	United States National Museum, Reports.
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.

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[p. 82(b)]

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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PLATES AND EXPLANATION OF PLATES

[p. 83]

276
756
789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

133
137
342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

[p. 84(a)]

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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[p. 85]

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[p. 86]

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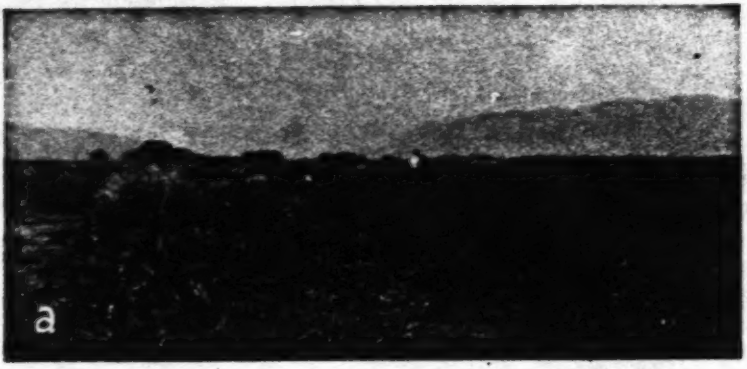

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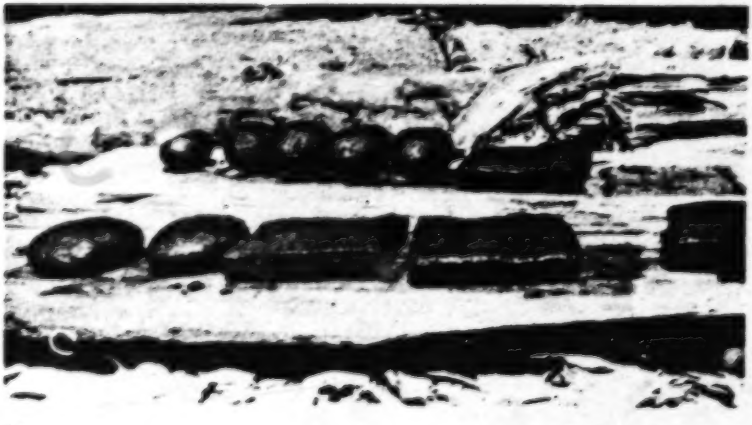

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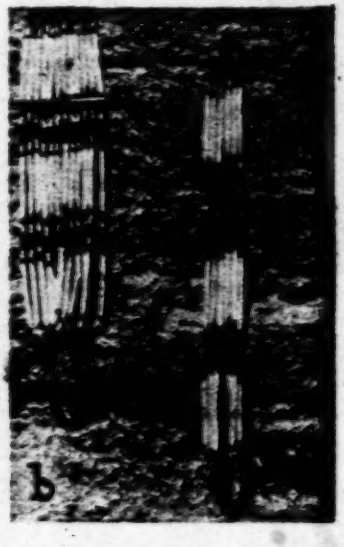

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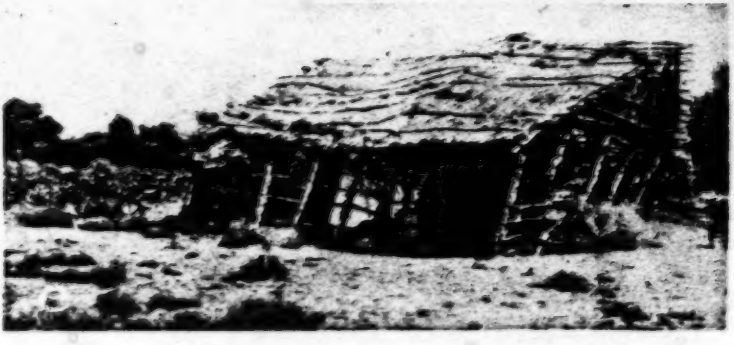

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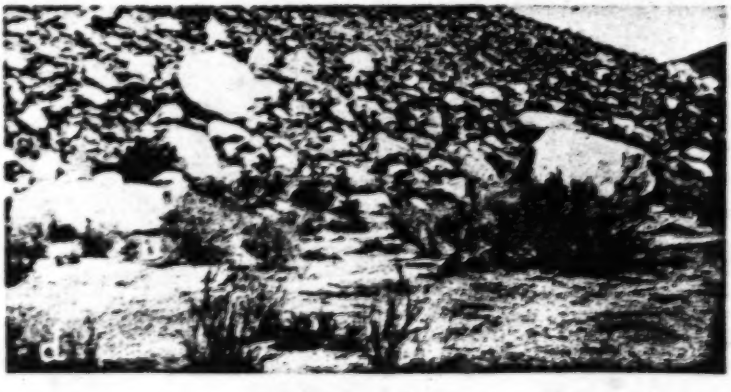

[p. 90]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
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TÜBATULABAL AND KAWAIISU KINSHIP TERMS

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction 219
Phonetic Transcription 220
Tübatulabal 220
Kawaiisu 228
Comparison 232
Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu 232
Kawaiisu, Kaibab Paiute, and Uintah Ute 244

INTRODUCTION

In November and December, 1915, the writer was engaged in an examination of the tribes inhabiting the eastern and southern slopes of the San Joaquin drainage basin to determine the limits in California of social and ceremonial organization on the basis of dual divisions.[1] Among the tribes visited were the Tübatulabal of the Kern River region in the southern Sierra Nevada and the adjoining Kawaiisu of the Tehachapi Mountains at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Both of these Shoshonean groups lack the dual organization for which the writer was seeking. The kinship systems of these two peoples are of especial interest, however, and the facts about them are presented in the following pages. Important features of these systems are the use of single terms for reciprocal relationships (identical-reciprocals), the use of diminutive suffixes, and the use of terms and suffixes denoting the condition of connecting relatives.

[1] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291-296, 1916.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

and not merely the ordinary term plus a suffix as in the case of relatives by affinity. The terms applied to five such relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relatives were obtained. The suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added in these cases, apparently with some such meaning as "used to be;" for this is the meaning given for the analogous Kawaiisu suffix -puni or -repuni. Doubtless the suffix is added to other Tübatulabal terms of affinity besides the five mentioned, but examples were not obtained. It is not unlikely also that the term nawasu (child's spouse's parent) is changed upon the death of one of the connecting relatives, just as the corresponding Kawaiisu term teeni is changed (see p. 232). The Tübatulabal term kali (father's sister's husband) and its identical-reciprocal take the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ (see p. 222). On this account it is suspected that all other analogous terms for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews by affinity likewise take this suffix. However, information on this point was not obtained.

In the following list m. s. and w. s. stand respectively for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

TÜBATULABAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS[5]

ana. Father (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare kumu (father), abu (mother), and ümü (mother).

kumu. Father (after death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father, stepfather. Reciprocals: tumu (son; daughter; brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather, while yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother.

abu. Mother (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare ümü (mother), ana (father), and kumu (father).

ümü. Mother (after the death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother. Reciprocal: tumu (son; daughter; sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child).

[5] The terms anociwan, kuñan, pauwan, soiyin, tohan, wüñin, and yuguan were always given with the terminal -n, which means "my" (see A. L. Kroeber, Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 262, 1909). The terms agist, amust, hümübic, impaiyis, wasumbis, wo.ict, and ya.ubic were never given with the terminal -n. The remaining terms were given both with and without it, and are here listed without it. In reference, and sometimes in address, the suffix -nuñ, also with the meaning "my," is added to the term as in wasumbisnuñ, tôhanuñ, and kutcinuñ.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

60! tumu. Son, daughter, brother's child (m. s.), sister's child (w. s.), half brother's child (m. s.), half sister's child (w. s.), husband's brother's child, wife's sister's child. Reciprocals: ana (father), abu (mother), kumu (father, father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father), ümü (mother, mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother), tôhan (father's younger brother, mother's sister's husband younger than father), yugu (mother's younger sister, father's brother's wife younger than mother).

patci. Older brother, older half brother, male cousin older than speaker. Reciprocal: nalawi (younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker).

nalawi. Younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker. Reciprocals: kutci (older sister, older half sister, female cousin older than speaker), patci (older brother, older half brother, male cousin older than speaker).

kutci. Older sister, older half sister, female cousin older than speaker. Reciprocal: nalawi (younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker).

impaiyis. Brother (w. s.), male cousin (w. s.), sister (m. s.), female cousin (m. s.). Reciprocal: impaiyis.

tôhan. Father's younger brother, mother's sister's husband younger than father. Reciprocal: tumu (brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child).

yugu. Mother's younger sister, mother's younger half sister, father's brother's wife younger than mother, stepmother. Reciprocals: tumu (sister's child, w. s.; half sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother, while kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather.

aiyawutawa. Stepson. Reciprocals: kumu (stepfather), yugu (stepmother).

anociwan. Stepdaughter. Reciprocals: kumu (stepfather), yugu (stepmother).

pauwan. Father's sister, mother's brother's wife. Reciprocal: amust (brother's child, w. s.; husband's sister's child).

amust. Brother's child (m. s.), husband's sister's child. Reciprocal: pauwan (father's sister, mother's brother's wife).

kali. Mother's brother, father's sister's husband. Reciprocal: kalibin (sister's child, m. s.; wife's brother's child).

kalibin. Sister's child (m. s.), wife's brother's child. Reciprocal: kali (mother's brother, father's sister's husband). Kalipaiyüñ. Wife's brother's child (after death of wife), father's sister's husband (after death of father's sister). It does not seem likely that the ending -paiyüñ is added to kali with the meaning mother's brother or sister's child (m. s.), as the relationship is one of blood, not marriage.

aka. Father's father. Reciprocal: akabin (son's child, m. s.). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

akabin. Son's child (m. s.). Reciprocal: aka (father's father). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

apa. Father's mother. Reciprocal: apavin (son's child, w. s.). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

apavin. Son's child (w. s.). Reciprocal: apa (father's mother). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

601

agist. Mother's father. Reciprocal: agistbin (daughter's child, m. s.). Inasmuch as utsu (mother's mother) and its reciprocal utsubin (daughter's child, w. s.) apply to collateral as well as to lineal relatives, the term agist and its reciprocal agistbin, being analogous, doubtless apply likewise to collateral as well as lineal relatives.

agistbin. Daughter's child (m. s.). Reciprocal: agist (mother's father). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

utsu. Mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's mother's half sister. Reciprocal: utsubin (daughter's child, w. s.; sister's daughter's child, w. s.; half sister's daughter's child, w. s.).

utsubin. Daughter's child (w. s.), sister's daughter's child (w. s.), half sister's daughter's child (w. s.). Reciprocal: utsu (mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's mother's half sister).

hôki. Grandparent or grandchild (after the death of the connecting relative). Reciprocal: hôki.

saka. Great-grandparent. Reciprocal: sakabin (great-grandchild).

sakabin. Great-grandchild. Reciprocal: saka (great-grandparent).

kuñan. Husband. Reciprocal: soiyin (wife).

soiyin. Wife. Reciprocal: kuñan (husband).

wô.ict. Co-wife, co-husband. Reciprocal: wo.ict.

wasumbis. Spouse's parent, wife's mother's sister. Reciprocals: tasi (son's wife), wüñin (daughter's husband). Wasumpaiyüñ or wasumbisipüniñ. Spouse's parent (after death of spouse).

tasi. Son's wife. Reciprocal: wasumbis (spouse's parent). Tasipaiyüñ. Son's wife (after death of speaker's son).

wüñin. Daughter's husband, half sister's daughter's husband. Reciprocal: wasumbis (spouse's parent). wüniüpaiyüñ or wüniüpüniñ. Daughter's husband (after death of speaker's daughter).

ya.ubic. Wife's brother. Reciprocal: piya (sister's husband).

piya.[6] Sister's husband, half sister's husband, husband's brother, daughter's daughter's husband (w. s.). Reciprocals: tugu (brother's wife), ya.ubic (wife's brother), yuguan (wife's sister, wife's mother's mother). Piyapaiyüñ. Sister's husband (after death of speaker's sister, w. s.).[7]

yuguan. Wife's sister, wife's half sister, wife's mother's mother. Reciprocal: piya (sister's husband, half sister's husband, daughter's daughter's husband).

tugu. Brother's wife, daughter's son's wife (w. s.). Reciprocals: hümübic (husband's sister), piya (husband's brother).

hümübic. Husband's sister. Reciprocal: tugu (brother's wife).

nawasu. Child's spouse's parent. Reciprocal: nawasu.

There are certain relationships about which the statements of informants are unsatisfactory or contradictory. These are discussed in the following paragraphs and table. In the table the terms which I have considered as most likely correct are italicized.

By one informant anociwan was given for daughter, by the same informant and one other for brother's daughter (m. s.), and by a third

[6] One informant applied this term also to wife's brother, wife's sister, and brother's wife (m. s.).

[7] Doubtless the ending -paiyüñ is suffixed to piya used in other ways, and to ya.ubic, yuguan, hümübic, and tugu, following the death of the connecting relative. The above example, however, is the only one obtained.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

601

informant for wife's sister's daughter. The third informant also gave aiyawutawa for wife's sister's son. In the list on page 222 the meanings of these two terms appear as stepdaughter and stepson respectively, as these are the only positively ascertained meanings.

Mrs. John Nicolas, a Kernville Tübatulabal, gave osambis as the term for sister's child (w. s.). She was very positive about it, and although it was obtained from no one else, it may represent a dialectic difference. An Onyx (South Fork of Kern River) informant, Tom Pope, stated that the people about Kernville, on the main Kern River, used certain terms which were not used on the South Fork. He mentioned as an example the term hôki, which is the term for a grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. According to Mrs. Nicolas, there were two terms for great-grandparents, saka for great-grandfather, ipi for great-grandmother, with reciprocals sakabin and ipibin. Other informants gave saka for both grandparents. This, too, may be a dialectic difference. As shown in the case of the Miwok, such variations in a relationship system may occur within a few miles.[8]

UNCERTAIN USAGES OF TERMS*

Relationship	*Informants*					
	Bill Chico	Petra Miranda	Clotilda L. Gomez	Tom Pope	Mrs. John Nicolas	Indian Henry
Wife's sister's child	kali	——	*tumu*	kalibin	kalibin	aiyawutawa anociwan
Wife's sister	*yuguan*	——	piya	*yuguan*	*yuguan*	tugu
Sister's husband (w. s.)	*piya*	kumobic	*piya*	*piya*	*piya*	kumobic
Brother's wife (m. s.)	——	tumubic	piya	piya	*tugu*	*tugu*
Husband's sister	——	kumoanana	tugu	tugu	*hümübic*	*hümübic*
Wife's sister's husband	——	impaiyis	——	——	patci	piya
Husband's brother's wife	——	anakutcim	——	——	anakutcim	tugu

* After this table was in type the following terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law were secured from Mrs. Mary Imitirio, a Tübatulabal woman living on Tule River Indian Reservation, Tulare County, California: Wife's brother, piya; sister's husband (m. s.), piya; wife's sister, yuguan; sister's husband (w. s.), piya; husband's brother, ya.ubic; brother's wife (w. s.), tugu; husband's sister, hümübic, brother's wife (w. s.), tugu.

601
128

The analysis of the Tübatulabal terms of relationship in the succeeding table is on the basis of the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[9] His eighth category, "Condition of the connecting relative," is here amplified in meaning so as to cover the change of terms for father and mother following the death of one or more of their children (see abu and ümü = mother, ana and kumu = father,

[8] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. Compare the meanings of ate, kole, and tcale.

[9] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

in the preceding list on p. 222.) The cross used in the following table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

In the following table the category "Generation" is undoubtedly expressed by more terms than would be the case if fuller genealogical

CATEGORICAL ANALYSIS OF TÜBATULABAL KINSHIP TERMS

Term	Generation	Blood or marriage	Lineal or collateral	Sex of relative	Sex of connecting relative	Sex of speaker	Age in generation	Condition of connecting relative
abu	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
agist	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
agistbin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
aiyawutawa	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
aka	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
akabin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
amust	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—
ana	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
anociwan	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
apa	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
apavin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
hôki	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	×
hümübic	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
impaiyis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
kalibin	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	×
kali	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	×
kumu	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
kuñan	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
kutci	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
nalawi	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—
nawasu	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
patci	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
pauwan	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	—
piya	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	×
saka	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
sakabin	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
soiyin	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
tasi	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
tohan	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
tugu	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
tumu	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
utsu	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
utsubin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
ümü	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
wasumbis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×
wô.ict	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
wüñin	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
ya.ubic	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
yugu	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	—
yuguan	—	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
Terms*	36	31	10	25	17	11	7	11

* Number of terms in which each category is expressed.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

601 evidence were available, for terms of affinity, such as hümübic (husband's sister) and ya.ubic (wife's brother), would probably be found to refer to more than one generation just as do piya (sister's husband; daughter's daughter's husband, w. s.), tugu (brother's wife; daughter's son's wife, w.s.), and yuguan (wife's sister; wife's mother's mother). Even with this reduction, however, the category "Generation" would stand out as one of those most frequently expressed. Probably the category "Condition of connecting relative" really finds expression in far more terms than it appears to in the following table, for, as already mentioned, further investigation will doubtless demonstrate that the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added to all of the terms of affinity upon the death of the connecting relative. If such is found to be the case, the number of terms in which this category finds expression will be doubled.

The fragmentary genealogy on page 227 is presented for the purpose of demonstrating the use of the Tübatulabal relationship terms. The genealogy was supplied by Wanamŭt (number 11 in the genealogy), who is otherwise known as Mrs. Mercedes Linares, and by her daughter Tcaigump (19), otherwise known as Mrs. Clotilda Linares Gomez. Names in italics are those of women.

The following kinship terms were obtained from Wanamŭt (11) and Tcaigump (19) as applied between them and the individuals appearing in the above genealogy:

1 calls 11 hôki (daughter's daughter following death of 1's daughter; 11 calls 1 hôki (mother's father following death of 11's mother). 1 calls 19 sakabin (daughter's daughter's daughter); 19 calls 1 saka (mother's mother's father).

3 calls 11 tumu (daughter); 11 calls 3 ümü (mother following the death of a child). 3 calls 19 utsubin (daughter's daughter); 19 calls 3 utsu (mother's mother).

5 calls 11 tumu (sister's daughter); 11 calls 5 yugu (mother's younger sister). 5 calls 19 utsubin (sister's daughter's daughter); 19 calls 5 utsu (mother's mother's sister).

6, 7, and 8 call 11 tumu (wife's sister's daughter); 11 calls 6, 7, and 8 tôhan (mother's sister's husband younger than father). 19 calls 6, 7, and 8 nothing; no reason was given.

9 calls 11 nalawi (younger sister); 11 calls 9 kutci (elder sister). 9 calls 19 tumu (sister's daughter); 19 calls 9 ümü (mother's older sister).

11 calls 10 piya (sister's husband). 10 calls 19 tumu (wife's sister's daughter); 19 calls 10 kumu (mother's sister's husband older than father).

11 calls 19 tumu (daughter). 19 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child, that is, my brother or sister).

12 calls 11 soiyin (wife); 11 calls 12 kuñan (husband).

14 calls 11 yugu (mother's younger sister); 11 calls 14 tumu (sister's daughter). 14 calls 19 nalawi (younger half sister); 19 calls 14 kutci (older half sister).

601

* By "Fresno Indian" is probably meant a Yokuts from Fresno County.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
601

15 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 15 tumu (daughter). 15 calls 19 nalawi (younger half sister); 19 calls 15 kutci (older half sister).

16 calls 11 wasumbis (wife's mother); 11 calls 16 wüñin (daughter's husband). 16 calls 19 yuguan (wife's half sister); 19 calls 16 piya (half sister's husband).

17 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 17 tumu (daughter). 17 calls 19 nalawi (younger sister); 19 calls 17 kutci (older sister).

20, 21, and 22 call 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 20, 21, and 22 tumu (son). 20, 21, and 22 call 19 kutci (older sister); 19 calls 20, 21, and 22 nalawi (younger brother). 20, 21, and 22 call 19's children kalibin (sister's child); 19's children call 20, 21, and 22 kali (mother's brother).

23 calls 11 wasumbis (husband's mother); 11 calls 23 tasi (son's wife). 23 calls 19 hümübic (husband's sister); 19 calls 23 tugu (brother's wife).

24 and 25 call 11 utsu (mother's mother); 11 calls 24 and 25 utsubin (daughter's daughter). 24 and 25 call 19 yugu (mother's younger half sister); 19 calls 24 and 25 tumu (half sister's daughter).

26 calls 11 yuguan (wife's mother's mother); 11 calls 26 piya (daughter's daughter's husband). 26 calls 19 wasumbis (wife's mother's half sister); 19 calls 26 wüñin (half sister's daughter's husband).

27 and 28 call 11 apa (father's mother); 11 calls 27 and 28 apavin (son's child). 27 and 28 call 19 pauwan (father's sister); 19 calls 27 and 28 amust (brother's child).

29 calls 11 saka (mother's mother's mother); 11 calls 29 sakabin (daughter's daughter's daughter). 29 calls 19 utsu (mother's mother's half sister); 19 calls 29 utsubin (half sister's daughter's daughter).

12 calls 24 and 25 agistbin (daughter's daughter); 24 and 25 call 12 agist (mother's father).

KAWAIISU

K
601

Forty-three Kawaiisu terms of relationship[10] were obtained; these include ten terms which are exact reciprocals except that they have diminutive suffixes. As with the Tübatulabal system, there are a number of terms which take a suffix, said to mean "used to be," to indicate the death of the connecting relative. In Kawaiisu this suffix

[10] The terms for wife's sister's husband and husband's brother's wife were not ascertained to my satisfaction. The evidence stands as follows:

Relationship	*Informants*			
	J. Nichols	M. Williams	A. Brown	R. Williams
Wife's sister's husband	nawabiu	——	atamwoni	pavini saka.ini
Husband's brother's wife	——	nama.ini	nama.ini	nama.ini pateini nabuzieni

Mrs. Refugia Williams stated that the terms pavini and saka.ini are applied according to the ages of the women concerned, not according to the ages of the two men. This is in line with the Kawaiisu method of classifying aunts and uncles by affinity (see p. 235). Mrs. Williams also stated that the term nabuzieni becomes nabuzirepuni following the death of the connecting relative. The use of the terms brother and sister for these two relationships is paralleled in the analogous Tübatulabal data (see table of "Uncertain Usages of Terms," p. 224).

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal [redacted]
Kawaiisu NS13

is -puni or -repuni. It is also used in instances of divorce. For example, a woman adds this suffix to the term for son-in-law in case that relative and her daughter separate. Eight uses of this suffix were noted; all were for terms of affinity. Doubtless there are other similar cases of its use, which were not recorded. The eight terms are included in the list of Kawaiisu terms, but are not included in the count of forty-three terms given just above.

Not all of the meanings of Kawaiisu relationship terms were obtained. Enough, however, were secured to make clear the main features of the system. The terms for great-grandfather and great-grandmother are the only ones which are open to question. Only two informants were consulted on this particular point. They agreed on the terms for great-grandson and great-granddaughter; but for great-grandfather one gave saka.ini, the other saka.itcini. For great-grandmother one gave nama.ini, the other nama.itcini. One of these informants said that the term asüsüzini was sometimes used for great-grandmother; she stated, however, that it was a term borrowed from the "Tejon Indians."[11]

KAWAIISU RELATIONSHIP TERMS[12]

muwuni. Father (before death of child). Reciprocals: pedüni (daughter), tuwüni (son).

kuguni. Father (following the death of a child), father's older brother, father's sister's husband, mother's older sister's husband. Reciprocals: kuutcini (younger brother's child, m. s.; wife's brother's child; wife's younger sister's child), pedüni (daughter; brother's daughter, m. s.; wife's brother's daughter; wife's sister's daughter), tuwüni (son; brother's son, m. s.; wife's brother's son; wife's sister's son). Compare muwuni (father), mawüüni (mother), and piyüni (mother).

kuutcini. Younger brother's child (m. s.), wife's brother's child, wife's younger sister's child. Reciprocal: kuguni (father's older brother, father's sister's husband, mother's older sister's husband).

piyüni. Mother (before death of a child). Reciprocals: pedüni (daughter), tuwüni (son).

mawüüni. Mother (following the death of a child), mother's older sister, father's older brother's wife. Reciprocals: mawüütcini (younger sister's child, w. s.; husband's younger brother's child), pedüni (daughter; husband's brother's daughter; sister's daughter, w. s.), tuwüni (son; husband's brother's son; sister's son, w. s.). Compare piyüni (mother), kuguni (father), and muwuni (father).

[11] By "Tejon Indians" are meant those living near Tejon, Kern County, California. In language they might be either Yokuts or Shoshonean, as both stocks are found in that locality.

[12] The ending -ni, of each term in the list, means "my." The non-vocativ forms are not given in this list. In such forms -ni, -mi, and -na are the terminal syllables meaning "my," "your," and "his," respectively. There are occasional modifications of the last stem vowel. In reference the full pronouns nugaia (my), imia (your), and onaia (his) may also be preposed.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal [redacted]
Kawaiisu NS13

601 mawüütcini. Younger sister's child (w. s.), husband's younger brother's child. Reciprocal: mawüüni (mother's older sister, father's older brother's wife).

tuwüni. Son, brother's son (m. s.), husband's brother's son, wife's brother's son, sister's son (w. s.), wife's sister's son. Reciprocals: muwuni (father), kuguni (father, father's older brother, father's sister's husband, mother's older sister's husband), piyüni (mother), mawüüni (mother, mother's older sister, father's older brother's wife), heeni (father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband), nupbieni (mother's younger sister, father's younger brother's wife).

pedüni. Daughter, brother's daughter (m. s.), husband's brother's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, sister's daughter (w. s.), wife's sister's daughter. Reciprocals: muwuni (father), kuguni (father, father's older brother, father's sister's husband, mother's older sister's husband), piyüni (mother), mawüüni (mother, mother's older sister, father's older brother's wife), heeni (father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband), nupbieni (mother's younger sister, father's younger brother's wife).

pavini. Older brother, male cousin older than speaker. Reciprocals: nama.ini (younger sister, female cousin younger than speaker), saka.ini (younger brother, male cousin younger than speaker).

saka.ini. Younger brother, male cousin younger than speaker. Reciprocals: pavini (older brother, male cousin older than speaker), patcini (older sister, female cousin older than speaker).

patcini. Older sister, female cousin older than speaker. Reciprocals: nama.ini (younger sister, female cousin younger than speaker), saka.ini (younger brother, male cousin younger than speaker).

nama.ini. Younger sister, female cousin younger than speaker. Reciprocals: pavini (older brother, male cousin older than speaker), patcini (older sister, female cousin older than speaker).

heeni. Father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband. Reciprocals: heetcini (older brother's child, m. s.; wife's older sister's child), pedüni (brother's daughter, m. s.; wife's sister's daughter), and tuwüni (brother's son, m. s.; wife's sister's son).

heetcini. Older brother's child (m. s.), wife's older sister's child. Reciprocal: heeni (father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband).

nupbieni. Mother's younger sister, father's younger brother's wife. Reciprocals: nupbietcini (older sister's child, w. s.; husband's older brother's child), pedüni (sister's daughter, w. s.; husband's brother's daughter), tuwüni (sister's son, w. s.; husband's brother's son).

nupbietcini. Older sister's child (w. s.), husband's older brother's child. Reciprocal: nupbieni (mother's younger sister, father's younger brother's wife).

pahani. Father's sister, mother's brother's wife. Reciprocal: pahatcini (brother's child, w. s.; husband's sister's child).

pahatcini. Brother's child (w. s.), husband's sister's child. Reciprocal: pahani (father's sister, mother's brother's wife).

cinüni. Mother's brother. Reciprocal: cinütcini (sister's child, m. s.).

cinütcini. Sister's child (m. s.). Reciprocal: cinüni (mother's brother).

kunoni. Father's father, spouse's father's father. Reciprocal: kunotcini (son's child, m. s.; son's child's spouse, m. s.).

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal [redacted]
Kawaiisu NS13

601

kunoteini. Son's child (m. s.), son's child's spouse (m. s.). Reciprocal: kunoni (father's father, spouse's father's father).

huteini. Father's mother, spouse's father's mother. Reciprocal: huteiteini (son's child, w. s.; son's child's spouse, w. s.).

huteiteini. Son's child (w. s.), son's child's spouse (w. s.). Reciprocal: huteini (father's mother, spouse's father's mother).

tôgoni. Mother's father, spouse's mother's father. Reciprocal: tôgoteini (daughter's child, m. s.; daughter's child's spouse, m. s.).

tôgoteini. Daughter's child (m. s.), daughter's child's spouse (m. s.). Reciprocal: tôgoni (mother's father, spouse's mother's father).

kaguni. Mother's mother, spouse's mother's mother. Reciprocal: kaguteini (daughter's child, w. s.; daughter's child's spouse, w. s.).

kaguteini. Daughter's child (w. s.), daughter's child's spouse (w. s.). Reciprocal: kaguni (mother's mother, spouse's mother's mother).

saka.iteini. Great-grandfather (literally "little younger brother"). Another informant gave this term as saka.ini. Reciprocals: pavateini (great-grandson, literally "little older brother"), pateiteini (great-granddaughter, literally "little older sister").

nama.iteini. Great-grandmother (literally "little younger sister"). Another informant gave this term as nama.ini. Reciprocals: pavateini (great-grandson, literally "little older brother"), pateiteini (great-granddaughter, literally "little older sister").

pavateini. Great-grandson (literally "little older brother"). Reciprocals: nama.iteini (great-grandmother, "little younger sister"), saka-iteini (great-grandfather, literally "little younger brother").

pateiteini. Great-granddaughter (literally "little older sister"). Reciprocals: nama.iteini (great-grandmother, literally "little younger sister"), saka.iteini (great-grandfather, literally "little younger brother").

kupmani. Husband. Reciprocal: piwhani (wife).

piwhani. Wife. Reciprocal: kupmani (husband).

wôhoni. Co-wife, co-husband. Reciprocal: wôhoni.

yeheni. Spouse's parent, spouse's parent's brother or sister. Reciprocals: huteibiani (son's wife, sister's son's wife, brother's son's wife), mônoni (daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband). Yehesepuni. Spouse's parent (following death of speaker's spouse).

huteibiani. Son's wife, sister's son's wife, brother's son's wife. Reciprocal: yeheni (spouse's parent, spouse's parent's brother or sister). Huteibirepuni. Daughter-in-law (following death of speaker's son).

mônoni. Daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband. Reciprocal: yeheni (spouse's parent, spouse's parent's brother or sister). Mônowaipuni. Son-in-law (following death of speaker's daughter). It is said to be used also in case of separation of speaker's daughter from her husband.

atamwoni. Wife's brother, sister's husband (m. s.). Reciprocal: atamwoni. Atomworepuni. Wife's brother (following death of speaker's wife); sister's husband (following death of speaker's sister, m. s.).

nebiwhoni. Wife's sister, brother's wife (m. s.). Reciprocal: nekomwhoni (sister's husband, w. s.; husband's brother). Nebiwhorepuni. Wife's sister (following death of speaker's wife), brother's wife (following death of speaker's brother, m. s.).

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

K
601

nekomwhoni. Sister's husband (w. s.), husband's brother. Reciprocal: nebiwhoni (wife's sister; brother's wife, m. s.). Nekumrepuni. Sister's husband (following death of speaker's sister, w. s.), husband's brother (following death of speaker's husband).

wūsimbiani. Husband's sister, brother's wife (w. s.). Reciprocal: wūsimbiani. Wūsibirepuni. Husband's sister (following death of speaker's husband), brother's wife (following death of speaker's brother, w. s.).

teeni. Child's spouse's parent. Reciprocal: teeni. Teerepuni. Child's spouse's parent (following death of speaker's child or speaker's child's spouse).

K
601
128

An analysis of the Kawaiisu terms is presented in the opposite table (p. 233). As in the case of the analysis of Tübatulabal terms on page 225, it is based on the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[13] It is to be noted that the category "Generation" is expressed in all of the terms, a feature which is in sharp contrast with the subordination of "Generation" in the Miwok kinship system, in which it is expressed in only slightly more than one-third of the terms.[14]

The cross used in the opposite table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

COMPARISON

Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu

T
K
601
171

Forty terms of relationship were obtained among the Tübatulabal as against forty-three among the Kawaiisu. The following table exhibits numerically the application of the terms in the two languages:

Relationship	*Number of Terms* Tübatulabal	Kawaiisu
Parent	4	4
Child	1	2
Stepchild	2	—
Brother, sister, first cousin	4	4
Aunt, uncle	6*	6*
Niece, nephew	3†	8‡
Grandparent, grandchild	9	8
Great-grandparent, great-grandchild	2	4
Relation by marriage‖	12	11

* Two of the terms for aunt and uncle are also the terms for mother and father following the death of one or more of their children.
† One of the terms (tumu) for niece or nephew is also applied to one's own child.
‡ Two of the terms for niece and nephew are also applied to son and daughter.
‖ This does not include aunts, uncles, grandparents, or grandchildren by marriage, nor does it include any of the step-relations.

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[13] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

[14] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal
Kawaiisu NS13

CATEGORICAL ANALYSIS OF KAWAIISU KINSHIP TERMS

Term	Generation	Blood or marriage	Lineal or collateral	Sex of relative	Sex of connecting relative	Sex of speaker	Age in generation	Condition of connecting relative
atamwoni	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	×
cinŭni	×	×	×	×	×	—	—	—
cinŭteini	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	—
heeni	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
heeteini	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—
huteibiani	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
huteini	×	—	—	×	×	—	—	—
huteiteini	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
kaguni	×	—	—	×	×	—	—	—
kaguteini	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
kuguni	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
kunoni	×	—	—	×	×	—	—	—
kunoteini	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
kupmani	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
kuuteini	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—
mawüüni	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
mawüüteini	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—
mônoni	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
muwuni	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
nama.ini	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
nama.iteini	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
nebiwhoni	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	×
nekomwhoni	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	×
nupbieni	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
nupbieteini	×	—	×	—	—	×	—	—
pahani	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	—
pahateini	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—
pavateini	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
pavini	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
pateini	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
pateiteini	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
pedüni	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
piwhani	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
piyüni	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
saka.ini	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
saka.iteini	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
teeni	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×
tôgoni	×	—	—	×	×	—	—	—
tôgoteini	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	—
tuwüni	×	—	—	×	—	—	—	—
wôhoni	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
wüsimbiani	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	×
yeheni	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×
Terms*	43	23	12	30	16	16	8	12

* Number of terms in which each category is expressed.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

The Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu classifications of parents are identical. In both languages there is a special term for father and a special term for mother. These terms are used for no other relationships. Their use, however, for the parents is subject to a restriction, for they are used only as long as all of their children are alive. Upon the death of a child, the surviving children henceforth call the parent by a different term. The new term in the case of the father is that applied to the father's older brother. The new term in the case of the mother is that applied to the mother's older sister. In both languages four terms are used for the parent relationship (see the preceding table). The terms are:

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Father before death of child	ana	muwuni
Father after death of child	kumu	kuguni
Mother before death of child	abu	piyüni
Mother after death of child	ümü	mawüüni

For son and daughter the Tübatulabal have but one term, there being no distinction made as to sex of children. The Kawaiisu, on the other hand, distinguish between male and female offspring.

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Son	tumu	tuwüni
Daughter	tumu	pedüni

T
601

Only Tübatulabal data are at hand in the matter of stepchildren. It appears that the Tübatulabal are far more exact in designating stepchildren than own children. There are separate terms for stepson and stepdaughter, whereas son and daughter are united in one term, there being no distinction as to sex. Aiyawutawa is the designation for stepson, anociwan for stepdaughter. The reciprocals of these terms are not father (ana) and mother (abu), but are instead the terms for father's older brother (kumu) and mother's younger sister (yugu). This identification of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt is one-sided, for the terms aiyawutawa and anociwan are not the terms of the reciprocal nepotic relationship. The nepotic relationship is designated by the term tumu (offspring). On the one hand, the classing of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt and the uniting of own children with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) suggests the levirate. On the other hand, the

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS23

T 601

lack of identification of the stepchildren with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) would indicate absence of the levirate. In other words, from this point of view, the Tübatulabal evidence is equivocal.

T K 601 171

As shown in the table on page 232, the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu both use six terms for uncles and aunts, as follows:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother	kumu	kuguni
Father's younger brother	tôhan	heeni
Father's sister	pauwan	pahani
Mother's brother	kali	cinüni
Mother's older sister	ümü	mawüüni
Mother's younger sister	yugu	nupbieni

It is to be noted that the specialization as to age is on the side of the "parallel" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the same sex. There is an absence of age specialization in the nomenclature of the "cross" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the opposite sex. Both the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu nomenclatures are identical in their treatment of aunts and uncles by consanguinity.

Next we must consider the aunts and uncles by affinity, in other words, the spouses of those listed just above:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother's wife	——	mawüüni
Father's brother's wife older than mother	ümü	——
Father's younger brother's wife	——	nupbieni
Father's brother's wife younger than mother	yugu	——
Father's sister's husband	kali	kuguni
Mother's brother's wife	pauwan	pahani
Mother's older sister's husband	——	kuguni
Mother's sister's husband older than father	kumu	——
Mother's younger sister's husband	——	heeni
Mother's sister's husband younger than father	tôhan	——

Here we find some decided differences between the two systems. The Tübatulabal use six terms, the Kawaiisu only five. The former classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the age of a spouse in relation to the mother or the father of the speaker. The Kawaiisu classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the relative ages of the uncles and aunts, and not according to the age of the spouse. The Tübatulabal scheme suggests double marriage, that is, the marriage of two brothers to two sisters. Noth-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal-NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

ing, however, is known of the marriage customs of either people, so that it is idle to dwell too much upon the possible forms of marriage suggested by the terminology. A curious feature of the Kawaiisu nomenclature is the identification of father's sister's husband with the father's older brother, the term kuguni being used where one would expect to find cinŭni. To an ardent supporter of the theory of the reflection of forms of marriage in kinship nomenclature this would prove brother-sister marriage, which is of course an absurdity. The identification of father's sister's husband with mother's brother in Tübatulabal is not so unusual. It might result from the marriage of two pairs consisting each of a brother and a sister. A common example of this type of marriage is found in the custom of cross-cousin marriage. Here again genealogies and the statements of informants as to such a form of marriage among either people are lacking.

The reciprocals for aunts and uncles by affinity are the same as for aunts and uncles by consanguinity. All of the terms of consanguinity (except Kawaiisu cinŭni, mother's brother) are also terms of affinity; hence one list answers for both.

Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
Term	Reciprocal	Term	Reciprocal
kumu	tumu	kuguni	kuuteini tuwŭni pedüni
tôhan	tumu	heeni	heeteini tuwŭni pedüni
pauwan	amust	pahani	pahateini
kali	kalibin	cinŭni	cinŭteini
ümü	tumu	mawüüni	mawüüteini tuwŭni pedüni
yugu	tumu	nupbieni	nupbieteini tuwŭni pedüni

The preceding list shows that "parallel" nieces and nephews (brother's children, m. s., and sister's children, w. s.) are classed solely as offspring by the Tübatulabal, a condition favoring the existence of the levirate. Among the Kawaiisu the classification is paradoxical, for "parallel" nieces and nephews are not only classified as offspring (son and daughter), but also by a strictly nepotic term which is an identical-reciprocal of the term for aunt or uncle. The classification as offspring seems to be secondary, and taken alone suggests the levi-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

rate. The use of the identical-reciprocal for the nepotic relationship, however, is rather against the presence of that institution. It is possible that the classification of nieces and nephews as offspring is due to Tübatulabal influence. The Tübatulabal resemble their Shoshonean neighbors on the north in their classification of "parallel" nephews and nieces; at least this is true if we may judge from a relationship system collected at North Fork, Madera County.

The following table presents the grouping of brothers, sisters, and first cousins:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Older brother, older male cousin	patci	pavini
Younger brother, younger male cousin	nalawi	saka.ini
Older sister, older female cousin	kutci	patcini
Younger sister, younger female cousin	nalawi	nama.ini
Brother (w. s.), male cousin (w. s.)	impaiyis	——
Sister (m. s.), female cousin (m. s.)	impaiyis	——

The feature common to both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu, as exhibited in the above table, is that cousins are classified as sisters and brothers, a feature found also among the Shoshonean Mono of North Fork. The points of difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu are very clear. The former unite younger brother and younger sister in one term. This is analogous to another usage of the Tübatulabal, who unite son and daughter in one term. The Kawaiisu, however, have distinct terms for younger brother and younger sister. The Tübatulabal grouping of brothers, sisters, and cousins exhibits another feature, which is not found among the Kawaiisu but which is present among the North Fork Mono; namely, a single term for brother or male cousin (w. s.) and for sister or female cousin (m. s.).

Grandparents and grandchildren are grouped in the same manner in both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. These terms are discussed a few pages below in connection with identical-reciprocals and diminutives. The Tübatulabal possess nine terms for the grandparent-grandchild relation; the Kawaiisu possess eight. The ninth term in Tübatulabal is hôki, which is used by either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative.

The Tübatulabal have but one term for great-grandparent and but one for great-grandchild, again paralleling the single term for offspring. The Kawaiisu have two for each of these relationships, as they distinguish sex.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

A comparison of the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in the two languages would be futile, owing to the uncertainty with regard to some of the Tübatulabal terms.

A radical difference in the classification of the grandchild's spouse and the spouse's grandparent is to be noticed. The Tübatulabal classify these relatives as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (see No. 26 on p. 228). The Kawaiisu classify the grandchild's spouse and spouse's grandparent as grandchild and grandparent, respectively. The Tübatulabal classification is similar to the Miwok.[15]

As stated earlier, diminutive suffixes are used by both the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu. At least among the latter people the diminutive suffix is also an endearment, as in piwhatcini (piwha[tci]ni), dear wife. It is also used in connection with the term for child's spouse's parent, teetcini (tee[tci]ni). Informants stated that the use in this case was for the sake of politeness. In the same way a person uses this endearment for the mother-in-law or father-in-law, yehetcini (yehe[tci]ni).

Information obtained from the Tübatulabal as to the use of the diminutive suffix -bin or -vin as a term of endearment requires substantiation. Otherwise the use of the diminutive among the Tübatulabal corresponded to its use among the Kawaiisu, except that it was employed less extensively. The following list exhibits clearly the agreements and disagreements in the use of the diminutives in the two languages. Every term is followed by its reciprocal.

Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Mother's brother	cinüni	kali
Sister's child (m. s.)	cinütcini	kalibin
Father's younger brother	heeni	tôhan
Older brother's child (m. s.)	heetcini	tumu
Father's mother	hutcini	apa
Son's child (w. s.)	hutcitcini	apavin
Mother's mother	kaguni	utsu
Daughter's child (w. s.)	kagutcini	utsubin
Father's older brother	kuguni	kumu
Younger brother's child (m. s.)	kuutcini	tumu
Father's father	kunoni	aka
Son's child (m. s.)	kunotcini	akabin
Mother's older sister	mawüüni	ümü
Younger sister's child (w. s.)	mawüütcini	tumu

[15] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. See apasti, kawu, kolina, olo, wokli.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Great-grandmother	nama.itcini	saka
Great-grandson	pavatcini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	patcitcini	sakabin
Mother's younger sister	nupbieni	yugu
Older sister's child (w. s.)	nupbietcini	tumu
Father's sister	pahani	pauwan
Brother's child (w. s.)	pahatcini	amust
Great-grandfather	saka.itcini	saka
Great-grandson	pavatcini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	patcitcini	sakabin
Mother's father	tôgoni	agist
Daughter's child (m. s.)	tôgotcini	agistbin

A glance at the preceding table betrays the fact that the Tübatulabal use the diminutive form for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren and for the sister's child (m. s.). These terms are identical-reciprocals of the terms for grandparents, great-grandparent, and mother's brother, plus the diminutive endings. This condition is matched exactly in the case of Kawaiisu terms, except in the matter of the great-grandparents and great-grandchildren; there, to be sure, the diminutive suffix is used, but a single stem is not used for the two terms of the reciprocal relation, as in Tübatulabal. In Kawaiisu there are six terms for aunts and uncles with reciprocals which are identical except for the addition of the diminutive suffix. With the exception of the case of mother's brother and reciprocal mentioned just above, these are all lacking in Tübatulabal. The difference is perhaps not so great as it appears, however, for in Kawaiisu, as already mentioned, the reciprocals of heeni, kuguni, mawüüni, and nupbieni (which are the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles) may be also the terms for son and daughter (see pp. 229-230) as well as the terms listed above. In Tübatulabal the term used for son or daughter is also used as the reciprocal of the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles (ümü, yugu, kumu, tôhan). This reduces the constant differences between the two systems, in regard to the use of diminutives, to two. The Tübatulabal use pauwan for father's sister and amust for brother's child, w. s.; in other words, two terms with different stems and without the diminutive suffix. The Kawaiisu use pahani and pahatcini for the same relationships; in other words, two terms with the same stem and with the diminutive suffix. The Tübatulabal use of sakan and sakabin for the great-grandparent and reciprocal is analogous to the Kawaiisu use of pahani and pahatcini.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

The Kawaiisu use of nama.itcini and saka.itcini for the great-grandparents and pavateini and pateiteini for the great-grandchildren is different still, for the diminutive suffix is used with both of a pair of reciprocal terms having different stems.

The use of identical-reciprocal terms, plus a diminutive for the younger generation of the pair, seems to be more developed among the Kawaiisu than among the Tübatulabal. The former consistently apply them to the six groups of aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren. The latter consistently apply them to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren and to the single group great-grandparent and great-grandchild. In the classification of aunts and uncles they are inconsistent, identical-reciprocals being used in only one out of the six groups. Informants among the Tübatulabal said that frequently the terms for grandchildren, which are here listed with diminutive suffixes, were used without them. Among the Mono,[16] the northern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, terms for grandchildren and grandparents are also identical, but no diminutive suffix is employed. Viewed from the standpoint of number of uses of identical-reciprocals and diminutives, the Tübatulabal are intermediate between their northern and southern neighbors.

The Tübatulabal terms hôki (grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative), impaiyis (brother or male cousin, w. s.; sister or female cousin, m. s.), nawasu (child's spouse's parent), and wo.ict (co-wife, co-husband) have identical-reciprocals, but never employ the diminutive suffix. Analogous terms among the Kawaiisu are atamwoni (wife's brother; sister's husband, m. s.), teeni (child's spouse's parent), wohoni (co-wife, co-husband), and wüsimbiani (husband's sister; brother's wife, w. s.). The explanation of the non-use of the suffix is to be found in the fact that the terms, with the exception of hôki, apply to individuals of only one generation.

Identical-reciprocal terms are of two types, distinguishable by their meanings. One type, exemplified by Tübatulabal nawasu and wo.ict and by Kawaiisu teeni and wohoni, has identical meanings; for example, the meaning of nawasu and teeni is child's spouse's parent; the reciprocal of each of these terms is also child's spouse's parent. The meanings of identical-reciprocal terms of the second type are distinctly unlike; in fact, the two meanings are the antitheses, one of

[16] Only the Mono of North Fork, Madera County, California, have been visited by the writer.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

the other; for example, the Tübatulabal term aka means father's father; the reciprocal aka or aka[bin] means son's child (m. s.). A Kawaiisu example is the term atamwoni, meaning wife's brother and sister's husband, m. s.

Certain lexical similarities between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms are obvious. The most striking resemblances are best shown by a table. In the case of the Tübatulabal term saka, together with its

Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
kuñan (husband)	kupmani (husband)
patci (older brother)	patcini (older sister)
pauwan (father's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
saka (great-grandparent)	saka.ini (younger brother)
	saka.itcini (great-grandfather)

reciprocal sakabin (great-grandchild), we seem to have an example of out-and-out borrowing, the Tübatulabal using the Kawaiisu term for great-grandfather, which is merely the Kawaiisu term for younger brother plus the diminutive suffix. The reverse hypothesis is possibly the correct one, namely, that the Kawaiisu borrowed the Tübatulabal term for great-grandparent and applied it to the younger brother and then to the great-grandfather. This hypothesis, however, seems an unlikely one.

The following table summarizes the categorical analyses of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms presented in detail on pages 225 and 233. The columns headed "Number" give the number of terms in which each category is expressed. The columns headed "Percentage" express the number of occurrences of a category in percentages of the total number of terms.

	Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Terms	40	—	43	—
Generation	36	90	43	100
Blood or marriage	31	78	23	53
Lineal or collateral	10	25	12	28
Sex of relative	25	63	30	70
Sex of connecting relative	17	43	16	37
Sex of speaker	11	28	16	37
Age in generation	7	18	8	19
Condition of connecting relative	11	28	12	28

The category "Generation" is expressed in all of the Kawaiisu terms as presented in this paper. Inquiry on a genealogical basis

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

might break down this complete expression of the category. In Tübatulabal four out of forty terms fail to express this category; one of these four is the term hôki, which is applied to either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. The remaining three are the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which are applied also to spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, a very different classification from the Kawaiisu which has already been discussed.

The difference in the expression of the category "Blood or marriage" in the two languages is largely due to the difference, just mentioned, in the classification of spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, which among the Kawaiisu are classed as grandparent and grandchild. This difference alone takes eight Kawaiisu terms out of this category. The corresponding Tübatulabal terms for grandparent and grandchild naturally fall under this category, as they all definitely express consanguinity without expressing affinity also.

The other categories are expressed quite similarly by the relationship systems of the two languages, with the exception of the categories "Sex of relative" and "Sex of speaker." The difference in the first instance is the result of the Tübatulabal uniting of great-grandson and great-granddaughter on the one hand and great-grandfather and great-grandmother on the other hand, while the Kawaiisu distinguish two great-grandchildren and two great-grandparents. In the second instance, "Sex of speaker," the difference is due to the use of identical-reciprocals for nepotic relatives by the Kawaiisu and to their non-use, except in one case (kali-kalibin), by the Tübatulabal.

Like the last table, the following table presents a categorical comparison, also in percentages of the number of terms, of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu kinship systems and those presented by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in his paper on the "Classificatory Systems of Relationship."[17] For Dr. Kroeber's Miwok figures those of the writer[18] have been substituted. It is clear that in at least one category, "Lineal or collateral," the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu hold a unique position and have no near approach in any of the other systems here presented, except the Miwok.[19]

000
T
K
601
171
128

[17] Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, 1909.

[18] Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

[19] The comparisons in the three succeeding tables must be used with reservation, as a factor of uncertainty has been introduced by differences in the collecting of the data. For Miwok the material is far more detailed than for the other groups.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Number of terms	24	27	28	34	28	40	43	34	35
Generation	100	78	96	38	79	90	100	88	74
Blood or marriage	100	100	100	76	100	78	53	94	97
Lineal or collateral	100	78	100	18	93	25	28	100	80
Sex of relative	67	78	71	85	61	63	70	53	63
Sex of connecting relative	54	48	50	44	50	43	37	56	60
Sex of speaker	13	11	36	26	43	28	37	29	40
Age in generation	13	15	14	15	14	18	19	35	23
Condition of connecting relative	0	0	0	0	*	28	28	0	3

* This category is expressed in terms denoting relatives by marriage, but the number of such terms is not given. See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote, 1909.

The purpose of the two following tables is to indicate by figures the actual differences between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems and each of the other systems presented in the foregoing table. The figures in these tables are the differences between the percentages in the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu columns of the preceding table and the percentages in each of the other columns of the preceding table. The total at the foot of each column in the succeeding tables is the sum of the percentage differences, that is, the differences in percentages for each category as expressed in Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu and each of the other languages. These totals are the basis of comparison of the systems as wholes. The first table is for the Tübatulabal system, the second for the Kawaiisu. It is to be seen at a glance that the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems resemble each other far more closely than any of the other Californian systems resemble either of these. In fact, the gap between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems on the one hand and the remaining Californian systems on the other hand may be said to be very conspicuous. Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu differ from each other by a total of sixty-one percentage differences, while the nearest approach to this is found between Tübatulabal and Miwok, the total of percentage differences being one hundred and seventeen, nearly twice as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. It will be noted that the Tübatulabal system is not so far removed from the other Californian systems as is the Kawaiisu. The greatest difference between the Tübatulabal and any of the other Californian systems is one hundred and seventy percentage differences, occurring between Tübatulabal and Yuki. The greatest difference

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

TK 601 171

between Kawaiisu and any other system is two hundred and thirteen percentage differences, occurring between Kawaiisu and Luiseño, both Shoshonean groups. The least difference is between Kawaiisu and Miwok, amounting to one hundred and fifty percentage differences. This least difference, however, is nearly two and one-half times as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu.

TÜBATULABAL

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	10	12	6	52	11	10	2	16
Blood or marriage	22	22	22	2	22	25	16	19
Lineal or collateral	75	53	75	7	68	3	75	55
Sex of relative	4	15	8	22	2	7	10	0
Sex of connecting relative	11	5	7	1	7	6	13	17
Sex of speaker	15	17	8	2	15	9	1	12
Age in generation	5	3	4	3	4	1	17	5
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	170	155	158	117	157*	61	162	149

KAWAIISU

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	0	22	4	62	21	10	12	26
Blood or marriage	47	47	47	23	47	25	41	44
Lineal or collateral	72	50	72	10	65	3	72	52
Sex of relative	3	8	1	5	9	7	17	7
Sex of connecting relative	17	11	13	7	13	6	19	23
Sex of speaker	24	26	1	11	6	9	8	3
Age in generation	6	4	5	4	5	1	16	4
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	197	196	171	150	194*	61	213	184

* "Terms denoting relatives by marriage undergo a vocalic change to indicate the death of the connecting relative." See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote, 1909. Dr. Kroeber does not indicate the number of terms so altered, hence the figures in the Yokuts column of the table for the category "Condition of connecting relative" are too large. Likewise the totals of percentage differences between Tübatulabal and Yokuts and between Kawaiisu and Yokuts are too large.

KAWAIISU, KAIBAB PAIUTE, AND UINTAH UTE

K 601 171

A comparison of the Kawaiisu terms with those of the Uintah Ute of northern Utah and Kaibab Paiute of southwestern Utah and north-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu US13

K
601
171
T
601
171

western Arizona obtained by Dr. Edward Sapir[20] shows a very close similarity in sound and spelling, even to the matter of the diminutive suffix. Similarity of the three groups might be expected because of the community of language, for all speak Ute-Chemehuevi dialects. The Tübatulabal, however, do not speak Ute-Chemehuevi, and, furthermore, belong to another of the four primary divisions of the Shoshonean stock;[21] hence their terms of relationship could not be expected to exhibit as strong a degree of resemblance to the Kawaiisu terms as Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms exhibit.

The thirty-two Kaibab Paiute terms secured by Dr. Sapir are listed below. Twelve of these, although very similar in sound and spelling to certain of the Kawaiisu terms, are applied in a quite different manner. (Consult in the following list numbers 4, 10–17, 22–25.)

Kaibab Paiute	*Kawaiisu*
1. moan'ᵗ (father)	muwuni (father)
2. piyan'ᵗ (mother)	piyūni (mother)
3. tuwatsin'ᵗ (son)	tuwūni (son)
4. pātcin'ᵗ (daughter)	pedūni (daughter)
5. pāvi(tsi)n'ᵗ (older brother)	pavini (older brother) pavatcini (great-grandson)
6. te'ᵃˣqa.itcin'ᵗ (younger brother)	saka.ini (younger brother) saka.iteini (great-grandfather)
7. pātsitsin'ᵗ (older sister)	patcini (older sister) patcitcini (great-granddaughter)
8. yûp'ian'ᵗ (younger sister)	nama.ini (younger sister)
9. namintsin'ᵗ (younger sister)	nama.iteini (great-grandmother)
10. toxon'ᵗ (grandfather)	tôgoni (mother's father)
11. toxotsin'ᵗ (grandchild, m. s.)	tôgoteini (daughter's child, m. s.)
12. qāxun'ᵗ (grandmother)	kaguni (mother's mother)
13. qāxutsin'ᵗ (grandchild, w. s.)	kagutcini (daughter's child, w. s.)
14. qunun'ᵗ (great-grandfather, great-grandfather's brother)	kunoni (father's father)
15. qunutsin'ᵗ (great-grandchild, m. s.; brother's great-grandchild, m. s.)	kunoteini (son's child, m. s.)
16. ʻʷⁱʻtsin'ᵗ (great-grandmother, great-grandfather's sister)	hutcini (father's mother)
17. ʻʷⁱʻtsitsin'ᵗ (great-grandchild, w. s.; brother's great-grandchild, w. s.)	hutcitcini (son's child, w. s.)
18. ain'ᵗ (father's brother)	heeni (father's younger brother)
19. aitsin'ᵗ (brother's child, m. s.)	heeteini (older brother's child, m. s.)
20. pāan'ᵗ (father's sister, probably also mother's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
21. pāatsin'ᵗ (brother's child, w. s.; probably also sister's child, w. s.)	pahateini (brother's child, w. s.)

[20] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv, 132–138, 1913; also Dr. Sapir's unpublished data, which are presented in the succeeding lists of terms.

[21] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., iv, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal
Kawaiisu NS13

	Kaibab Paiute	*Kawaiisu*
22.	cinan'[1] (male cousin older than speaker; mother's brother)	cinŭni (mother's brother)
23.	cinatsin'[1] (male cousin younger than speaker; nephew, probably sister's child, m. s.)	cinŭteini (sister's child, m. s.)
24.	mãñu'in'[1] [22] (female cousin older than speaker; niece)	mawŭŭni (mother's older sister)
25.	mãñwu'itsin'[1] [22] (female cousin younger than speaker)	mawŭŭteini (younger sister's child, w. s.)
26.	piñwan'[1] (wife)	piwhani (wife)
27.	qom'an'[1] (husband)	kupmani (husband)
28.	monatsin'[1] (daughter's husband)	mŏnoni (daughter's husband)
29.	tantañwã'vin'[1] (sister's husband, m. s.)	atamwoni (sister's husband, m. s.) atamwoni (wife's brother)
30.	tsi'entamowãn'[1] (wife's brother)	
31.	naimpiñwan'[1] [23] (wife's sister; brother's wife, m. s.)	nebiwhoni (wife's sister; brother's wife, m. s.)
32.	naiñquman'[1] [24] (husband's brother; sister's husband, w. s.)	nekomwhoni (husband's brother; sister's husband, w. s.)

The ensuing list gives the thirty-three Uintah Ute terms obtained by Dr. Sapir together with the corresponding Kawaiisu terms:

	Uintah Ute	*Kawaiisu*
1.	mŏan'[1] (father)	muwuni (father)
2.	pien'[1] (mother)	piyŭni (mother)
3.	towan'[1] (son) towatcin'[1] (more affectionate form)	tuwŭni (son)
4.	patcin'[1] (daughter) patcitcin'[1] (more affectionate form)	pedŭni (daughter)
5.	pavin'[1] (older brother) pavitcin'[1]	pavini (older brother) pavateini (great-grandson)
6.	tc'[w]qai'in'[1] (younger brother) tc'[w]qai'tcin'[1]	saka.ini (younger brother) saka.iteini (great-grandfather)
7.	paitcin'[1] (older sister)	pateini (older sister) patciteini (great-granddaughter)
8.	namitcin'[1] (younger sister)[25]	nama.ini (younger sister) nama.iteini (great-grandmother)
9.	qŭn'[n][81] (father's older brother)	kuguni (father's older brother)
10.	qŭn'tcin'[1] (father's older brother's child)[26]	kuuteini (younger brother's child, m. s.)

[22] "These terms were tested only for father's brother's children."—Sapir. Number 24 was also recorded as mãñwu'an'[1], and number 23 as cinantsin'[1].

[23] "Cf. piñwan'[1]; term probably means something like 'my co-wife' and seems to point to levirate marriage."—Sapir. An analogous relation exists between the Kawaiisu terms piwhani and nebiwhoni.

[24] "Cf. qom'an'[1]; term probably means something like co-husband and seems to point to levirate marriage."—Sapir. An analogous relation exists between the Kawaiisu terms kupmani and nekomwhoni.

[25] "Children of two brothers, of two sisters, and of brother and sister call each other 'older and younger brother' and 'older and younger sister' (see nos. 5, 6, 7, 8), 'older' and 'younger' referring to actual ages of parties involved, not to those of their parents."—Sapir. This statement is true of the Kawaiisu terminology also (see p. 230 for the full meanings of the terms pavini, saka.ini, pateini, and nama.ini).

[26] "Very likely misunderstood for 'my younger brother's child,' male speaking."—Sapir.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal
Kawaiisu NS2

601
171

Uintah Ute	*Kawaiisu*
11. aitcin'ᵗ (father's younger brother; older brother's child, m. s.)	heeni (father's younger brother) heetcini (older brother's child, m. s.)
12. '^{aa}quin'ᵗ (mother's older brother)	
13. '^{aa}qutcin'ᵗ (younger sister's child, m. s.)	
14. cinantcin' (mother's younger brother; older sister's child, m. s.)	cinŭni (mother's brother) cinŭtcini (sister's child, m. s.)
15. păn'ᵗ (father's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
16. pătcin'ᵗ (brother's child, w. s.)	pahatcini (brother's child, w. s.)
17. măwun^{aa}ᵗ (mother's older sister)	mawüüni (mother's older sister)
18. măwun'tein'ᵗ (younger sister's child, w. s.)	mawüütcini (younger sister's child, w. s.)
19. nimbüian'ᵗ (mother's younger sister)	nupbieni (mother's younger sister)
20. nimbüiatcin'ᵗ (older sister's child)	nupbieteini (older sister's child, w. s.)
21. qönun'ᵗ (father's father)	kunoni (father's father)
22. qönuntcin'ᵗ (son's child, m. s.)	kunotcini (son's child, m. s.)
23. '^{wi}'tcin'ᵗ (father's mother)	hutcini (father's mother)
24. '^{wi}'tcitcin'ᵗ (son's child, w. s.)	hutcitcini (son's child, w. s.)
25. toγun'ᵗ (mother's father)	tôgoni (mother's father)
26. toγutcin'ᵗ (daughter's child, m. s.)	tôgotcini (daughter's child, m. s.)
27. qaγun'ᵗ (mother's mother)	kaguni (mother's mother)
28. qaγutcin'ᵗ (daughter's child, w. s.)	kagutcini (daughter's child, w. s.)
29. yaitcin'ᵗ (spouse's parent, son's wife)	yeheni (spouse's parent)
30. munatcin'ᵗ (daughter's husband)	môhoni (daughter's husband)
31. tantauavin'ᵗ (wife's brother; sister's husband, m. s.)	atamwoni (wife's brother; sister's husband, m. s.)
32. nambiwan'ᵗ (brother's wife; sister's husband, w. s.; wife's sister; husband's brother; husband's sister)	nebiwhoni (wife's sister; brother's wife, m. s.)
33. piwan'ᵗ (husband, wife)	piwhani (wife)

As disclosed by the preceding list, Uintah Ute terms and Kawaiisu terms exhibit, in addition to similarity in sound, a marked similarity in application. The few deviations from this similarity are now to be discussed. Equivalents for numbers 12 and 13, the Ute terms for mother's *older* brother and younger sister's child (m. s.), are lacking in Kawaiisu. The Kawaiisu do not distinguish between mother's older and mother's younger brothers. Both are included in the one term cinŭni, the Ute equivalent of which refers only to mother's younger brother. Three Ute terms of affinity, numbers 29, 32, and 33, are much more embracing in meaning than the corresponding Kawaiisu terms. Number 29 unites son's wife with spouse's parent, a procedure quite foreign to Kawaiisu. Equally unique is number 33, which unites husband and wife in one term, the equivalent of English spouse. The Ute term thus used is employed in Kawaiisu and Kaibab Paiute for wife only. In number 32 are combined relationships which in Kawaiisu require three terms for their expression, viz.:

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

K
601
171

1. nebiwhoni (brother's wife, m. s.; wife's sister)
2. nekomwhoni (sister's husband, w. s.; husband's brother)
3. wüsimbiani (brother's wife, w. s.; husband's sister)

The uniting in Ute of the relationships expressed in 1 and 2 is in line with and a natural consequence of the combining of husband and wife in one term (number 33).

T
K
601
171

By way of summary, we find that the Uintah Ute nomenclature exhibits six peculiarities of application which are lacking in Kawaiisu; the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature exhibits twelve; and the Tübatulabal list (although the speech is quite distinct from the preceding three groups), exhibits only ten peculiarities. It seems as though contiguity of territory is responsible for the small number of discrepancies between the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu nomenclatures, just as it doubtless accounts for the features they have in common, such as the terms and suffixes denoting the condition of the connecting relative. On the other hand, community of language doubtless accounts for the similar phenomena among the Uintah Ute and the Kawaiisu. Certainly contiguity of territory does not account for them, for the two groups, at least at the present time, are far removed from each other. But if community of language explains the Uintah Ute nomenclature, what can be said of the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature, which is in a dialect very similar to both Uintah Ute and Kawaiisu? Kaibab Paiute shows more peculiarities when compared to its congener Kawaiisu than does even the extraneous Tübatulabal. Clearly the position of Kaibab Paiute is anomalous. Although linguistically close to both Kawaiisu and Uintah Ute, and geographically intermediate, it displays more than twice as many peculiarities when compared with Kawaiisu as does Uintah Ute. Dr. Sapir remarks with regard to Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms of relationship: "Here, as so often, a cultural dividing line runs clear across a homogeneous linguistic group."[27] The writer would go a step farther and remark that, if our evidence is correct, the northeastern extremity (Uintah Ute) of the group is in closer agreement with the southwestern extremity (Kawaiisu) than either one is with the middle (Kaibab Paiute). Hence the homogeneous linguistic group may be spoken of as trisected rather than bisected.

[27] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv, 137, 1913.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	v
SECTION	
1-14. MYTHS AND TALES	192-193
1. Hoarded game	192-193
2. Coyote rescues babies	194-195
3. Coyote and Bear	198-199
4. Bat and Horsefly	198-199
5. War with the Yokuts	200-201
6. Visit to the land of the dead	202-203
7. Yihawal steals girl	206-207
8. End of the mythical age	206-207
9. Death comes into the world	208-209
10. The winged one	208-209
11. Coyote freezes	208-209
12. How the earth was made	208-209
13. Coyote's mother-in-law	210-211
14. Blood-clot boy	210-211
15-19. DREAMS	214-215
15. Jimsonweed dream	214-215
16. Bear dream	214-215
17. Requested dream	214-215
18. Bull dream	216-217
19. Deer dream	216-217
20-22. MISCELLANEOUS	218-219
20. Speech to boys	218-219
21. Concerning bears	218-219
22. The clown	218-219
23-27. PERSONAL ANECDOTES	220-221
23. Journey from Tejon	220-221
24. Deer hunt	220-221
25. Fiesta near Bishop	220-221
26. Trip to Isabella	220-221
27. Autobiography	222-223
NOTES	242

MYTHS AND TALES

1. HOARDED GAME

X 539

1. tība'itekɨte[1*] halīt kɯ'di ɨet ana·badzi·'mkidža. 2. pɨ'ekɨte tībaite tohat ha'ekɨte ha·inda mī·'īgat pɯnī'ik ta·'lgɨ'te tohat. 3. me·eda'kɨte na·abɯndzɨŋ ta·l tohi·n ha'ekɨte ha·inda mī·'īgat. 4. pī·'īwai'igɨte pūlīt ī·lī·'īŋ. 5. mā·'· kī'kɨte[2] ɨeta. 6. mā·'· kī'kɨte ɨet. 7. ha·yi tohi·l kīkidža ɨeta ku· ô·ôya·gica·gila. 8. tī·'wī kī'kɨte ɨet. 9. pɨekɨteta waha·i i·mi wal ye·ewaŋ. 10. wana·ŋkɨteta[3] i·mi muwa·lap. 11. pɨ'ekɨte ɨeta amha tsuyu·ī. 12. lelukpa·haibi kī'kɨte ɨeta. 13. hā'·[4] kī'kɨte ɨet. 14. toha·lambe·. 15. hā· kī'kɨte ɨet.

16. waha·igɨ'te tībaite i·mi teô·ômi·k ô·hôla·la. 17. tu·cigɨ'te ɨet lelukpat ano·obi·inae.

18. pɨ'ekɨte tībaitc miyat ô·hôla·la. 19. pɨ'ekɨte miyakēca a·dawī·k u·iyaŋ ki·ma·awet halɨt ih kīkidža. 20. pɨ'ekɨte i·mi mi'ɯpɨ wal mô·hôeta. 21. pɨ'ekɨte wahai tīnda a·dawī·k ɨki·k. 22. tu·cigɨte tohi·l pī·'īmīt. 23. tī·'ntkɨte hani·l. 24. pɨekɨte tohi·l tu·ei ī·'eīdī·k ta·wīgīe tībaidži. 25. pɨ'ekɨte wah ta·twal ha'īe ɯpeakɯn. 26. i·yôwal i·yôwa·lu. 27. pɨ'ekɨte ta·twal a·dawī·k tībaidži ī·wīnī·ŋ. 28. kimah ala'a'e[5] kīkidža[6] teɯŋgɯttɯŋnī·'īŋ[7] pɯŋgumī·n[8] kīkidža. 29. pɨ'ekɨte tībaite ôlhôm' hani·iban a·ma·yu. 30. yandzīh kīkidža ta·twal. 31. wa'hkɨte tībaite halīt. 32. ta·wīgī'a'tkɨte tībaite cu·nayɯn[9] hani·lŋ.[9] 33. yo·wi'igɨte pa·hu·l wilô·ômat. 34. ambi ma·giba'at kī'kɨte tahambɨe. 35. hā· kīkidža. 36. īwīn pa·hu·l tei·te ku·uwīn wa' tohi·la a'ya'i·napī·īlɨŋ pa·hu·n kīkidža. 37. kɯdi' īwīn[10] wô· pa·hu·l wīn[10] wa' a'ya'i·'ina't wô· pa·hu·l. 38. ku· īwīn tɯgɯmbal wil'wilat. 39. wīn wa'adɨŋ ma·wīgī·lɨŋ wi·nan tɯ'gɯmba'la' pɨe tohi·ilɨŋ tī·'wī cu·unan. 40. pɯni'iyu pa·hu·ēl kimat ih. 41. ībīh kī'kɨte tībaite. 42. pɨ'ekɨte tahambɨe ô·l. 43. īwīkīkɯn pa·i'igidža patsa·ahil kɯlu·udap mī·hī'at. 44. tīkah kīkɨte tībaidži. 45. pɨ'ekɨte tībaite ītīk tei·te patsa·hila. 46. pɨ'ekɨte īmbī·[11] īwīk tei·te. 47. ku'ugɨte pa·i ôgôn wah mī·hī'at. 48. pɨ'ekɨte tībaite ītīk. 49. ha'ekɨte tībaite a·yawa. 50. ci·uba'gɨte amha tahambici wal patsa·hila. 51. tīkiba'aki mapɨtala ana'ap hac wila'ala. 52. hac[12] pɯŋgīh kī'kɨte tahambɨe. 53. ha·'ɨe[13] wila'alah kī'kɨte tībaite.

54. pɨ'ekɨte wahai tahambɨe ɯpeamɯn. 55. ɨwila'ala'kɨte wal wôhô·nôla. 56. pɨ'ekɨte tībaite e'elamɯn ô·nô·ôban. 57. pɨ'ekɨte wal tohi·la a·ba·yīwɯn. 58. pɨekɨtewah[13] tahambɨe e'elakɯn pa·ŋatsɯ. 59. pɨ'ekɨte tībaite ôlhô·ômamɯn mô·hôctɨŋ[14] cu·naban.[14] 60. tahambɨci'·ŋgɨte pô·ôgôcɯ tīnda wa'hkɨte tībaite ôlhô·mamɯn ômbôlô·gaban. 61. tu·cigɨte tahambɨe wī·īdīt īmī·'īgica·gilɨŋ kīkidža. 62. pɨ'ekɨte wal nahats īwīk. 63. pɨ'ekɨte ya·n tu·gawīt. 64. 'a·m·'· 'am·'· ta'ɯka'yei[15]

'a·m·'· 'am·'· pa"a'ye'ī[15] kī'kɨte.

65. pɨ'ekɨte wal nahats ɨginīt. 66. pɨekɨtewah tība·idžɨŋ pô·nɯ wīnī·īgimat ɯkuba·n naha'adɨn. 67. pɨekɨtewal tahambɨe wīkīe palakīt kɯtap. 68. tu·'gawī'tkɨte ya·n.

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* Superior figures refer to notes at end of book, pp. 243-246.

MYTHS AND TALES

1. HOARDED GAME

539x

1. Wolf, it is said, is living and also Coyote. (They) are brothers, it is said. 2. Then, it is said, Wolf hunts but does not kill anything, it is said. He hunts every day. 3. In the morning (after) eight days of his hunting he kills nothing. 4. Without anything he arrives in the evening. 5. "Hello," he says to Coyote, it is said. 6. "Hello-o-o," says Coyote (weakly), it is said. 7. "No deer," he says to Coyote, it is said, "and we will (therefore) move." 8. "Good," says Coyote, it is said. 9. Then, it is said, they went from there that next day. 10. Far away, it is said, they went in the mountains. 11. Then, it is said, he gave to Coyote, it is said, his own white rock. 12. "You must lick it," he says to Coyote, it is said. 13. "Yes," says Coyote, it is said. 14. "Let me go hunt." 15. "Yes," says Coyote, it is said.

16. From there, it is said, Wolf went down toward the canyon. 17. Coyote, it is said, is licking (the white rock which Wolf gave him), every little while.

18. Then, it is said, Wolf goes to the canyon. 19. Then, it is said, while going he saw smoke. "Somebody lives here," he says, it is said. 20. Then, it is said, he went close to that smoke house. 21. Then, it is said, from there he saw rocks this way. 22. It is said that deer are filling (the rock enclosure). 23. It is said the house (is made of) rock. 24. Then, it is said, the deer move when (they) see Wolf. 25. Then, it is said, a man came outside when he heard (the deer move) there. 26. "Ye stand still, ye stand still" (says the man to the deer). 27. Then, it is said, the man saw Wolf standing (there). 28. "Come, hurry up," he says, it is said, "my pets are afraid of you," he says, it is said. 29. Then, it is said, Wolf entered (the man's) house with him. 30. "Be seated," the man says, it is said. 31. There, it is said, Wolf is sitting. 32. Wolf looks about, it is said, inside the house. 33. Many arrows, it is said, are hanging up. 34. "Do you want to find out (about the arrows)?" says the old man. 35. "Yes," says (Wolf), it is said. 36. "One arrow present—this one—that is the arrow of the deer-killer," he says, it is said. 37. "And also the two arrows present—(with) those two arrows he kills deer." 38. And also the beads here are hanging up. 39. (Those) are the bead presents of that infallible hunter, then the heart of the deer (feels) good (when beads are presented to it). 40. All arrows (shot into deer) come here. 41. "Yes," says Wolf, it is said. 42. Then, it is said, the old man got up. 43. He brought in three shelled pine nuts—(they) are lying in the cup. 44. "Eat," he says to Wolf. 45. Then, it is said, Wolf ate one shelled pine nut. 46. Then, it is said, he again took one. 47. And, it is said, three (are still) lying there. 48. Then, it is said, Wolf ate (in earnest). 49. Wolf did not, it is said, finish (the pine nuts). 50. He gave those shelled pine nuts back again to the old man, it is said. 51. "I want to eat fresh ones. Can you not climb (a tree)?" 52. "Do not say that," says the old man. 53. "No, go climb," says Wolf, it is said.

54. Then, it is said, the old man went out from there. 55. He went to climb that pine tree, it is said. 56. Then, it is said, Wolf jumped outside. 57. Then, it is said, he scattered the deer. 58. Then, it is said, there the old man jumped down from up (the tree). 59. Then, it is said, Wolf entered inside the smoke house. 60. Wolf went in underneath the rock pillow of the old man, it is said. 61. The old man is mad, it is said, "I will kill you," he says, it is said. 62. Then, it is said, he took his own staff. 63. Then, it is said, he sang all night. 64. "Am, am, my own deer,

"Am, am, my own mountain sheep," he says, it is said.

65. Then, it is said, he swings that, his own cane. 66. Then, it is said, there he puts the fur of Wolf on the end of his own staff. 67. Then, it is said, when the old man takes that (fur), he is throwing it in the fire. 68. All night, it is said, he sang.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

×539

69. pɛ'ekɨte ta·labɨcɨ̄gimaŋ ɨpeamɨn ta·wɨ̄gɨ̄·lac wal pɯŋgumɨ̄·i. 70. ha·yigɨte wah tohi·l tei·tekɨtewah wô'ôkan ma·ɣ̣hpɨl wah ɨ̄·wɨ̄nɨ̄t. 71. miyah igô·ôci·k wahai'igɨte. 72. ma·ɣ̣hpɨl i·mi. 73. pɛ'ekɨte tɨ̄baite e'elamɨn ô·nô·ôban. 74. i·migidža ci·uba hani·mɨni·k. 75. pɛckidža mi'ima' ɨmɨ̄·ɨ̄gamɨn wô· tohi·la. 76. wa'hkɨte ô·nô·ôban hani'ɨn apalak pɨ̄lɨ̄·ɨ̄lac. 77. pɛckɨte waha·i e·ele·egɯn cu·naban ma·''ɛ̄bi kɨ̄kidža ɨeta. 78. a'nbi wô·ôgami ɨ̄lɨ̄'at. 79. hâ· kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. 80. ɨ̄wɨn tohi·la'nɨ̄·ɨŋ[16] kinɨn wa·''ana·mô̄lɨŋ nɨ̄·mayɨn. 81. pɛ'ekɨte wal wa·''i amha ɨeta. 82. tu·cigɨte[17] wal ɨet ewele·hamɨn pɛ'ekɨte wahai'igɨte ɨet ô·l. 83. pɛ'ekɨte ômôxpa a·awa. 84. pɛ'ekɨte wa'hai[18] ɨet ɨ̄tɨk wô·magɨte ɨet ô·''ô·bawɨ̄·t. 85. wô''ôkangɨ'l i·mi. 86. tɨ̄'wɨ̄ kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. 87. wa'hkɨl i·mica kala·agaɣ̣p. 88. tɨ̄'wɨ̄ kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. 89. waha'igɨteta' i·mi wal ye·ewaŋ. 90. ɨ̄·bɨ̄lɨ̄·ɨ̄la'gɨteta' wah kala·agaɣ̣p. 91. wahkɨteta ataxkɨn. 92. pɛ'ekɨte ta'waha'i me·edak ôtôha·ala. 93. pɛckɨteta ɨmɨ̄·ɨ̄k tohi·la ege·wayɨn. 94. pɛ'ekɨte tɨ̄baite ɨ̄·ɨ̄wɨ̄·gi·nakɨn tohi·la.

95. wica·abe· kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet haemal ci·igɨn ɨ̄·wɨnɨ̄·ɨmal wô·bayu kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet pɛ'ekɨl[19] tɨ̄nt a·aba·iwica kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. 96. tɨ̄'wɨ̄ kɨ̄'kɨte tɨ̄baite. 97. pɛ'ekɨte waha'i'ida' tɨ̄nt a·aba·iɣ̣. 98. wa'hô·ôwôk.

2. COYOTE RESCUES BABIES

1. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet miyat tsô·ômi·k[20] pa·alɨŋ pɯmatsɨn wele·hana'tkɨte ɨet. 2. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet miya'kêca' a·dawɨ̄·k ɛiga·ala·nata. 3. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet ôh kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. aŋhani·l wet ih halɨ̄t kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. 4. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet wɯpeata u·ugu·i a'tsum ta·wɨ̄gɨ̄·la kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. 5. pɛ'ekɨte waha'i ɨet i·mi ta·wɨ̄gɨ̄·lac. 6. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet e''ela·''egɨ'n.

7. pɛ'ekɨte yo·''wi a·dawɨ̄·k u·di·lami. 8. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet ôlhô'm'. 9. yo·''wi wet u·di·ilam kuma·wet a·abu·p ta·wɨ̄gɨ̄·lambɨ̄· pa·awa·i.

10. pɛ'ekɨte wahai ɨet a·ma·igɨ̄la. 11. ɨ̄·ɨ̄bɨ̄lɨ̄·ɨ̄la'gɨte ɨet. 12. a'la'a'c kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet pa·awa·i ɨmɨ̄bi·c kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet yo·''wik u·di·lami ɨ̄·ɨ̄dɨ̄u ha·ayi a·abu·p. 13. pɛ'ekɨte pa·awa·n u'uganɣ̣. 14. pɛ'ekɨteta wahai i·mi. 15. wankɨteta ɨ̄·bɨ̄lɨ̄·ɨ̄la.

16. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet a·dawɨ̄·k pu·umɨlgidža' wɨ'lwila't. 17. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet u·''u·udɨn wetkɨtewan pa·aci·l. 18. pɛ'ekɨte ɨtɨ̄kan. 19. pɛ'ekɨteti' ɨmbɨ̄· ci·wayɨn u·''u·udɨn wetkɨtewan tɨ̄bat wa'lgɨteti' ɨtɨ̄kan. 20. pɛ'ekɨte pɯni'ik ɨtɨ̄kan wôna·ŋ μkuba·n tei·te hac tɨ̄kat tɨ̄kanaŋ. 21. pɯni'ikɨte[21] amôk[22] ɯndama·i tɨ̄kanat ha'ekɨte tɨ̄kat. 22. ha·inda wet tɨ̄kat kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet a'tsum[23] cô·ôgônɲtɨŋ[24] pa·yɯn[25] mah. 23. wô·magɨte wal ɨtɨ̄k ɨeta mahaŋ.[26] 24. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet wal ôgô'n[27] a·wa·hai[28] u·di·witami.

25. pɛckɨteta met[29] a'aya·u. 26. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet ɯmbiŋk a·acɨ̄·lica'gilu·ts kɨ̄kɨte ɨet. 27. tɨ̄'wɨ̄ kɨ̄'kɨte u·di·ila'm. 28. pɛckɨteta a·cɨ̄·ɨ̄la.

29. pɛ'ekɨte tu·gayaya·l a·dza·ya·awat a·ci·ya'awac. 30. pɛ'ekɨte li'kli·''gi·''ibɨ't a·ha. 31. tu·gayaya·''lbi' wɨnɨ̄'kɨ̄'kidža'.[29] 32. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet wô''ôkana·''gilu·''ts a·aba·ndɨk kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet. 33. kata'xwahai'iwɨ̄'tpu·mu' ta'ni'ik ha'e tμ'l tɨ̄'waha·iwɨ̄t ɨ̄·ɨ̄dɨ̄u'gɨ'lulu' a·abu·mɨ̄·ɨ̄lu i·mi a·hyamɨ'ndulu' wa'lgilu·''ts akataxwi·nalca pa·i ta·l ɨmbɨ̄·gilu·ts i·mica kɨ̄'kɨte ɨet.

34. pɛckɨteta wahai i·mi teô·ômi·k. 35. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet ɯmbiŋk wô·ôba·na'clu' halɨ̄mɯnah kudi'gɨ'te ɨet wô·ba·nae i·mi·n. 36. pɛ'ekɨte ɨet piŋgɨ̄t wô· ana·''ɯepɯ halɨ̄t kɨ̄'kɨte ta·alɨŋ tu'umu·mμm hacpμm wal mɨ̄·ɨgai a''awi·''nica'gɨ'lulu' lôho·maŋdzi ô''ôwaka'ŋda' kɨ̄·ɨ̄dɨɯp ha'epum wal mu·uhai.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539x

69. Then, it is said, when morning came, he went out to see his own pets. 70. No deer (are) there, it is said, (but) pretty soon one little buck is standing there. 71. "Go outside from there," it is said (the old man says). 72. The little buck went. 73. Then, it is said, Wolf jumped outside. 74. He went, it is said, back again toward his own house. 75. Then, it is said, while going, he killed two deer. 76. Then, it is said, he threw (them) on the outside of his own house when he arrived. 77. Then, it is said, from there he looked inside, (and) "Hello you," he says to Coyote, it is said. 78. "Are you still alive?" 79. "Yes," says Coyote, it is said. 80. "Here is the deer I have brought. Let me cook his liver for you." 81. Then he gave his already cooked game to Coyote. 82. It is said Coyote swallowed that. Then, it is said, Coyote got up. 83. Then, it is said, he cooked by himself. 84. Then, it is said, from there Coyote ate; right away, it is said, Coyote got strong. 85. "Pretty soon we go." 86. "Good," says Coyote. 87. "Then we will go to Mount Whitney." 88. "Good," says Coyote. 89. From there, it is said, they went that next day. 90. They arrived there, it is said, on Mount Whitney. 91. There, it is said, they slept. 92. Then, it is said, from there they went and hunted in the morning. 93. Then, it is said, they killed a big deer. 94. Then, it is said, Wolf dragged the deer this way.

95. "Just a moment," says Coyote, it is said. "let's not skin him, let's stand on each side," says Coyote, it is said, "then we will be turned into rock," says Coyote, it is said. 96. "Good," says Wolf, it is said. 97. Then, it is said, from there they got turned into rocks. 98. There it is ended.

2. COYOTE RESCUES BABIES

1. Then Coyote is going down toward the edge of the water; Coyote is fishing. 2. Then while going he saw a willow house. 3. Then "Oh," Coyote says, "so people live here," Coyote says. 4. Then Coyote hid his own staff. "Let me go and look," Coyote says (to himself). 5. Then Coyote took leave from there while he went to look. 6. Then Coyote looked in.

7. Then he saw many babies. 8. Then Coyote entered. 9. "So many babies; and where, indeed, (are) their mothers? Let me go presently to see my own father's sister" (Coyote tells himself).

10. Then Coyote ran from there. 11. Coyote went and arrived. 12. "Hurry up," says Coyote to his aunt. "You must do (something)," Coyote says. "I found many babies without their mother." 13. Then his aunt got ready. 14. Then they went from there. 15. There they arrived.

16. Then Coyote saw it—the ones already tied are hanging (on baby-boards). 17. Then Coyote untied it—so that one (has fastened to him) chia seeds! 18. Then he fed (baby). 19. Then also, again, he untied another (baby)—so that one (has fastened to him) pine nuts; these also he fed (to the baby). 20. Then he fed every (baby) (except) far away on the end one is not eating when he feeds him. 21. He is feeding him everything in vain; (the baby on the end) is not eating. 22. "So he is eating nothing," says Coyote. "Let me give him tobacco juice." 23. Right away he ate that when Coyote gave it to him. 24. Then Coyote took care of those little babies.

25. Then they already grew up. 26. Then Coyote said, "We will bathe," says Coyote. 27. "Good," say the boys. 28. Then they went and bathed.

29. Then Tugayal is hollering when he finished bathing. 30. Then little Liklik heard him. 31. "Tugayal, you are present," says (little Liklik). 32. Then, "Pretty soon we make war," Coyote says. 33. "Ye would have died if I had not found ye. I found ye. Your mothers took leave, quit ye. We will go to slaughter those (mothers). After three days we will go," says Coyote.

34. Then they went from there down (the Kern canyon). 35. Then Coyote said, "Half (of you), ye stay here," and, also, Coyote took half (of them with him). 36. Then Coyote says, "Two girls are living," Coyote says, "the offspring of Sun; do not kill them. I will show ye when we enter—they have (tattoo) marks on their faces—do not shoot them."

x
539

37. pɛ'ekɨteta' ôlhôm' met ta'labɛcigimaŋ. 38. pɛ'ekɨte ɛet taŋ kula'batsu'n[36] tɨmiwa'-la'a'ŋ.[36] 39. pɛ'ekɨte tɨmiwal taa'yau me'eda'dzi[31] ī'ībūl wa'atam kī'kidža tɨmiwal wa'acal. 40. pɛ'ekɨte aŋhani'l a'lɨte ĭwĭk. 41. pɛekɨteta wô'ma na'yu tu'cigɨ'te ɛetɛ'ŋ ha'yi a'ɛiŋan ô'ginaŋ. 42. pɛekɨteta akatarwi'n aŋhani'la wĭnkɨteta ôgôn nī'na'wayat.

43. pɛekɨteta ī'bīlī'ɨgɨm wah wa'tamɒ. 44. pɛewanda weteu na'yu. 45. pɛ'ekɨte ɨnda ô'no'mɨni'k i'mi. 46. pɛekɨteta akatarwi'n pɨni'ik wô''gɨte wô'ôkan a'abai, ta'lɨŋ tu'umu'-mɨm ana'wɨepɒp.

47. pɛekɨteta wal ɨŋgm. 48. wahkɨteta ī'bīlī'ɨgɨm hani'p wahkɨteta taxkɨn.[32] 49. tu'cigɨte ɛet hac tsulu'umat tu'gawĭt ô'yômi'ba'at ana'wɨepmi. 50. tu''cigɨte ɛet nu'ubu'nu'ubat.

51. pɛ'ekɨte met eyɐu'wa. 52. pɛ'ekɨte ɛet ɨmbɨŋk miya'malu'tapic. 53. pɛekɨteta waha'iyu[33] u''uga'nɣ. 54. pɛekɨteta ī'bīlī'ĭla. 55. pɛ'ekɨte ta'ltīpī'[34] a'dawĭ'k kimaŋ. 56. pɛ'ekɨte ta'l ata'aga'ala tīpī'. 57. mā' mā' kī'kɨte ta'l wīŋi'mīnī'ĭŋ lohô'ômah kīkɨte ta'l. 58. wahkɨteta taxkɨn. 59. pɛ'ekɨte me'edak tīkiya'awac ta'lgɨte ɨmbɨŋk tu'gayaya'la manhīgī'epi'[35] pa'hu'inī'ĭŋ ku'yī'at. 60. hac pɨŋgĭh kī'kɨte tu'gayaya'l. 61. ha''ɛe kī'kɨte ta'l manhīgī'epi'[35] ku'yī'at kīkidža'. 62. pɛ'ekɨte tu'gayaya'l pa'i kīkidža. 63. tī'wī tī'wī kīkɨte ta'l. 64. ya'h ɨmbi' kī'kɨte lapa'apī'la. 65. hac pɨŋgĭh kīkidža lapa'apī'l. 66. ha''ɛe kīkidža manhīgī'epi'[37] ku'yī'a'tnī'ī'ŋ[37] pa'hu'iyɨn.[38] 67. wô'gī'kɨte la'pa'apī'l. 68. tī'wī tī'wī kīkidža. 69. ya'hɨmbi' kīkɨte akapi'bita. 70. hac pɨŋgĭh kīkidža. 71. ha''ɛe kī'kɨte ta'l hanhīgī'epi' ku'yī'at. 72. tei'te kīkidža. 73. tī'wī tī'wī kīkɨte ta'l. 74. ya'haimbi' kīkɨte ɛeta. 75. ma'haidžiŋa kī'kɨte ɛet. 76. tī'wī tī'wī tī'wī kīkɨte ta'l. 77. yah kima'alu. 78. pɛekɨteta i'mi ô'no'oban. 79. wɨca'abe' kī'kɨte ta'l. 80. pɛ'ekɨte hani'p ôlhôm'. 80. pɛ'ekɨte ī'ūlī' ɛpea'agɨm. 82. a'li'tekɨte yĭwī'gimat. 83. he'i kī'kɨte ɛet ta'wīgĭe a'litɨm axkatarwa'gilu'ts we'edu[39] kī'kɨte ɛet. 84. pɛ'ekɨte ta'l a'lɨte ɨkik. 85. yah ɨmbi' ī'wīnīlah kī'kɨte tu'gayaya'la. 86. wa'hkɨte tu'gayaya'l i'mi. 87. wa'hkɨte ī'—ī'wīn. 88. an[40] me'eda kī'kɨte ta'l. 89. pɛ'ekɨte ta'l u'mu'. 90. kahŋ[41] kī'kɨte a'lɨn tu'cigɨte tu'gayaya'l paŋa' i'mi. 91. pɛ'ekɨte ei'uba ī''ī'wīn wah. 92. pɛekɨteti' ta'l ɨkik a'lɨte. 93. pɛekɨte ta'l u'mu'. 94. wana'ŋ i'mi paŋa' tu'gayaya'l. 94. pɛ'ekɨte ei'uba ī''ī'wīn. 95. pɛekɨteti'[42] ta'l a'lɨte ɨkik pɛ'ekɨte u'umu' ka'''m.[43] 96. pɛ'ekɨte tu'gayaya'l andana ei'uba. 97. i'lmahka'mbi' we'edu kīkidža. 98. ya'haimbi' weteu kī'kɨte lapa'apī'la. 99. pɛ'ekɨte ta'l u'mu'. wana''ŋgɨte i'mi paŋa. 100. pɛekɨte ei'uba ī''ī'wīn. 101. pɛekɨteti' ta'l a'lɨte ɨkik. 102. pɛekɨteti' u'mu'. 103. wana''ŋgɨte i'mi paŋa. 104. pɛ'ekɨte ei'uba ī''ī'wīn wah. 105. i'lmahka'mbi' we'edu kī'kɨte ta'l. 106. ya'haimbi' kī'kɨte akapi'bita. 107. pɛ'ekɨte ta'l u'umu'. 108. ka'''k[44] ĭkīmina''gidža. 109. i'lmahka'mbi' we'edu. 110. ya'haimbi' kī'kɨte ɛeta. 111. pɛ'ekɨte ta'l u'mu. 112. wa'a'[45] ĭkīmina'ngɨte ɛet tu''cigɨte ɛet e'elamɨn. 113. ea''ngɨte wah pô'côpī'l u'lu'umɒ'amɨn. 114. pɛekɨteti' ei'uba ɛet ī''ī'wīn. 115. pɛekɨteti' ta'l u'mu'. 116. wī'ngɨte ôgôn pīnī'. 117. ma''ha'idžiŋa''ami'gɨte ɛeta tuma'u. 118. i'lmahka'mbi' we'edu kīkɨte ta'l. 119. yah me'eda kī'kɨte ta'l.

120. wɨca'abe' kī'kɨte ɛet hac wô'gami kī'kɨte ɛet. 121. pɨŋgĭh manhīgī'pi'nī'ĭŋ[46] pa'hu'iyɨn ku'yī'at kīkɨte ɛet. 122. ha''ɛe pɨŋgĭh kī'kɨte ta'l. 123. ha''ɛe kī'kɨte ɛet pɨŋgĭh a'la'a'e kī'kɨte ɛet. 124. pɛ'ekɨte ta'l ôlhôm' hani'p. 125. tei'te ɲeu''lgɨte he''ewi''na'gima't ô'yata. 126. yah kī'kɨte ɛeta. 127. ha''ɛe kī'kɨte ɛet. 128. manhīgī'epi'[47] ku'yī'atnī'ĭŋ pa'hu'iyɨn. 129. pɛekɨteti' ta'l ɨmbī' ĭwīkɨkɨn tei'te ma'cata ô'yata. 130. yah kī'kɨte ɛeta. 131. ha''ɛe kī'kɨte ɛet manhīgī'epi'[47] ku'yī'atnī'ĭŋ pa'hu'iyɨn.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539x

37. Then they entered (the enemy village) when daylight came. 38. Then Coyote kicked the neck of the chief. 39. Then the chief yelled, "Already the soldiers arrived (for) us," says Crane, the chief. 40. Then the people grabbed their own bows. 41. Then they fought right off. (It seemed as if) Coyote had no left when he dodged (to the left as ably as most men can dodge to the right). 42. Then they slaughtered the people—they stay with (the people whom they are killing).

43. Then they came and arrived by their soldiers (the second half). 44. Then those (the second half) fought next. 45. Then they went backward. 46. Then they slaughtered everyone; pretty soon (only) two were left, the offspring of Sun, girls.

47. Then they brought those (girls). 48. There they came and arrived at home; there they slept. 49. Coyote does not sleep all night; he wants to copulate with the girls. 50. Coyote is jumping back and forth.

51. Then dawn came already. 52. Then Coyote said, "Let us go immediately." 53. Then they prepared to go from there. 54. Then they went and arrived. 55. Then Sun saw them when they came. 56. Then Sun went to meet them. 57. "Hello, hello," says Sun, "my sons-in-law, come in," says Sun. 58. There they slept. 59. Then in the morning, having finished eating, Sun said to Tugayal, "How many of my arrows do you desire?" 60. "Do not say (that)," says Tugayal. 61. "No," says Sun, "how many do you want?" he says. 62. Then Tugayal says, "Three." 63. "Good, good," says Sun. 64. "Now you," (Sun) says to Lapapil. 65. "Do not say (that)," says Lapapil. 66. "No," says (Sun), "how many of my arrows do you desire?" 67. "Two," says Lapapil. 68. "Good, good, good," says (Sun). 69. "Now you," says (Sun) to the little Crow. 70. "Do not say (that)," says (Crow). 71. "No," says Sun, "how many do you desire?" 72. "One," says (Crow). 73. "Good, good," says Sun. 74. "Now you," (Sun) says to Coyote. 75. "Five," Coyote says (promptly, thinking that Sun would give away his arrows instead of shooting them). 76. "Good, good, good," says Sun. 77. "Now ye come out." 78. Then they went outside. 79. "Just a moment," says Sun. 80. Then he entered in his own house. 81. Then after a while he came out. 82. He is coming and holding his own bow. 83. "Hey," says Coyote when he sees (Sun's) bow, "so we get slaughtered pretty soon," says Coyote. 84. Then Sun filled his bow (with an arrow). 85. "Now you go stand up," Sun says to Tugayal. 86. There Tugayal went. 87. There he stood up. 88. "Are you ready?" says Sun. 89. Then Sun shot. 90. "Bang," says his bow, and Tugayal went up. 91. Then back again he stood there. 92. Then Sun again filled his bow. 93. Then Sun shot. 94. Far away Tugayal went up. 94. Then back again he stood up. 95. Then Sun again filled his bow and shot, "Bum." 96. Then Tugayal descended back again. 97. "So, you (are) tough," says (Sun). 98. "Now, you (are) next," he says to Lapapil. 99. Then Sun shot (and Lapapil) went up far away. 100. Then he stood up back again. 101. Then Sun filled his bow. 102. Then again he shot. 103. Far away (Lapapil) went up. 104. Then he stood there, back again. 105. "So, you (are) tough," says Sun. 106. "Now you," he says to the little Crow. 107. Then Sun shot. 108. "Caw," said (Crow) and went away. 109. "So, you (are) tough." 110. "Now you," (Sun) says to Coyote. 111. Then Sun shot. 112. "Ouch," Coyote said and went away. Coyote jumped from here. 113. (Coyote's) white defecation got piled up. 114. Then Coyote also stood up, back again. 115. Then also Sun shot. 116. It is said (Coyote) behaved in the same manner (as before). 117. Five times (Sun) failed (to shoot) Coyote. 118. "So, you (are) tough," says Sun. 119. "Enough now," says Sun.

120. "Just a moment," Coyote says, "not yet," says Coyote. 121. "Say how many of my arrows you desire," says Coyote (to Sun). 122. "Do not say (that)," says Sun. 123. "No," says Coyote, "say quickly," says Coyote. 124. Then Sun entered his own house. 125. One bag is forthcoming bearing money. 126. "Well," he says to Coyote. 127. "No," says Coyote. 128. "How many of my arrows do you desire?" 129. Then, again, Sun again took from there to here one money-bag. 130. "Well," he says to Coyote. 131. "No," says Coyote, "how many of my arrows do you desire?"

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

x 539

132. pɪ'ekɪte tu'gayaya'l ɪmbɪŋk ɪeta met kam'mɪt kī̆kidža. 133. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet a'ayanŋ. 134. wa'haikɪteta' ɪŋgɪm. 135. wahô'ôwôk.

3. COYOTE AND BEAR

1. yo''wigɪ'te aŋhani'l halī̆t ku'di ɪet. 2. pɪ'ekɪteta' tôha'alat pɪ'ni'i'k me'etak. 3. pɪ'ekɪ'te u'unal miyat kɪ'teēki'k[48] u'unal wī̆'ngɪte ôgô'n[49] pīnī̆'' pɪ'ni'i'k me'edak ku''ha'ekɪte pi'nat ha'inda ī̆''lī̆'ī̆'ŋ ku''gɪte wanda' aŋhani'l pi'nat tohi'la ī̆'lī̆'ī̆'ŋ. 4. pɪ'ekɪ'te ɪet mana'awɪn ku'ha'inda ôgôn inī̆lat i' u'unal kī̆'kɪte ɪet ha'i'yiha'i'nda ki'nɪn ī̆'lī̆'ī̆'ŋ ī̆''ihī̆'uwica''gilɪ'ŋ.

5. pɪ'ekɪteta ī̆mbī̆ i'mi me'edak wa'nda aŋhani'l. 6. pɪ'ekɪte u'unal i'mi. 7. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet a'halamɪn hani'p ma'igī̆lu kī̆kɪte ɪet. 8. pɪ'ekɪte wa'hai ɪet i'mi wī̆'giyɪn u'nala'a'ŋ. 9. u'una'lgɪte ɪpica'la muwa'la ɪpca'la. 10. pɪ'ekɪte wahai ī̆mbī̆'[50] cī̆'wayɪn muwa'la ɪpca'la. 11. wī̆ngɪte ôgôn ɪet kimat wī̆'giyɪn ɪ'etkɪ'te. 12. ī̆mbī̆' wahai u'unal ɪpica'ala muwa'la. 13. pai'gɪte muwa'l wahai'gɪte awa''awa' teo'ômi'k. 14. pɪ'ekɪte yo''wi u''ɹɪt wa'hkɪte u'unal ôlhôm' wa'hkɪte ɹteulu'm.

15. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet kimat met mi'ipɪl. 16. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet a''ha' ôcôlô'ŋô'tkidža'. 17. wa'hpi wet[51] wī̆n tsulu'magimac kimat kī̆'kɪte ɪet. 18. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ī̆'ihan tu'eigɪte ôcôlô'ŋôt ɪeta pīlī̆'gimaŋ. 19. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet a'dawī̆'k tu'eigɪte u'unal tca'agat tu'eigɪte ɪet tô'ôgôn amban ta'wī̆gī̆e u'nala tca'agaŋ ha'mama[52] kī̆'kɪte ɪet tambūl ege''ewa'n kī̆'kɪte ɪet. 20. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet nawi' apalak ɪki'k.[53] 21. wa'hkɪte ɪet ô'dô'yan. 22. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet a'yawa.

23. waha'yēgɪte ɪet wô'ma i'mi. 24. pɪ'ekɪte u'unal ī̆''ilī̆'k. 25. a'dawī̆'k ɪetɪŋ wī̆'giyɪn ī̆mī̆''ī̆gica''gilɪ'ŋ waha'igi wô'ôma ɪetɪŋ wī̆'giyɪn. 26. tu'eigɪte ɪet ma'igī̆lat. 27. me'eda'gɪte wô' muwa'la ī̆tsūlī̆'u me'eda'gɪte mi'ipɪl kimat u'unal. 28. ī̆mī̆''ī̆gica'n we'edu kī̆'kɪte ɪet. 29. me'eda'gɪte mi'ipɪl hani' ɪŋgɪm. 30. pɪ'ekɪte u'unal mi'ipɪl kimat. 31. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet hani'p ôlhô'mamɪn hani'p. 32. ku'digɪte[54] u'unal ôlhô'makɪn wī̆'gi'yiba'n. 33. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ɪ'peamɪ'n ô'nô'ôban.[55] 34. pɪ'ekɪte u'unal ī̆wī̆k ɪeta ɪpca'mina'ŋ. 35. pɪ'ekɪte ɹndugu'yɪn ôlô'ôginakɪn. 36. wahai'igɪte ɪet a'ma'igī̆la. 37. pɪ'ekɪte wahai u'unal i'mi.

38. pɪ'ekɪte aŋhani'l ī̆'lī̆'ī̆ŋ ī̆'ibūl. 39. wa'hkɪte ɪet ha'lī̆'a't hani'p. 40. pɪ'ekɪte wa'hai ɪet tɹ'gumba'i ī̆wī̆k. 41. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet i'mi wah tei'te ta'twala'p. 42. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet apalakan pīlī̆'lac. 43. tô''yaki'tei'te ɹndugu'yɪn tohi'lɪŋ kī̆'kɪte ɪet. 44. tī̆'wī̆gī̆'kidža'[56] ta'twal. 45. pɪ'ekɪte tei'te ɹndugu'yɪn amha ɹndugu'yɪn tohi'lɪŋ. 46. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ī̆wī̆kīmɪn hani'mɪni'k. 47. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ī̆dī̆'hawalan. 48. pɪ'ekɪte ɹtudu. 49. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ula'agɪn ci'uba. 50. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ī̆'ī̆gī̆' ɹkɹuyɪn. 51. pɪ'ekɪte ci'uba ī̆tī̆p. 52. pɪ'ekɪte ī̆'ibɪte ɹtudu wô'gamɪn. 53. pɪ'ekɪte ī̆mbɪ' ɪet ī̆'ī̆gī̆. 54. pɪ'ekɪte ci'uba ī̆tī̆p. 55. pɪ'ekɪte tī̆'wī̆ aŋgam'. 56. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet tô'iyi'namɹt. 57. wôha'awôk.[57]

4. BAT AND HORSEFLY

1. patsa'walgite halī̆t patsa'wala'aŋ pa'dzi'n piteo'giet kudi' co'yin ti' wacumbieŋ tidži'te tu'umupin ko'im. 2. pickiteta tohat pini'ik ta'l. 3. patsa'awal mī̆'ī̆gat tohi'la. 4. pikiteta ī̆mbī̆ toha'la.

5. pickite piteo'giet miyakaca tohi'la a'dawī̆'k. 6. pickite patsa'wala mi''i'mgī̆t tohi'l undukakadzi'p ha'idžibī̆'ī̆t. 7. ma' kī̆kite patsa'awal atsumbe' he'ewi'nac a'winah hacki ta'wī̆gī̆t kī̆kidža patsa'wal. 8. pickite ī̆ya'la ī̆wī̆k pundzi'gite hī̆'p ī̆ya'lac. 9. pickite patsa'wal a'dawī̆'k tohi'la. 10. tī̆wī̆ kī̆kite patsa'wal mi''i'm halī̆h.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

132. Then Tugayal said to Coyote, "It is enough already," he says. 133. Then Coyote believed him. 134. They came from there. 135. There it is ended. 539x

3. COYOTE AND BEAR

1. Many people are living, and also Coyote. 2. Then they are going hunting every morning. 3. Then Bear goes the other way; Bear behaves like that every morning and does not bring anything in the evening, and those people bring deer in the evening. 4. Then Coyote (says), "And where (does she go)? This Bear goes along doing nothing," says Coyote. "She brings nothing in the evening. I will observe you" (remarks the chief, Coyote, to himself).

5. Then they again went in the morning, those people. 6. Then Bear took leave. 7. Then Coyote stayed in his own house. "Ye go ahead," says Coyote (to the people). 8. Then Coyote went from there in the tracks of the Bear. 9. Bear went up the mountain. 10. Then from there again she went up another mountain. 11. Coyote is present, Coyote is coming on her tracks. 12. Again from there Bear went up a mountain. 13. Three mountains; from there she descended downward. 14. Then (there are) many trees. There Bear entered (the forest), there she slept.

15. Then Coyote is already coming close. 16. Then Coyote heard her; she is snoring. 17. "So there you are; you come (here) when you come to sleep," says Coyote. 18. Then Coyote sneaked straight ahead. She is snoring when Coyote arrives. 19. Then Coyote saw her; Bear is parting her thighs. Coyote closed his own mouth (with his hands because he is surprised) when he saw Bear parting her thighs. "Hmmm," says Coyote, "such a big one," says Coyote. 20. Then Coyote threw his own apron this way. 21. There Coyote copulated with her. 22. Then Coyote finished.

23. From there Coyote immediately went. 24. Then Bear woke up. 25. She saw the tracks of Coyote. "I will kill you; right away from there I go to the tracks of Coyote" (remarks the Bear to herself). 26. Coyote is running. 27. Already he crossed two mountains; already Bear is coming close. 28. "She will kill me, too," says Coyote. 29. Already he came close to his own house. 30. Then Bear is coming close. 31. Then Coyote entered in his own house. 32. And also Bear entered on his tracks. 33. Then Coyote went out in back. 34. Then Bear grabbed Coyote when he went out. 35. Then she pulled off his tenderloin. 36. From there Coyote ran away. 37. Then from there Bear went to her own house.

38. Then the people arrived in the evening. 39. There Coyote is sitting here and there in his own house. 40. Then from there Coyote took his own beads. 41. Then Coyote went there to one man. 42. Then Coyote threw (the beads to the man) when he arrived. 43. "I am buying one tenderloin of deer," says Coyote. 44. "Good," says the man. 45. Then he gave (Coyote) one tenderloin of deer. 46. Then Coyote took it toward his own house. 47. Then Coyote tried it on. 48. Then (it is) too long. 49. Then Coyote took it back off again. 50. Then Coyote bit the end (of the tenderloin). 51. Then he put it back on again. 52. Then (it is) a little too long yet. 53. Then again Coyote bit it. 54. Then he put it back on again. 55. Then it fitted well. 56. Then Coyote travels about all over. 57. It is ended there. 539x 432

4. BAT AND HORSEFLY

1. Bat is living (with) Horsefly, the older brother of Bat, and also his wife, and his mother-in-law, and one little girl child. 2. So they are hunting every day. 3. Bat is killing deer. 4. Then they take leave and hunt again. 539x

5. Then Horsefly, being interrupted in going, saw the deer. 6. The (Horsefly) says to the Bat, "Right here the deer on that other side (of the canyon) is chewing his cud." 7. "Where?" the Bat is saying. "Tell (me) when I am lifted on your shoulder, (for) I do not see him," the Bat is saying. 8. Then (Bat) grabbed the cactus (and) rubbed his own eyes with the cactus. 9. Then Bat saw the deer. 10. "Good," Bat is saying, "sit down right here."

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

X 539 11. wahaigite i·mi patsa·wal wahkite ībīlīla tohi·lap. 12. pickite piteo·giet u·du·ga ce·wapan tohi·liŋ. 13. wahaigite piteo·giet taīhk tohi·la. 14. tohi·lgite e'elamin ītaīhkaŋ. 15. pickiteta wahai i·mi wīgi·yin tohi·liŋ. 16. pickiteta ī·dīwa·la. 17. mīhī'akite wah.

18. pickite patsa·wal ohtat pa·dzi· ha·inīwīnī kīkidža. 19. wīn wa' pundzin ta·wīgīt wītsa'ac wana·ŋ. 20. ha·inīwīnī kīkidža mupitsin. 21. mupin wīnī. 22. hainīwīnī kīkite. 23. a·wan wīnī wītsa'ac ana·yuwut u·'uta. 24. ha·inīnī kīkite. 25. wīn wa'a ei·min wītsa'ac o·yomat kīkite. 26. ha·inīwīnī kīkite. 27. wīn wa' wowo·n kīkite wa' ī·dī·'anat. 28. ha·inīwīnī wici·yin. 29. wīn wa' wici·n kīkite. 30. ha·in wīnī kīkite ho·iwiyin. 31. wīn wa' ha·iwin kīkite.

32. pickite taīhk wītsi pa·hu·i ho·iwibatsu·n. 33. tohi·l o·lomin. 34. pickite patsa·wala awahai pa·dzi·n. 35. pickite patsa·wal miyagīt. 36. patsa·walgite i·mi wīgi·yin tohi·liŋ.

37. pickite ī·dīwa·la ta·twala ei·ginakite tohi·la. 38. pickite patsa·wal ī·bīlī·la wah mi'ipil. 39. ma' kīkite patsa·wal. 40. hackite ala·wat. 41. pickite patsa·wal apa'agin ko'ombatsu·n. 42. pickite e'elamin o·nomini·k. 43. ma·i'igite we·hat teigo·yin.

44. wahai'igite i·mi patsa·wal. 45. tohi·lagite ele·winamin. 46. patsa·awalgite ī·bīlī·la hani·p. 47. anaŋa'kiteta pīlī·laŋ. 48. pickite patsa·wal olho·mamin cu·naba·n hani·liŋ. 49. pickite kut utsupamin. 50. pickite eo·bit īnīha·la. 51. pickite piteo·giet kuta awaca·gin. 52. patsa·wal halīt yīhpala·p.

53. patsa·wal kīkite piteo·gieta wīkīlah tohi·l kīkite. 54. pickite piteo·giet ehe'ewi·niba'. 55. a·hyakin pīlī kīkite. 56. pickite patsa·wal omoihpa ehe'ewi·nakin tei·džac ma·i.

57. ala'aclu tīkah. 58. pickitcta ala'ac ītīk. 59. pickite patsa·wal u·mu·luw.

60. pickite u·mu· co·bita tiwahai piteo·gieta tiwahai eo·oyi. 61. ana·wiepitagite a·bai.

62. pickite patsa·wabit ko·dzodzo'ina·nat ya·bi'in. 63. to·to·to·[52] kīt ana·wiepit. 64. to·to·'a'aŋdīŋ[53] ko·dzodzo'ina·nat ya·pipiteiŋ. 65. pickite patsa·wabit iwila·la. 66. pickite patsa·wabit o·yomat tu·gawīt. 67. patsa·wabitkite u·du·mu'an ye·ewaŋ wala ana·wiepita. 68. waho·wok.

5. WAR WITH THE YOKUTS

1. pickite tu·gayaya·l halīt kudi·na·luwin kudi· iet kudi· yo·wi aŋhani·l. 2. pickite iet piŋgīt wo'okaŋa·gilu·te a·'a·ndīgī·ila pa·labatala·p kīkite iet onoŋo·i'il.

3. pickiteta i·mi wī·'ita teo·mi·k. 4. wahkiteta atahkina·la.

5. pickite tu·gayaya·l yeuwicin hu'udakinaŋ o·l. 6. pickite a'acī·la. 7. pickiteta wahai i·mi. 8. pickiteta ī·bīlī·la mi'ipil hani·la.

9. pickite iet piŋgīt mi·'i·mlu halīmina pa·im iŋgila'aŋmats[50] pe·welaŋ mi. 10. pickiteta wahai i·mi. 11. wakiteta aŋhani·la o·li·n. 12. tu·cigite iet ela'al o·yi·na'at. 13. pickite la'apa'apī·l hac mī·hli·niwat. 14. pickite iet a'au wīn cu·unan kupumdo· wīn cu·unan ko'ompan winīpī·l wīn cu·unan kīkite iet.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

11. From there Bat took leavé (and) arrived there by the deer. 12. Then Horsefly got black (in appearance) in between the eyes of the deer. 13. There Horsefly struck the deer (in between the eyes). 14. The deer jumped from here when (Horsefly) struck him. 15. Then they (Horsefly and Bat) from there went in the deer's tracks. 16. Then they found him. 17. He is lying there. 539x

18. Then Bat asks his older brother, "What is this?" he says. 19. "That is his eye; he sees with it far away" (answers Horsefly). 20. "What is that?" (Bat) says (pointing at) his nose (nose of the deer). 21. "His nose it is" (answers Horsefly). 22. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 23. "His horn it is; with it he fights the brush" (answers Horsefly). 24. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 25. "That is his penis; with it he copulates," (Horsefly) says. 26. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 27. "That is his testicle," (Horsefly) is saying. "That makes him erotic." 28. "What is that?" (asks Bat, pointing at) his tail. 29. "That is his tail," (Horsefly) says. 30. "What is that?" (Bat) says, (pointing at) his anus. 31. "That is his anus," (Horsefly) says. 539x 826

32. Then (Bat) struck with his own arrow away into his (the deer's) anus. 33. Deer got up. 34. Then his (Bat's) older brother (i.e., Horsefly) scolded Bat. 35. Then, "Bat, go," (Horsefly) says. 36. Bat took leave (following) in the tracks of the deer. 539x

37. Then (Bat) went and found a man; he (the man) is skinning the deer. 38. Then the Bat arrived close to there. 39. "Hello," Bat says. 40. It is said (the man) is not talking. 41. Then Bat hit the man on his head. 42. Then (the man) jumped backward. 43 (Bat) is licking his own hand and his (the man's) brains.

44. From there the Bat took leave. 45. He packed the deer away. 46. The Bat arrived at his own house. 47. They are crying when (Bat) arrived. 48. Then Bat entered inside the house. 49. Then the fire went out. 50. Then the old woman went and dropped (unconscious). 51. Then Horsefly made the fire flame up. 52. Bat is sitting by the door.

53. Bat is saying to the Horsefly, "Go get the deer," he says. 54. So Horsefly began to lift it. 55. He quit there and came back; "Heavy," he is saying. 56. Then Bat by himself with one hand lifted it there and came here.

57. "Quick, you fellows, eat" (Bat orders). 58. So they quickly ate. 59. Then Bat danced.

60. Then (Bat) shot the old woman, and from there the Horsefly, and from there his own wife. 61. The little girl he left over.

62. Then the little Bat is opening her dress for her. 63. "Uncle, uncle, uncle," the little girl is saying. 64. "Your uncle is opening your dress for you" (Bat explains). 65. Then little Bat went and climbed on her. 66. Then the little Bat is copulating with her all night. 67. Little Bat made a baby the next day for that little girl. 68. There it got ended.

5. WAR WITH THE YOKUTS

1. Then Tugayal is living; and also his younger brother, and also Coyote, and also many people. 2. Then Coyote says, "Pretty soon we go to war to the Yokuts," says Coyote, the outlaw.

3. Then they went down the river. 4. There they went and slept.

5. Then Tugayal got up when the Morning Star arose. 6. Then he went and bathed. 7. Then they went from there. 8. Then they went and arrived close to the house.

9. Then Coyote says, "Right here, you fellows sit here; let some of us go first" (advance line in the war). 10. Then they (the advance guard) took leave. 11. There they mauled the people. 12. Straightway Coyote is jumping around and dodging about. 13. Then Lapapil is not touched. 14. Then Coyote told: "It is his heart and you fellows don't know, it is (that) his heart is in his head (in the) one who stands, it is (there that one finds) his heart," says Coyote. 539x 725

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

×539

15. pickitek wah u·mu·'iu. 16. pickite awai'wai'ala. 17. pickita wahai o·no·mini·k iŋgim. 18. umbum weteu met hayi ayamu·ts pa·huts. 19. pickita wahai weteu na·yugiteta. 20. pieta wahai awa'at. 21. mi·'i·m met ĩmĩ·'ĩgiu wah noŋo·iwa·p.

22. pickiteta wahai o·no·gim. 23. ĩmĩ·'ĩgiu la'apa'apĩ·l kudi· likli·gi·bit. 24. pickite wah la'apa'apĩ·l ĩwĩkĩmini·u kudi· likli·gi·ibit. 25. pickiteta ĩ·bĩlĩ·gimih.[61] 26. pickite iet piŋgĩt ye·waŋgilu·ts o·no·lica ei·uba. 27. tĩwĩgĩkidža tu·gayaya·l. 28. pickiteta wahai o·no·la ei·uba ye·waŋ. 29. wahkiteta ĩ·bĩlĩ·la. 30. pickite iet piŋgĩt nĩm tala·uc kĩkite iet. 31. tĩwĩgĩkite tu·gayaya·l. 32. ietkite atala·ucĩla hani·la.

33. wahkite u·udi·bitami a·dawĩ·k. 34. ku·linakite pundziyin kudi· ko'onin la'apa'apĩ·liŋ. 35. pickite iet o'ohtatĩpĩ ma·lapum ĩwĩk kĩkite iet. 36. ĩwĩnwa'adiŋ noŋo·i'ila'aŋ pundzin kudi· ko'on la'apa'apĩ·liŋ. 37. ma·niginĩpu·mu pĩlĩ·ĩlac pundziyin. 38. ehegila'aŋ no·'olat mĩnĩn'mĩnĩn'nina·lakila'aŋ pĩlĩ·lackila'aŋ wah po·'ila·p tala·wĩcĩt kinackila'aŋ po·mban pĩlĩ·gimat. 39. pickite iet nik ĩwĩn wah noŋo·i'il kĩkite iet. 40. pickite wahai iet mu·dĩpĩ.[62] 41. wahaigite iet owo·ba·n omoih u·di·bitamikite pinĩ. 42. pickite wahai iet pundziyin ĩwĩk wahaigite. 43. iet. ĩmĩnĩni·n.

44. pickite ho·iwin piŋgĩt ieta tuwubilbi to·i'ĩt ko·iwinkite piŋgĩt ieta. 45. pickite wahai iet ĩ·ibite iŋgim. 46. tĩwĩ kĩkite ho·iwin. 47. waha·igite iet iŋgim woki·k hani·la. 48. wahkite iet ĩ·bĩlĩ·la kutap. 49. wahkite iet atala·cĩkin kuta.

50. pickite iet ĩwĩkĩkin po·nin la'apa'apĩ·liŋ. 51. e'elakina·gite iet. 52. ĩwĩn wah a·yapi·ibin kupumdo· nik ĩwĩn wah noŋo·i'il kĩkidža. 53. pickite iet mu·'iu. 54. a·ma·igĩgi·mgite iet.

55. pickite tu·gayaya·l ĩwĩkĩkin likli·gi·ibita wĩ·imaihtabatsu. 56. wahaigiteta iŋgim. 57. pickiteta ĩ·bĩlĩ·ĩgimih. 58. pie tu·gayaya·l i·mi·n pa·wa·p na·lawiyin pundziyin. 59. pickite wah pa·awa· hom'mola·p ĩtĩp. 60. ei·ubgite ata·twĩ. 61. waho·wo·k.

6. VISIT TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD

1. e·'me·'eda'ta'Ikıte[63] yo·'wi halĩpĩganan. 2. pɪ'ckıte tei·te ta·twala'aŋ cô·ôyın ĩ·ĩnĩhĩi. 3. pɪ'ckıte u·umu·k. 4. pɪckıteta ô·wôha·ala. 5. ku·uŋa'nkıte tμwμbıl anaŋat. 6. pɪckıteta ô·nô·ôla wô·hamını·ya'awac.

7. wa'agıte ku·uŋan anaŋat ôgôn. 8. pɪ'ckıte waha·i ô·no·ogım tu·ciga·lami·k ta·wĩgĩ·gimac cô·ôyi. 9. wa'hkıte halĩt tu·gawĩt tu·ciga·alap. 10. wahai'igıte me·edak hani·mını·k i·mi. 11. pɪckıteti· ĩ·lĩ·'ĩŋ ei·uba ıŋgım tu·ciga·lami·k wahkıteti· tu·gawĩt a·hal'. 12. waha·igıteti· i·mi me·edak hani·mını·k. 13. pɪckıteti· waha·i ĩ·lĩ·'ĩŋ ei·uba ıŋgım tu·ciga·lami·k. 14. pɪ'ckıte mi·'ıpıl waha·kinaŋ wa'agıte. 15. cô·ôyın ıpeakın wa'hkıte ĩ·ĩwĩn[64] ta·wĩgĩc[65] wal ku·uŋai[66] kimaŋ.[67]

16. pɪckıtewah ku·uŋan[68] ta·wĩgĩc[69] wal co·ôyi[70] ıpeakinaŋ[71] o·'o·bĩ·ĩla'kıte[72] wa'ki·k.[73] 17. pɪckıtewa' kô·im i·mi ıki·k. 18. tu·cigıte wa' ku·uŋan o·bĩ·ĩlat apci·ba'ac wal co·oyi. 19. mi·'ipɛ'lgıte miyat. 20. ha'ckıte a'apc. 21. me·eta'gıte u·du·ugu wa'hkıte. 22. wah ku·uŋan ataxkın. 23. pɪ'ckıte me·edak ô·l met ta·labi·icĩŋ. 24. wa'hkıte cô·ôyın ĩ·wĩnĩt. 25. waha·igıteti· ku;uŋan i·mi wa'ki·k. 26. wahai'igıteti· kô·im i·mi. 27. pɪckıteti· ındımala·u. 28. wana·ŋgıteta ĩ·bĩlĩ·ĩla pa·'iwĩtuŋ pμmapan.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539x

15. Then there (Lapapil) got shot. 16. Then (Lapapil) went and fell down dead. 17. Then they came from there toward the rear. 18. "You fellows (go) next; we (have) already no (more) arrows" (Coyote tells the rear guard). 19. Then they from there fought next. 20. Then they from there ran away. 21. Right here their invulnerable one was already killed there (i.e., Lapapil).

22. Then they came back from there. 23. Lapapil was killed and also little Liklik. 24. Then Lapapil was grabbed here and taken away, and also little Liklik. 25. Then they came and arrived here. 26. Then Coyote says, "Tomorrow we will return again." 27. "Good," says Tugayal. 28. Then from there they went back again the next day. 29. There they went and arrived. 30. Then Coyote says, "Even I (will) encircle (them)," says Coyote. 31. "Good," says Tugayal. 32. Coyote went and encircled the house.

33. There he saw children. 34. (They) are playing (with) the eyes and also the head of Lapapil. 35. Then Coyote asked them, "What did you fellows grab?" says Coyote. 36. "The eyes and also the head of the one who stood, the invulnerable one, Lapapil" (answer the children). 37. "What do you fellows do when you arrive with his eyes?" (asks Coyote). 38. "Here we are turning back; we are rolling it; when we arrive there by the prepared fire we encircle it; fetching it by the skin we come and arrive" (answer the children). 39. Then Coyote: "Even I stand there, the outlaw," says Coyote. 40. Then from there Coyote shot them (the children). 41. From there Coyote divided himself in half in order to resemble the boys. 42. Then from there Coyote grabbed the eyes from there. 43. Coyote rolled them.

44. Then his anus says to Coyote, "Too fast you are traveling," his anus says to Coyote. 45. Then from there Coyote slowly came. 46. "Good," says his anus. 47. From there Coyote came toward the house. 48. There Coyote went and arrived by the fire. 49. There Coyote encircled there and went away from the fire.

50. Then Coyote grabbed the skin of Lapapil. 51. From there jumped Coyote. 52. "The little boys stood there, and you fellows didn't know it; (it was actually) I stood there, the outlaw," (Coyote) says. 53. Then Coyote got shot. 54. Coyote came and ran.

55. Then, it is said, Tugayal grabbed little Liklik from the head-pole. 56. From there they came. 57. Then they came and arrived here. 58. Then Tugayal took to his own aunt his younger brother (and) his eyes.

59. Then there his aunt put (the younger brother) in the cooking-basket. 60. He came back to life again. 61. There it is ended.

6. VISIT TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD

539x
775

1. Many are the Old-Timers who lived. 2. Then the wife of one man got sick. 3. Then she died. 4. Then they went to bury her. 5. Her husband is crying very much. 6. Then they went back when they had finished burying her.

7. That one, her husband, is still crying. 8. Then from there he came back to the burial place, coming to see his own wife. 9. There he sits all night on the burial place. 10. From there he went in the morning toward his own home. 11. Then in the evening also he came back again toward the burial place; there also he stayed all night. 12. From there also he went toward his own house in the morning. 13. Then also from there, in the evening, he came back again toward the burial place. 14. Then that one approached very close. 15. His wife came out there; she stood there when she saw that one, her own husband, was coming.

16. Then there, when her husband saw his own wife coming out, he hastened toward that one. 17. Then that woman went the other way. 18. Her husband hastened to catch up to that one, his own wife. 19. He is going close. 20. He did not overtake her. 21. Already, it got dark there. 22. There her husband slept. 23. Then in the morning he got up when it was already getting light. 24. There his wife is standing. 25. From there her husband went toward her. 26. From there the woman went. 27. Then he followed her. 28. Far away they arrived at the edge of the ocean.

X 539

29. wa'hkɪte wa'akô·im[74] ĭ·ĭwĭnĭla. 30. wahaigɪte a'ala·u ma·'ɪcpɪn tɪmala·wat kĭkidža wal ku·uŋai tĭ'cki kĭkidža. 31. wahkɪtewa' ku·uŋan ĭ·ĭ[illegible]nĭ pɪŋgĭŋ[75] wal cô·ôyi.[76] 32. tĭ'wĭ kĭkɪtewa' cô·ôyɪn ta'nɪp[77] mi·'ĭba'at ama'ĭ'ni[78] ku· a'hatda·wicagila pa·'ĭwĭta. 33. tĭ'wĭ kĭkidža ku·uŋan. 34. ku anɪp[79] ta·wĭgĭt e·i muwa·la wa'hkɪl ɪpca·lica ku·'bca·alaŋdži pɪc akapɪct ɪŋgɪmca ta·wĭgĭc ti· pɪca·alaŋ ô·yamɪnica akapɪct mi'ipɪl pɪndzɪyĭts ka·ĕk kĭminat wĭkĭminat pɪndzila.

35. waha'ĭ'igɪ'tcta' ĭ·mi apapɪluwala pa·'lɪŋ wataŋa·aban. 36. wana·ŋgɪteta ĭ·bĭlĭ·ĭla wah muwa·lap. 37. pɪckɪteta ɪpica·ala. 38. pɪ'ckɪte akapɪct ɪŋgɪm. 39. pɪckɪtewa' ta·twal hô·ônats u·la·agɪn. 40. pɪ'ckɪte kô'ômpp umbɪm. 41. pɪ'ckɪte akapɪct ô·yamɪn ka·ĕk ô·yaminac ĭwĭkĭmɪn hô·natsɪn. 42. waha'ɪgɪteta' ĭ·mi tcô·ômi·k. 43. pɪckɪtewa' cô·ôyɪn ɪmbɪŋk anɪp ta·wĭgĭt ei· yĭta kĭkidža. 44. hă· kĭ'kɪte wa' ku·uŋan. 45. pɪckɪteta ĭ·bĭlĭ·ĭla mi'ipɪl. 46. pɪckɪtewa' cô·ôyɪn pɪŋgĭt miyah ɪmdu·uga'[80] hani·lap ege·ewa'ngɪte hani·l kɪmɪk[81] wandzɪl[82] ɪki·k[83] i·mca yo·wigɪte wah hani·l ku· ĭ·lĭ·ĭŋgilɪŋ a·dawĭ·gica kĭkidža wa' cô·ôyɪn.

47. tĭ'wĭ kĭkidža wa' ku·uŋan wa'hkɪte ĭ·bĭlĭ·ĭla hani·lap wa' ku·uŋan. 48. wa'hkɪte halĭt ta·twal tɪmiwal lôho·oma'lôho·omah kĭkidža. 49. wa'hkɪte ta·twal a·ayants. 50. pɪckɪtewa' tɪmiwal ɪmbɪŋk ha·indap ɪnĭgi·imat ih wana·ŋ. 51. cô·yi'igi[84] tɪmila·wat kĭkidža. 52. hac pɪŋgĭh tĭe cô·yi'ɪŋ hacats ĭmbĭ· nô·ôla ku· a·dawĭ·gicap wô'ôkan ĭ·lĭ·ĭŋ mu·luwat aŋhani·l.

53. pɪckɪtemet tu·ugɪŋ tei·te ta·twal tsa·ya·u wetkɪtewan hɪli'idats pô·'albi·c[85] pô·'ah kĭkidža wa' hɪli'idats kimalbi·c[86] kimah kĭ'kɪte hɪli'idats. 54. pɪ'ckɪte aŋhani·l pɪni'iyu ɪŋgɪm. 55. pɪckɪteta u·mu·uluw tu·gawĭt tĭpi·imɪlkidža kudi'kɪteta mu·luwat kudi'"igɪte tĭ·ĭbi·l. 56. pɪckɪteta me·edak aix.

57. waha·ĭ'igɪ'tcta pɪni'iyu a·ba·yĭm. 58. waha'ĭ'gɪte wa' ta·twal i·mi ci·uba tɪmiwala·p. 59. pɪ'ckɪte tɪmiwal pɪŋgĭt anɪp cô·ôyi ku·yĭ'at kĭkidža. 60. hă· kĭ'kɪte ta·twal. 61. yu·[87] wô'ôka'ngi a'a·yalica wal cô·yi'ɪŋ ku i·mica'adɪŋ[88] kĭkidža. 62. pɪ'ckɪte tɪmiwal tei·te ta·twâla a'a·i kimah kĭkidža. 63. pɪ'ckɪte ta·twal ɪŋgɪm. 64. pɪ'ckɪte tɪmiwal ɪmbɪŋk a·yalah i'idɪŋ[89] ta·twala'aŋ[90] cô·ôyɪn.[91] 65. pɪckɪtewa' ta·twal i·mi wa'hkɪte ɪŋgɪm miyah 'a·ma·iyu[92] ku·ŋa'aŋ kĭkidža tɪmiwal. 66. tĭ'wĭ kĭ'kɪte kô·im. 67. pɪ'ckɪte tɪmiwal ɪmbɪŋk wal ta·twala tani"ibɪm ataxkɪnica amaŋ' ku'hacpi' ma'ai cô·ôyi. 68. tĭ'wĭ kĭ'kɪte ta·twal. 69. ku pa·ita'ôŋ pɪ'cpi cô·ôyi ma'ai kĭkɪte tɪmiwal. 70. tĭ'wĭ kĭ'kɪte ta·twal.

71. waha'ɪgɪteta' ɪŋgɪm. 72. pɪckɪteta wana·ŋ ĭ·bĭlĭ·ĭgɪm. 73. pɪckɪteti· apapɪlwa'agɪm pa·'lɪŋ[93] wataŋa·aban.[94] 74. pɪckɪteta ɪpɪc pa·'ĭwĭta wĭngɪteta ôgôn kimat. 75. wahkɪteta u·du·ugu. 76. wahkɪteta ataxkɪn. 77. pɪ'ckɪte ta·twal ĭ·ĭlĭ·k tu·gana·widami. 78. pɪ'ckɪte ta·twal cô·ôyi a·ama'. 79. pɪ'ckɪte ci·uba ĭpĭtĭtamɪn. 80. pɪckɪteta wahai i· me·edak ɪŋgɪm. 81. wana·'ŋkɪteta' u·udu·giwagɪm wahkɪteta ti· ataxkɪn.

82. pɪ'ckɪte ta·twal ĭ·ĭlĭ·k tu·gana·widami. 83. pɪ'ckɪte ĭpĭtĭta wa'ki·k cô·ôyi. 84. pɪ'ckɪte cô·ôyi wila'ala cô·ôyi'igɪte yô·m. 85. pɪ'ckɪte ô·yômi·ya'awac ɪtsulu·m. 86. pɪ'ckɪte ta·labi·icĭŋ ĭ·ĭlĭ·k. 87. pɪ'ckɪte a·dawĭ·k ɪmbu·ubĭ·lgɪte mĭ·hĭ'at hawa·aban. 88. wa'hkɪte ta·twal ô·l. 89. wa'hkɪte ĭ·wĭnĭt.

90. ma·ɪcakwet tĭ'hawa' kĭkidža tɪmiwa'lni' ômôk[95] a'awi·n tĭ'wĭ ha'cki wal ĭwĭk. 91. wahai'igɪte i·mi hani·p. 92. ĭ·bĭlĭ·ĭla'gɪte wah hani·p. 93. pɪ'ckɪte a·winat wal aŋhani·la wana·ŋgi tô·iyĭpĭgĭnan akadzi·batsu pa·'iwĭta cô·ôyi'gi tɪmala·wac wah ĭ·bĭlĭkɪn ku ɪŋgɪnak ômôk wal cô·ôyi kĭkidža. 94. pɪ'cni wa' tɪmiwal a'awi·n ômôk tĭ'wĭ kuhacki wal a·yanŋ pɪŋgiyɪn pa·ita'ôŋbi a·ma·i cô·ôyi tsulu·umai kĭ'tni' ômôk tɪmiwal kĭkidža ku· wô·ômak wal cô·ôyi ĭwĭk hac pa·i'ida'akaŋ. 95. pɪc ɪmu·ubĭ·l a·abaiyu. 96. waha'ĭ'igi' tei·tcu ɪŋgɪm. 97. wĭn wô'ôkan.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

29. There that woman went and stood. 30. From there she talked. "Why are you following me?" she says to that one, her own husband. "I am bad," she says. 31. There that one, her husband, stood when that one, his own wife, is saying (this). 32. "Good," says that one, his wife, "if you want to go with me, then we will cross the ocean." 33. "Good," says her husband. 34. "And do you see that mountain? We will go out there, and when we get on top then Crow will come to us when he sees (us) going out; Crow will pass by very close to our eyes; 'Caw,' he says here, and goes away; he takes an eye out here and goes away."

35. From there they went on top of the water; in a dustspout. 36. Far away they arrived there on the mountain. 37. Then they went out on top. 38. Then Crow came. 39. Then that man took out his amulet. 40. Then he fastened it on his own head. 41. Then Crow passed by here and went away; "Caw"; when passing by here (Crow) took (the man's) amulet (instead of his eye). 42. From there they went downward. 43. Then that one, his wife, said, "Do you see that valley?" she says. 44. "Yes," says that one, her husband. 45. Then they arrived very close. 46. Then that one, his wife, says, "Go in that house; the house (is) a big one; and I will go the other way. (There are) many houses there, and in the evening I will see you," says that one, his wife.

47. "Good," says that one, her husband. There that one, her husband, arrived in the house. 48. There a man, the chief, lives. "Come in, come in," he says. 49. There the man sat down. 50. Then that chief said, "What are you coming to do here (so) far away?" 51. "I am following my own wife," he says. 52. "Don't say (that), your wife is bad. She may not go back again, but you will see her pretty soon in the evening. People dance (then)."

53. Then already when it became night one man yelled—this one (is) a clown—"Make ye fire immediately, make fire," says that clown. "Come ye immediately, come," the clown says. 54. Then all the people came. 55. Then they danced all night; (there is) hand-game, and also they are dancing, and also, (there is) gambling. 56. Then they quit in the morning.

57. From there they all scattered. 58. From there that man went back again to the chief. 59. Then the chief says, "Do you desire your own wife?" he says. 60. "Yes," says the man. 61. "Well, pretty soon I will call that one your wife and she will go with you," he says. 63. Then the man came. 64. Then the chief said, "Call the wife of this man." 65. Then that man went; there he brought her. "Go with your husband," says the chief. 66. "Good," says the man. 67. "But after three days, then you will touch your own wife," says the chief. 70. "Good," says the man.

71. From there they came. 72. Then they arrived far away. 73. Then also (they) came in a dustspout on top of the water. 74. Then they emerged from the water; they are still coming. 75. There they returned in the dark. 76. There they slept. 77. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 78. Then the man touched his wife. 79. Then he turned away back again. 80. Then they came in the morning from there. 81. Far away they came as it got dark; there again they slept.

82. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 83. Then he turned toward his own wife. 84. Then he touched his own wife; right away he climbed on his own wife; he copulated with his own wife. 85. Then when he had finished copulating, he slept. 86. Then, at daylight, he woke up. 87. Then he saw (something); (a stalk of) yucca is lying alongside of him. 88. There the man got up. 89. There he is standing.

90. "I can't help it now," he says; "the chief told me rightly (that) I should not take that one." 91. From there he went to his own house. 92. He arrived there, at home. 93. Then he tells those people, "I am one who has been a traveler when I followed my own wife far away across the ocean; I arrived there and I brought that one, my own wife, back in vain," he says. 94. "Then that chief told me rightly, but I did not believe him when he says, 'After three days you sleep with your own wife,' the chief says to me in vain, and right away I took that one, my own wife, before three days." 95. "Then she was turned into yucca." 96. "From there I came alone." 97. It stood (ended) pretty soon.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

X 539

7. YIHAWAL STEALS GIRL

1. hac tībīnuga·dawal aŋhani·lgidža pe·welandal[33] aŋhani·l iŋgimih. 2. tei·tekite ta·twal kudi· co·yin halīt ti· tu·mupin ana·wicpit kudi· wacumbicn. 3. piekite ta·twal toha·lat kudi·gite wah co·yin unuŋa·lat wa'anda. 4. piekite tu·mupin anaŋat teitewana'ac a·bu·i[34] unuŋa·laŋ.

5. piekite ti· ī·lī·īŋ anaŋat ana·wicpit. 6. piekite a·bu·n a·hyamin mi··i·m wīkīminah yīha'awal kīkidža. 7. wahaigite a·bu·n i·mi hani·lami·k. 8. ī·bīlī·lagite hani·p. 9. piekite wacumbicp ohtat ma·wīt ana·wicpit. 10. pickite wahai a·ma·igīla ci·uba a·bu·n.

11. ha·yigite wah ana·wicpit. 12. yīha'awalgite īwīkīmin. 13. ci·uba a·ma·igīgim hani·lami·k ha·yi wah kīkidža. 14. pie wahai i·mi wo·yo. 15. wahkiteta ata'aga ta·twala. 16. ha·indaha·indabum ku·yī·at. 17. a·hyaminak ih ana·wicpita kīkite a·bu·n met īwīkīmin piga'ac yīha'awal.

18. yīha'awalgite i·mi·n hani·p. 19. pickite yīha'awal tohat pini'ik ta·l. 20. yo·wogite tu·hta pinat ī·lī·īŋ. 21. piekite wa··at tu·hta ka·lukp kudi·gite pa·ci·la ha·yat hom'-mola·p. 22. pickite wah ciŋgīt hom'mola·p. 23. walgite ko·im tīkat. 24. īcɪtsingite tīwīla·nin. 25. walgite īcīt. 26. tīwīwan īcīn. 27. o··omingidža tu·htiŋ[35] po·nin.[35]

28. pickite yīha'awal imbiŋk met aŋhamu·mī·īŋ mu·hyi·ba wa'ogon tīwī mi·nama·liŋ. 29. pickite wahai i·mi·n. 30. ītībīkina·gidža mi'ipil hani·la. 31. hacpi a·waikīkidza pa·ida'aŋ kīkidža. 32. pickite tīwīgīt ko·im.

33. wahaigite i·mi hani·p. 34. pie ībīlī·la hani·p o·no·oan. 35. anaŋi·lagite ha··īt. 36. pickite a·abu·n ipicakin o·no·ban wahkite walko·imi īwīnīn a·dawī·k. 37. pickite woki·k i·mi. 38. agi·bi kīkidža. 39. nik īwīn tu·mu·uŋ a·hyakina·bini[36] unuŋapī·p.

40. pickite a·bu·n hani·lap i·mi·n cu·naba·n. 41. pickite a·bu·n etehma. 42. pickite aŋhani·l piniyu iŋgim ta·wīgī·gimac. 43. ala·winakidžata.[37] 44. ma·lapi to·i·īpīganan. 45. hackite a·wat. 46. pickiteta ti·gimat ohta·gimat.

47. pickite īlī·kite a·au. 48. wahki halīpīnan kīkidža yīha'awala'aŋ hani·iban. 49. pickite wahai awai'awai'ala piŋgi·ya'awac. 50. pickite wah tu·mupin awa'at. 51. i·mi i·mikidža. 52. waho·wo·k.

8. END OF THE MYTHICAL AGE

1. yo·wigɪte aŋhani·l halīt. 2. pɪ'ckɪte ɪet piŋgīt a·cawīta wô''ôkana·'gilu·'ts a·ba·i'iu ci·īwan aŋhani·l iŋgɪmica kī'kɪte ɪet. 3. tī'wī kīkɪteta pɪŋgīŋ. 4. ɪet tɪmiwal. 5. ma·ala'pi' a·halica kī'kɪte a·cawīta. 6. le·le·edap. 7. ku· ɪmbi kī'kɪte patsa·wala. 8. nɪk wandzɪl ô·dô·ica tu·ugal. 9. kumbi kī'kɪte eɪkôla. 10. nɪk wandzɪl a·halica tīndap. 11. ku· ɪmbi kī'kɪte ka'awī·īda. 12. nɪk wandzɪl ô·dô·ica yītap. 13. ku· ɪbmi kī'kɪte kuyu·la. 14. nɪk wandzɪl pa·alap a·halica kīkidža kuyu·l. 15. ku· ɪmbi kī'kɪte pa·wɪcaki. 16. nɪk wandzɪl eɪbapī·lap a·halica.

17. a·cawīt ɪeta ma·ala'pi a·halica. 18. nɪk wandzɪl yītap a·halica ītīkicak eidô·ôhi kudi' ka'awī·īda. 19. wah ô·ôwôk.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

7. YIHAWAL STEALS GIRL

1. (This is) not a myth. People, the pioneers, (had already) come here. 2. Once a man and also his wife are living, and also her child, a little girl, and also her mother-in-law. 3. Then the man goes and hunts, and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns. 4. Then her child is crying all the time when her mother goes pounding.

5. Then also in the evening the little girl cries. 6. Then her mother left her. "Right here take her and go away, Yihawal," (the mother) says. 7. From there her mother went toward the house. 8. She went and arrived at her own house. 9. Then her mother-in-law asks, "Where is the little girl?" 10. Then from there her mother went and ran back again.

11. The little girl is not there. 12. Yihawal took her here and went away. 13. Back again (the mother) came and ran toward the house. "Nothing there," she says. 14. From there, then, they both went. 15. There they met the man. 16. "What is it you are looking for?" (he asks). 17. "I left the little girl here," her mother says; "perhaps Yihawal has already taken her here and gone away."

18. Yihawal took her to his own house. 19. Then Yihawal hunts every day. 20. He brings many mountain quail in the evening. 21. Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits, and also he stirs chia seed in the cooking-basket. 22. Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket. 23. That woman eats (the contents of the cooking-basket). 24. He fixes her blankets for her. 25. He blankets that (woman). 26. His blankets (are) good ones. 27. He strung (them of) the skin of the mountain quail.

28. Then Yihawal said, "Already your relatives begin to make fiesta. Better let me take you there." 29. Then from there he took her. 30. He put her there, close to the house. 31. "Don't you tell (how you were brought up)," he says, "for three days," he says. 32. Then, "Good," says the woman.

33. From there he went to his own house. 34. Then she went and arrived outside her own house. 35. She hears the crying (of the fiesta). 36. Then her mother came out there outside (the house) (and) saw there that woman while she stands there. 37. Then (the mother) went toward her. 38. "Who are you?" she says. 39. "I stand (here), your child. You left me and went away to your pounding."

40. Then her mother took her inside the house. 41. Then her mother became silent. 42. Then all the people came, when they came to see her. 43. They are talking to her. 44. "Where (were) you, you who have traveled?" (they ask). 45. She does not tell. 46. Then they also (more people) are coming; they are coming and asking her.

47. Then after a while, she told. 48. "I (am) the one who lived there," she says, "in the home of Yihawal." 49. Then from there she went and fell dead when she had finished saying it. 50. Then there her child runs away. 51. He went, he went, so they say. 52. There it got ended.

8. END OF THE MYTHICAL AGE

1. Many people are living. 2. Then Coyote says to Eagle, "Pretty soon we get scattered. Different people will come," he says. 3. "Good," they (the people) say when he says (this). 4. Coyote (is) chief. 5. "Where will you live?" he says to Eagle. 6. "On Lelet" (a mountain peak south of Weldon). 7. "And you?" Coyote says to Bat. 8. "Indeed, I shall wander at night." 9. "And you?" Coyote says to Lizard. 10. "Indeed, I shall live on rocks." 11. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Grasshopper. 12. "Indeed, I shall wander in the valley." 13. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Fish. 14. "Indeed, I shall live in the water," Fish says. 15. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Sage Hen. 16. "Indeed, I shall live in the sagebrush."

17. Eagle (asks) Coyote, "Where will you live?" 18. "Indeed, I shall live in the valley; I will eat beetles and also grasshoppers." 19. There it is ended.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

9. DEATH COMES INTO THE WORLD

x 539 1. ha'lĭkɪ'te ɪet kudi' ɪklo'obal. 2. pɪ'ekɪte ɪklo'bala'aŋ tu'umu'n u'umu'k. 3. pɪ'ekɪte ɪeta ɪmbiŋk tu'umu'nĭ'ĭŋ u'mu'k kĭ'kɪte ɪeta. 4. tĭ'wĭ kĭ'kɪte ɪet ĭ'ĭtsawica'gilɪŋ. 5. pɪ'ekɪte ɪklo'obal piŋgĭt ɪeta wa' ogô'n tĭ'wĭ pa'ida'ôŋ mu'gμpĭ'imats no'ôgɪm. 6. pa''ɪe kĭ'kɪte ɪet wô'hala'malu'ts tei'dama'ts mi kĭ'kɪte ɪet o'yo'wi''ica aŋhani'l tμwμbɪl kĭ'kɪte ɪet. 7. pɪ'ekɪte o'woha'ala. 8. pɪekĭkɪte pa'ida'ôŋ ha'yi.

9. pɪ'ekɪte pa'ida'ôŋ weteu ɪetɪŋ tu'umu'n u'mu'k. 10. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet pa'ha'a't mu'ugμŋ tu'umu'i. 11. ma''ɪmɪ'eki' tô' pɪŋgĭpĭnan kĭ'kɪte ɪet. 12. tu'cigɪte paha''ima' mĭnĭnĭ''at kμtap naŋhai tôgogô''ɪnat. 13. pɪ'ekɪte waha'i ɪet u'mu'k. 14. wah ô'ôwôk.

10. THE WINGED ONE

1. me''eda'gɪte a'ma' ô'i 'ih. 2. tu'cigɪte ĭxkowa'at. 3. pɪ'ekɪte aŋhani'l pɪniyu awa'at tsμŋgμc. 4. pɪniyu''igɪte u''μ't lô'gô'lô'ôgat. 5. ĭxkowa''akɪte ô'ôyaŋ tμwμbɪl. 6. aŋa''ŋgɪte amaca muwa'la. 7. ege'ewa'ŋgɪte tμwμbɪl ô''igidža. 8. hackɪteta ĭmbĭ a'dawĭ'k.

11. COYOTE FREEZES

1. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet pa'alɪŋ pμmatsɪn kimat. 2. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet kimakca a'ha a'ya'nila. 3. ha'lala[98] kĭ'kɪte ɪet tambĭ'l[99] tĭ'wĭ'a'n ya'nila'aŋ[100] kĭ'kɪte ɪet. 4. pɪ'ekɪte waha'i ɪet i'mi ĭ'ibɪl. 5. mi'ipɪ'lgɪte ɪet ĭ'bĭlĭ'la. 6. waha'igɪte ɪet ha'ĭt mi'ipɪlu' ô'iwext teu'p teu'p kĭkidža. 7. ha'lala kĭ'kɪte ɪet. 8. pɪ'ekɪte waha'i ɪet ĭ''ĭwĭnĭ'la ô'nô'mɪni'gatsɪ'n. 9. tu''eitĭ'wĭ ya'ni'ɪŋ[100] kĭ'kɪte ɪet a'tsumnĭ''[101] a'ya'n kĭ'kɪte ɪet.

10. tĭ'wĭ kĭkidža wewexhyu'l. 11. pɪ'ekɪte ɪeta amha môxkats. 12. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ômôxka't. 13. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ôlhôm' pa'alap. 14. ɪet-teu'p ɪet-teu'p ɪet-teu'p kĭ'kɪte ɪet a'ya'anɪn.

15. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet met ĭeĭ'p. 16. met ta'la ĭtsĭlĭwiba'aŋ. 17. pɪ'ekɪte awa''at wewexhyu'l. 18. pɪ'ekɪte waha'i ɪet ɪpɪc. 19. metkɪte ta'l ĭtsĭlĭμ. 20. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ta'la a'dawĭ'k na'widam muwa'la waki'kɪte.[102] 21. ɪet a'ma'igĭla wa'hkɪte. 22. pĭlĭ'ĭlaŋ ɪeta met ta'l wana'ŋ i'mi ĭmbĭ μkuba'n muwa'lɪŋ. 23. wa'hkɪte ɪet ĭ'bĭlĭ'la. 24. pɪ'ekɪte ta'l wôhômbô'ôlɪŋ μkuba'n i'mi. 25. wa'hkɪte ɪet ɪwila'lamɪn μkuba'n wôhômbô'ôlɪŋ. 26. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet i'gi'idža waha'i'ikɪte ɪet ôwôiwôi'agɪm tani''ba''akēca'. 27. wa'hkɪte ɪet u'mu'k. 28. wah o'ôwôk.

12. HOW THE EARTH WAS MADE

1. ta'ŋakɪ'te tei''ɪcwa'na'a'c. 2. pɪc pa'l ĭmbĭm i' cuwa'la. 3. pɪeta' pɪniyu awa''at muwa'lami'k. 4. akataxwa'gilu'taskĭt ɪet. 5. pɪekɪteta muwa'lɪŋ μkuba'n ĭ'bĭlĭ'ĭla. 6. me'eda'gɪte ɪet tĭcwahat ha'yiha'int tĭkɪn. 7. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ɪmbiŋk oba'malu'ts amaŋatal ôgôn wah cuwa'la a'aba'i'iwɪnica agi''ôgôn wah cuwa'la a'aba'i'iwɪnica.

8. pɪc waha'ida' ô'ôp kugɪte ômhômbɪt halĭt ɪki'k. 9. pɪc ha'yiha'int kɪnɪp.[103] 10. akataxwa'gilu'ts we'edu kĭ'kɪte ɪet. 11. weteu 'ɪmbi kĭkidža ômhô'ɪmbita'. 12. pɪc ô'ɪmhômbɪ't ô'ô'p pɪ'ekɪte ĭ''ĭlĭ' ômhômbɪt ɪpɪeakɪn. 13. igɪepɪ'tekɪte yĭwĭ'gimat ômhômbɪt. 14. pɪctagɪte pɪniyu a'dawĭ'k. 15. pɪ'ekɪte ɪet ĭmbĭ ĭmbĭ tei'dżami kĭ'kɪte ɪet tu'cigɪte ɪet hμmugi'hwĭt.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

9. DEATH COMES INTO THE WORLD

539x

1. Coyote is living, and also Fox. 2. Then the offspring of Fox died. 3. Then (Fox) said to Coyote, "My offspring died," he says to Coyote. 4. "Good," says Coyote, "I will help you." 5. Then Fox says to Coyote, "That is well; after three days let one's own dead return (to life)." 6. "No," says Coyote, "let's go and bury him. Let (the dead) go the first time," says Coyote. "There will be many people, too many," says Coyote. 7. Then they went and buried him. 8. Then he says, "After three days no one (will return to life)."

9. Then after three days the offspring of Coyote died next. 10. Then Coyote is death-wailing, when his own offspring died. 11. "Why (am) I, who did not know, the one who recently said this?" says Coyote. 12. Coyote, while death-wailing, rolls into the fire; he makes his own ear crackle. 13. Then from there Coyote died. 14. There it is ended.

10. THE WINGED ONE

1. Ama passed by here already. 2. The wind is blowing. 3. Then all the people, being frightened, ran away. 4. All the trees are pulled out. 5. The wind is blowing very much when he passes by. 6. His wing covered the mountain. 7. The very big (Ama) passed by. 8. They never saw him again.

11. COYOTE FREEZES

1. Then Coyote is coming on the edge of the water. 2. Then when Coyote came, he heard a song. 3. "Bravo," says Coyote. "(This is) the best of songs," Coyote says. 4. Then from there Coyote went slowly. 5. Coyote went and arrived close. 6. From there Coyote, in a closer position, is hearing, "Wash, splash, splash," it says. 7. "Bravo," says Coyote. 8. Then from there Coyote went and stood away in back. 9. "Your song (is) good," says Coyote. "Let me sing," says Coyote.

10. "Good," says Yellow Jacket. 11. Then (Yellow Jacket) gave his own belt to Coyote. 12. Then Coyote put on the belt. 13. Then Coyote entered the water. 14. "Coyote-splash, Coyote-splash, Coyote-splash" (a pun in Tübatulabal), Coyote says his song.

15. Then Coyote got cold already. 16. Already the sun began to go down. 17. Then Yellow Jacket ran away. 18. Then from there Coyote came out from the water. 19. The sun sank already. 20. Then Coyote saw the sun toward the middle mountain. 21. Coyote ran there. 22. When Coyote arrived, the sun already went far away again to the summit of the mountain. 23. There Coyote went and arrived. 24. Then he went to the top of the Bull Pine tree. 25. There Coyote went and climbed from here to there to the top of the Bull Pine. 26. Then Coyote froze; from there this way Coyote came and fell off when he wanted to get down. 27. There Coyote died. 28. There it is ended.

12. HOW THE EARTH WAS MADE

1. It is raining all the time. 2. Then the water filled this earth. 3. Then everyone, they ran away toward the mountain. 4. "We get slaughtered," says Coyote. 5. Then they went and arrived on top of the mountain. 6. Coyote is ready to die; his food (is) nothing. 7. Coyote then said, "Let someone dive there; he will make earth appear; who will make earth appear there?"

8. Then from there they dived, but Mud-Diver is sitting to one side. 9. Then they have brought up nothing. 10. "So we get slaughtered," says Coyote. 11. "You (are) next," (Coyote) says to Mud-Diver. 12. Then Mud-Diver dived and, after a while, Mud-Diver came out from there to here. 13. Mud-Diver is coming and holding very little (earth). 14. Then everyone saw it. 15. Then Coyote says, "Again, once again." Coyote is in a hurry.

X 539

16. pɛkɪte ômhômbɪt ô'ôp ĩmbĩ. 17. wĩŋgɪte[165] ôgô'n miyapĩ·n[166] ômhômbɪtɛŋ.[166] 18. tu·cigɪte ɛet talu·'ɪni·nĩmɵt. 19. me·eda'gɪte ĩ·lĩ·ĩŋ ômhômbɪt ɛpɛakɪn. 20. tu·cigɪte ɛet pe·wela·ŋ a·ma·igĩgɪm. 21. ômhômbɪ'tkɪte yĩwĩ·gimat ɛuwa·la ma·p. 22. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet wĩnĩ' wĩnĩ' wĩnĩ' kĩ'kɪte ɛet. 23. pɛ'ekɪte waha·i ômhômbɪt ĩtĩp ɛuwa·la pa·la na·'wi'-dami'. 24. ômhômbɪ'tkɪte ɛuwa·la a·ba·i'iwɪn. 25. wah ô'ôwôk.

13. COYOTE'S MOTHER-IN-LAW

1. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet halĩt kudi· eô'ôyɪn ti· tu·umu·umĩn kudi· wacumbɪeŋ kudi· yo·'wi aŋhani·l tu·gayaya·l ti lapa"apĩ·'l ti a·eawĩt pɪniyu ɪndama. 2. pɛekɪteta tohat pɪni'ik ta·l. 3. pɛ'eta ĩmbĩ' ôtôhakɪn ha·yi'gĩt eu·'ɪ'tkĩta' ku ye·ewaŋgilu·ts i·mica kĩ'kɪteta' awaiha·nica'gilu·ts ku'gilu·'ts wacumbɪ'e i·mi·nca.

4. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet tsa·ya·waniu ɛet i· · · · [168] ɛet. 5. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet a·ha'ĩmɪn. 6. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet ɛpɛamɪn ô·nô·oban ha·int kĩ'kɪte ɛet. 7. ye·ewa'ŋgilu·'ts awaiha·nica kiwakĩt ɛet ku'gilu·ts wacumbɪe i·mi·nica kĩkɪteta. 8. tĩ'wĩgĩ'kɪte ɛet. 9. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet ôlhô·makɪn hani·p. 10. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet pɛŋgĩt wacumbɪe i·mica·gilu·ts nĩxmana·k. 11. pɛekɪteta tu·gukaŋ u'uganɯ. 12. pɛekɪteta i·mi.

13. pɛ'eta wana·ŋ wahaminae tsa·ya·wɪn ɛeta ɛet ɛet. 14. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet ɵtulu·ula a'la'a'c kĩ'kɪte ɛet wacumbɪe me·eda'gilu·'ts a·hyaminiu. 15. pɛekɪteta waha·i i·mi wana·'ŋgɪteta' ĩ·bĩlĩ·la ha·yi'gɪtewah aŋhani·l me'tkɪte u·du·ugu.

16. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet piŋgĩt wacumbɪe tĩŋgi·l eh wĩnĩt ku i'lmaxka'ŋ wa'tĩŋgi·l taɯŋgina'tnɪ'ŋ. 17. pɛekɪteta wah ĩ·bĩlĩ·ĩla wahkɪteta ataxkɪn. 18. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet piŋgĩt wacumbɪe ha'epɯm ala·awai tsulu·ma'ŋdzi·'[167] 19. pɛekɪteta ɵtsulu·m.

20. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet tu·gana·widami ĩwĩk tohi·lɪŋ alhanɪn. 21. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet tĩŋgi·la ôwô·ôgɪn. 22. krụ'kĩt tĩŋgi·l. 23. 'ĩnĩ'h[169] kĩ'kɪte wacumbɪeŋ.

24. mi'pɪl u·yuhakɪn. 25. pɛekɪteti ĩmbĩ ɛet tĩŋgi·la ôwô·ôgɪn. 26. pɛ'ekɪte ama·i ɛeta ĩ·ĩc wacumbɪeŋ. 27. wô'ôma'kɪte ɛet ĩpĩtĩta waki·k wacumbɪe. 28. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet ôwô'ôtsô'm wacumbɪe. 29. tu·cigɪte ɛet eu·ubu'eu·ubi·inat wacumbɪe.

30. pɛ'ekɪte waha·i me·edakɪteta' ô·l. 31. pɛ'ekɪte ɛetɪŋ wacumbɪeŋ hônokaŋ. 32. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet mu· wacumbɪe.

33. waha·'igɪte ɛet ô·no·ola. 34. pɛ'ekɪte ɛet kĩyi·lac yugu'a ômôɪh. 35. ɪ'etkɪte tsa·ya·u hani·bĩlĩ·liba'ac wa·ata'mdžiya'aŋ ô·ôli·n kĩ'kɪte ɛet. 36. pɛ'ekɪte tu·gayaya·l tambĩ·'at kĩkidža. 37. ɪ'etkɪte ĩ·bĩlĩ·la hani·p. 38. wahkɪteta a·hal mi·m. 39. wahô·ôwôk.

14. BLOOD-CLOT BOY

1. halĩ'kidža' mĩ'gĩtih ti· tei·tc eô"ɪbɪ't ɵtsu·n mĩ'gĩtihɪ'ŋ wo·yô·ôda halĩt. 2. mĩ'gĩtihɪ'ŋ a·abu·n hô'noka'ŋgi' imbiŋk eô"ɪbɪ'ta' tĩkali·ba'aki wah paŋwala. 3. tĩ'wĩgĩ't eô"ɪbɪ't miya'hkĩ't hacpi' tĩkai mi"ɪteu' kɪna'i'ibi' eha'i'ibi' tĩka'igĩ't eô"ɪbɪ't. 4. i·mi tĩkalac paŋwala ɪn yo·'wi paŋwala.

5. pɛc ĩtĩk mi'ɪteu pɛc u·unal ɪŋgɪm ĩmĩ"ĩk wal kô·imi. 6. ĩtĩk u·unal wal kô·imi a·yawa pɪni'ik. 7. u·unal ya'awac i·mi muwa·lap. 8. pɛcha'c ɪŋgɪm kô·im.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539x

16. Then Mud-Diver dived again. 17. Mud-Diver had been gone a long time. 18. Coyote is circling about. 19. Already, in the evening, Mud-Diver came out from there to here. 20. Coyote came and ran first. 21. Mud-Diver is coming holding earth in his own hand. 22. Then Coyote says, "There it is, there it is, there it is." 23. Then from there Mud-Diver put the earth in the middle of the water. 24. Mud-Diver made the earth appear. 25. There it is ended.

13. COYOTE'S MOTHER-IN-LAW

1. Then Coyote is living; and also his wife, also his offspring; and also his mother-in-law; and also many people, Tugayal, also Lapapil, also Eagle, every kind (of person). 2. Then they are hunting every day. 3. Then they hunted from there to here again. "(There is) nothing," (they) say, "(just) rabbits," they say, "and tomorrow we will take leave," they say, "we will camp-hunt and we will take our own mother-in-law (along)."

4. Then Coyote got summoned, "Coyote, O Coyote." 5. Then Coyote heard them. 6. Then Coyote went outside. "What is it?" says Coyote. 7. "Tomorrow we shall camp-hunt," Coyote is told, "and we shall take (along) our own mother-in-law," they say. 8. "Good," says Coyote. 9. Then Coyote entered his own house. 10. Then Coyote says to his own mother-in-law, "We will go to Nihmanak." 11. Then they got ready at night. 12. Then they took leave.

13. Then when they (were) off there from here, they called to Coyote, "Coyote, Coyote." 14. Then Coyote rose from sitting. "Hurry up," Coyote says to his own mother-in-law, "we got left behind already." 15. Then they went from there; they went and arrived far away; no people (are) there; it got dark already.

16. Then Coyote says to his own mother-in-law, "A rock ledge is there and that rock ledge has meanness, it is frightening you." 17. Then they went and arrived there; there they slept. 18. Then Coyote says to his own mother-in-law, "Ye must not talk when we sleep" (polite plural). 19. Then they slept.

20. Then Coyote, in the middle of the night, grabbed the jaw bone of a deer. 21. Then Coyote scratched the rock ledge. 22. "Krrr," says the rock ledge. 23. "O-o-o-o," says his mother-in-law.

24. She moved from there closer (to Coyote). 25. Then Coyote again scratched the rock ledge. 26. Then his mother-in-law got in between the blankets with him. 27. Right away Coyote turned toward his own mother-in-law. 28. Then Coyote caused his own mother-in-law to kneel. 29. Coyote caused his own mother-in-law to pulsate.

30. Then from there in the morning they got up. 31. Then the mother-in-law of Coyote is pregnant. 32. Then Coyote shot his own mother-in-law.

33. From there, Coyote went back. 34. Then Coyote cut himself with an arrowhead. 35. When Coyote got close to his own house, he called out, "The soldiers have mauled us," Coyote says. 36. Then Tugayal says, "He is lying." 37. Coyote went and arrived in his own house. 38. There they lived right here. 39. There it is ended.

14. BLOOD-CLOT BOY

1. Migitih is living, and one old woman, the grandmother of Migitih; they are both living. 2. The mother of Migitih said to the old lady, "I am pregnant" (for Migitih is in her womb). "I want to go there and eat red clover." 3. "Good," says the old woman, "go," she says, "(but) you must not eat it (where it grows); you fetch it from there (and) eat it here," says the old woman. 4. She went, going to eat the clover; she gathered much clover.

5. Then she ate it right there and Bear came. He killed that woman. 6. Bear ate that woman; he finished everything. 7. When Bear had finished, he went in the mountain. 8. Then the woman did not come (home).

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

X 539

9. cô″ɩbɩ′t pɩŋgīt īmī″īk we·edu u·unal. 10. pɩc anaŋat cô″ɩbɩ′t pɩc u·guyi′ala· ī·bīlī·īla wah ha·yi wah kô·im pīlī·laŋ cô″ɩbɩ′ta′. 11. cô′ɩbɩ′tkī′t mī′gītihi′ ma·abi·igīt. 12. mīgītih ɩcɩku·n. 13. cô″ɩbɩ′t a·ha[109] ciku·naŋ[110] i·mi[111] ta·wīgī·īlac.[112] 14. a·dawī·k cô″ɩbɩ′t īkwayɩn macila·p īwīk īkwayɩn i·mi·n hani·p.

15. ɩmbina·ala īwīk ege·wayɩn hôm′môla wah pa·ala īmbīmi·n. 16. hô′m′mɔla·′p īkwayɩn ītīp pɩc amaca hô′môla. 17. pɩc tu·gana·widami cô″ɩbɩ′t a·ha naxpa′adīŋ mī′gītihi′ pɩc cô″ɩbɩ′t ɩpɩcamɩn pɩc mī′gītih naxpa′adīt hôm′môla·p pɩc cô″ɩbɩ′t ô·nokɩn ci·uba. 18. pɩc ye·ewaŋ a·dawī·k mī′gītihi′ halīt hôm′môla·p. 19. cô″ɩbɩ′t īwīk mī′gītihi′ ku″udžubɩ′tcwayɩ′n u·wa·abɩ′ta′ mī′gītihi′ μmbμn mμpɩpi·idɩŋ pô·mban. 20. pɩc wi·ihīt cô″ɩbɩ′t.

21. pɩc mīgītih a′aya·u ɩmbɩŋk cô·′bɩ′ta′ ma·nī′īŋ[113] a·abu·′ngīt ma·nô′īŋ[113] a·ana·′ngī′t mīgītih. 22. cô″ɩbɩ′t piŋgīt hac piŋgī·ɩgīt cô″ɩbɩ′t. 23. mī′gītih piŋgīt ma·giba′aki. 24. cô″ɩbɩ′t tī′wīgī′t a·bu·uyɩŋ īmī″īk u·unal. 25. mī′gītih piŋgīt ma· u·una′lgīt. 26. hac piŋgī·īgīt cô″ɩbɩ′t yu·mu·gi·iwal u·unal īmī′īgica·adɩŋ. 27. mī′gītih piŋgīt īmī″-īgica′·agi′ maha·ani[114] a·alɩt[115] pa·hu·la a·ma·k.

28. cô″ɩbɩ′t amha a·lɩta pa·hu·la a·ma·k.[116] 29. tī′wīgī′t mī′gītih ye′·ewa′ŋgi′ a·dawī·gīlɩca u·nala. 30. mī′gītih i·mi muwa·lap ī·bīlī·īla μkuba·n muwa·lɩŋ. 31. mī′gītih ɩwila·ala tīnda ege·wayɩn. 32. mīgītih ī·wīnīt μkuba·n tīndɩŋ. 33. pɩc ɩmbiŋk kimah u·unal ta·wīgi·ba′akilɩŋ. 34. pɩc u·unal cô·batsu ɩpɩc. 35. pɩc a·dawī·k mī′gītihi′. 36. u·unal īwīkiba′ mī′gītihi′ amala·awɩn wīkiba′ac. 37. pɩc mīgītih ɩmbiŋk wi·ca·abe·gīt mī′gītih. 38. pɩc u·unal i·′i·yau. 39. pɩc mī′gītih pɩŋgīt a·agahkīt. 40. pɩc u·unal a′ak tμwμbɩl. 41. taμlu·umah u·una′lkīt mī′gītih. 42. mī′gītih ɩpɩci·n u·gɩcta capμcepatsu ī·dī·′īt tμwμbɩl kμtabinī apalak tô′ôgômban u·nala′aŋ. 43. pɩc ôlhô·mamɩn capμcpan u·nala′aŋ. 44. a·ma·igīla wana·ŋ u·unal u·mu·k u·unal īmī″īk mī′gītih u·nala. 45. mī′gītih andanakɩn tīndabatsu a·dawī·gīla u·nala. 46. mī′gītih ɩci·igɩn īwīkīmɩn pô·ônɩn ī·bīlī·īla hani·p.

47. cô″ɩbɩct[117] a·dawī·k u·nala′aŋ pô·ônɩn mī′gītih piŋgīt īwīnī pô·n u·nala′aŋ. 48. cô″ibɩct[117] tī′wīgī′t. 49. mī′gītih piŋgīt utsu·i muwa·lap halīt īmbī yu·mu·gi·iwal ta·′wīgī·′liba″aki′. 50. cô″ɩbɩct[117] piŋgīt wah halīt yu·mu·gi·iwal. 51. ye·ewa′ŋgi′ a·dawī·gīlica.

52. i·mi mī′gītih ī·bīlī·īla hani·lap halīt tci·tc cô″ɩbɩ′t[118] ti· ɩct ti· a·amah. 53. a·mahi īmī″īk mī′gītih. 54. tī′wīgīt ɩct a·amah yu·mu·gi·iwal mī″īgat aŋhani·la.

55. pɩc ɩŋgɩm mī′gītih hani·p. 56. cô″ɩbɩ′t piŋgīt anip īmī″īk yu·mu·gi·wala′gīt cô″ɩbɩ′t. 57. hā·′gīt mī′gītih. 58. wô′ôkan wīnī yu·mu·gi·iwa′lgīt cô″ɩbɩ′t. 59. tī′wīgī′t mīgītih. 60. ô·ôwôk me·eda.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

9. The old woman says, "So Bear killed her." 10. The old woman is crying; then she went to look for her; she arrived there; no woman (is) there when the old woman arrived. 11. The old woman says, to Migitih, "Where are you?" she says. 12. Migitih whistled. 13. The old woman heard him when he whistled; she went, going to see him. 14. The old woman saw his blood in the grass; she grabbed the blood; she brought it to her own house. 539X

15. She went and took it; she grabbed a big basket there; she filled (the basket with) water. 16. She put his blood in the basket and then covered the basket. 17. Then, in the middle of the night, the old woman heard Migitih when he made a noise and she went out and Migitih is making a noise in the basket and the old woman went from there back in again. 18. The next day she saw Migitih; he is sitting in the basket. 19. The old woman grabbed Migitih, a little baby; she wrapped up Migitih in the skin of a wildcat. 20. Then the old woman takes care of him.

21. Then Migitih grew up; he said to the old woman, "Where is my mother?" he says; "where is my father?" says Migitih. 22. The old woman says, "Don't say (that)," says the old woman. 23. Migitih says, "I want to know." 24. The old woman says, "Good; Bear killed your mother." 25. Migitih says, "Where is Bear?" he says. 26. "Don't say (that)," says the old woman, "Bear (is) a Yumugiwal; he will kill you." 27. Migitih says, "I will kill him; give me the bow with arrows."

28. The old woman gave him the bow with arrows. 29. "Good," says Migitih, "tomorrow I will see Bear." 30. Migitih went in the mountains; he arrived on the top of the mountains. 31. Migitih climbed a big rock. 32. He is standing on the top of the rock. 33. Then he said, "Come, Bear, I want to see you." 34. Then Bear came out from his own hole. 35. Then he saw Migitih. 36. Bear began to grab Migitih; he extended his arms, wanting to grab him. 37. Then Migitih said, "Just a moment," Migitih says. 38. Then Bear stood stock still. 39. Then Migitih says, "Open your mouth." 40. Then Bear opened his mouth very far. 41. "Close your eyes, Bear," says Migitih. 42. Then Migitih took out the arrow-straightener from next to his belly; it is very hot, just like fire; he threw it in the mouth of Bear. 43. Then it went in the stomach of Bear. 44. Bear ran far away. . . . Bear died; Migitih killed Bear. 45. Migitih got down from the rock; he went to see Bear. 46. Migitih skinned him; he grabbed the skin; he arrived at his own house. [413]

47. The old woman saw the skin of Bear; Migitih is saying, "There is the skin of Bear." 48. "Good," says the old woman. 49. Migitih says to his own mother's mother, "More Yumugiwal are living in the mountains; I want to go to see (them)." 50. The old woman is saying, "The Yumugiwals live there." 51. "Tomorrow I will go to see (them)," (says Migitih).

52. Migitih went; he arrived; in the house are living one old woman, and Coyote, and the Cannibal Woman. 53. Migitih killed the Cannibal Woman. 54. "Good," says Coyote; "the Cannibal Woman (is) a Yumugiwal; she kills people."

55. Then Migitih came to his own house. 56. The old woman is saying, "Did you kill Yumugiwal?" says the old woman. 57. "Yes," says Migitih. 58. "Yumugiwal are finished," says the old woman. 59. "Good," says Migitih. 60. Already it got ended.

DREAMS

15. JIMSONWEED DREAM

x 539 1. tei·džamgi bicipatsu i·mi memo'ip wa·hai·'ilac tei·tc ta·twala waki·k. 2. ca·ŋka'i·gi pele·wat. 3. pieni andzaŋ andzaŋ tuwubil. 4. ici·nal pic o·iwala'aŋ po·miyin. 5. picki wahai awa'at hani·lami·k. 6. picki wa·hai' i·mi ci·uba. 7. picki hani·p iŋgim i·li·'iŋ. 8. picki tiki·'awac utsulu·m.

9. picki tumu·ga. 10. a·dawi·gi pa·lapici·nieta a·dawi·gi. 11. pienin tei·tc ta·twal a·winat win ahani·liŋ u·imu·gickangit yu'umaŋ cuwa·lakit. 12. picki wahai ta·wigit paŋatala kudi wal aŋaganayin. 13. pic wah ta·twal piŋgitni ta·wigihpi e·igit mo·mo·hta-gît i·'icka'adiŋgit. 14. tiwigiki.

15. picki waha·i ya·waŋ wal i·mi hani·mini·k bicopmini·k. 16. picki pili·lac hani·p a·winat co·oyi undumu·gi wala. 17. pic miyah hani·p kumu·p mahahactiŋgit mo·mo·hta. 18. hacki iŋgim. 19. picki u·mugi·n omoih pa·i pa·imiya'aŋ. 20. wahni omok a·winapinan wah ta·twal. 21. win wo·kan.

16. BEAR DREAM

1. tei·džamgi iŋgim bicipatsu me·da. 2. picki kimat pohta. 3. picki indžinwe·lip i·bili·gim. 4. wahaigi iŋgim wiŋa·lami·k. 5. picki wia·lap pili·gimi·ba'acki a·dawi·k u·nala ma·igigi·maŋ muwa·labatsu. 6. ma·gigi·mat. 7. picki ogon tuwubilgimat. 8. met mi·'ipil u·unal awaha·gim. 9. a·hyakina·gi. 10. picki miya'awahakinac i·wini·k. 11. hayi u·nal. 12. miyaŋhi·ki wa'awi·la.

13. picki i·'i·lika. 14. pe·welaŋgi tumu·uga bicipatsu u·nala. 15. picki wahai iŋgim bicipatsu undumu·gi·ya'awac wal u·nala. 16. picki i·bili·gimih kumu·p. 17. picki a·hali wo·pa·i[119] mi·yal. 18. picki tumu·ga imbi wal u·nala undumu·gapi·i.

19. wah wiŋa·lapki a·dawi·k undumu·ugac. 20. indimala·wani. 21. picki o·yamin wal u·nala picki i·'ili·k. 22. picki wo·cama·na'aŋ undumu·gapi·i i·mi bicipmini·k. 23. picki wiŋa·lap i·bili·la. 24. picki amagamin undumu·gapi·i u·nala. 25. hacki i·'iwin wiŋa·lap. 26. tu·cik i·mi. 27. undzuŋgi tuwubil. 28. waha·igi i·mi.

17. REQUESTED DREAM

1. tumu·ga·gi mi·'imbin undumu·ga·naibini kipindiŋitc. 2. picki tumu·ga tugal wala halikil hani·lap. 3. ege·wan hani·l po·cipi·l ti·'imbi hani·l tei·tc hawa·aban wini·t. 4. pickil halit wah hani·liŋ hawa·aban. 5. tikakil a·nai·iwatsits. 6. pic co·yiŋ halit iki·k. 7. pic wahai tsa·ya·windiŋ ma·igigi·mahkit. 8. picpi waki·l i·mi. 9. pic co·yiŋ yiwut ana·wicpta. 10. ana·wicpit u·mu·gumin. 11. picki a·dawi·k pa·ŋa. 12. picki a·dawi·k ta·twal wo· ti tei·tc ko·im. 13. pic tei·tc ta·twal halitni·'iŋ[120] hawa·ban. 14. pic piŋgit hac ta·wigi·git tickit. 15. pic tahambil iki·k halit. 16. picki piŋgit a·yala·ma.

DREAMS

15. JIMSONWEED DREAM

1. Once I went from Bishop to Mammoth, going to work for one man. 2. I am opening up a ditch. 3. Then it rained on me; it rained very much. 4. The hail then (was the size of) chicken's eggs. 5. So I ran away from there toward the house. 6. Then (after the shower) I went back to my own work. 7. Then I came to my own house in the evening. 8. Then, when I finished eating, I slept. 539X

9. Then I dreamed. 10. I saw a windmill; I saw it. 11. Then one man is telling me: "It (the windmill) may be used as an instrument for flooding the houses," he says, "when the world is worn out," he says. 12. Then from there I see God and also angels. 13. Then there the man says to me, "Look you at that," he says; "jimsonweed," he says, "you ought to drink it," he says. 14. "Good," I say. [276]

15. Then from there the very next day I went toward my own home, toward Bishop. 16. Then, when I arrive at my own home, I tell my own wife: "I dreamed that." 17. Then: "Go to your own house, to your own father; he can give you jimsonweed," she says. 18. I did not come. 19. Then I got hurt myself after three months. 20. There, the one who told me in vain, the man is there. 21. It is the end.

16. BEAR DREAM

1. Once I came from Bishop long ago. 2. So I am coming on the road. 3. Then I arrived at Indian Wells. 4. From there I came toward the summit. 5. Then, while I was wanting to arrive at the summit, I saw a bear while he was running away from the mountain. 6. He is coming running. 7. Then I, contrary to will, am coming very fast (in a Ford). 8. Already very close the bear appeared to come. 9. I left him there and went away. 10. Then I, while appearing to go away from there, looked back. 11. No bear. 12. This direction I (am) on the steep place. [177]

13. Then I woke up suddenly. 14. (It was) the first time I dreamt of the bear from Bishop. 15. Then I from there came away from Bishop, having finished dreaming (of) that bear. 16. Then I came and arrived here to my own father. 17. Then I lived here two or three months. 18. Then I dream again (of) that bear, my own past dream.

19. There on the summit I see him when dreaming. 20. He followed me. 21. Then I passed that bear; then I woke up. 22. Then, two weeks after my own dream, I took leave toward Bishop. 23. Then I, on the summit, went and arrived. 24. Then I remembered my own past dream (of) the bear. 25. I did not stand for a moment on the summit. 26. Straightway I went. 27. I became very frightened. 28. From there I took leave.

17. REQUESTED DREAM

1. I dreamed because you said to me, "You will dream." 2. Then I dream that at night we are sitting in the house. 3. A big white house and another house are standing in the neighborhood. 4. Then we are sitting there next to the house. 5. We are eating our own lunch. 6. Then your wife is sitting on this side. 7. Then from there she yells to you: "Come, run," she is saying. 8. Then you go to that side. 9. Then your wife is holding the little girl. 10. The little girl died momentaneously. 11. Then I saw above. 12. Then I see it; (there are) two men and one woman. 13. Then one man sits next to me. 14. Then he says, "Do not look," he says, "it is bad," he says. 15. Then Old Man is sitting on this side. 16. Then I say, "Let me call him."

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

X 539

17. picki met mi'i·ba'ac ĩ'ĩ·lĩka.[121] 18. picki o·l mana·uwatwanap. 19. picki ipic wanaŋgi pĩlĩ·ĩlac a'ala·wila·''angi upucki. 20. wal undumu·gi tĩcwayin. 21. upucki. 22. hayiba·int kĩki piniyu indĩma tĩwĩ haeteiyaŋ ha·int akalupca. 23. wĩn wo·okan.

18. BULL DREAM

1. undumu·gacki miyat yĩtak miyat. 2. picki a·ba·ga'igi a·dawĩ·k. 3. a·litcki yĩwulat. 4. picki to·ro'i a·dawĩ·k. 5. haewan to·ro a·dzowal wĩnĩ tei·tenĩn o·lĩgi·miba'at. 6. picki wahai i·mi obola·lami·k teo·mi·ki obola·la miyat. 7. picki to·ro'i a·dawĩ·k mĩckip. 8. picnĩn ta·wĩgĩe a'awa·t mi·''imgi a·lite yĩwut. 9. picki ĩ'ĩlĩ·k.[122]

19. DEER DREAM

1. undumu·gacki·miyat. 2. obola·lak a·hatda·u tuga·wayin. 3. akatdzi·p muwa·lap muwa·lak ĩmĩhĩl. 4. picki pica·liba'ac ĩwĩgi·ya·u tohi·liŋ wĩ·gi·yin. 5. picki ĩ·dĩwa·la tohi·la yowi. 6. picta e'ela ĩ·eĩwanami·k. 7. pictci·te ĩ·wĩnĩt ege·ewan. 8. picki u·umu·awai'wai'agi·m. 9. picki a·dawĩ·gĩla cu·naba·ngi u·mu·. 10. picki ĩ'ĩ·lĩka.
11. tĩc tohi·l undumu·giwac nĩmĩ·igapigidža.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

17. Then I, already wanting to go, woke up with a start. 18. Then I got up at four o'clock. 19. Then I went out far away; when I arrived, I prayed (and) I blew (to get rid of the impurity of the dream). 20. I dreamed a bad one. 21. I blew (the bad dream away). 22. "Nothing, nothing (bad remains)," I say, "everything (is) good; to us nothing (bad) will happen." 23. It is the end. 539x

18. BULL DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along the valley. 2. Then I see cattle. 3. I go and hold my own gun. 4. Then I see the bull. 5. There is not a bull (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me. 6. Then from there I go down toward the canyon, I am going to the canyon. 7. Then I see the bull in front (of me). 8. Then, when he sees me, he runs away from me because I am holding my own gun. 9. Then I woke up. [177 411] [756]

19. DEER DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along. 2. I cross the deep canyon. 3. On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains. 4. Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks. 5. Then I went and found many deer. 6. Then they jump about in every direction. 7. Then a big one stands still. 8. Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead. 9. Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart. 10. Then I woke up with a start. 11. It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say. [787]

MISCELLANEOUS

20. SPEECH TO BOYS

X 539 1. tanimalulu tô'ila' u'udi'ilam tanil ha'ĩh. 2. tanibɯm ô'dôhica tohi'la i'wi'nica'abɯm ku'ɯdzɯbɑl atami. 3. pɑc tĩ'wĩgĩt tahambɑc tĩ'wĩgĩt. 4. ĩ'bĩlĩ'licap aya'awi. 5. hacpɯm miya'hai a'gidɑŋ hani'iban tĩc amhicami'ubɯm mĩcmala tĩkila'p. 6. agi' ôgô'n i''iba'at mô'ômôhta kɯk i''a'nica a'halica'abɯm tĩ'wĩ pɑc mô'ômôhtulu ĩ'yĩwica hacpɯm ala'ac u'u'gica. 7. toha'ala'cpɯm tohi'la mi'inai pi'wi'la pɑcpɯm muwa'la i'wi'nica pi'wi'la pɑctulu ha''ɑc ɯndzɯŋgɯnica yu'mu'gi'wal u'unal tugɯkwĩt ha'int ôgôn wah.

8. toha'lapĩla ĩmĩ'ĩk ɑet pô'côpĩ'l.

9. nô''ôgi''mi'ba'a'cpɯ'm ala'wilô''ana'hai muwa'la kam'mɯt. 10. pɑcpɯm pina'hai tohf'lɑŋ tuguwayɯn pɑcpɯm wi'na'ai aŋhani'la. 11. hacpɯm ĩ'cĩwalu'ai tô'iyĩc muwa'lap. 12. pɑniyu ɑndama ha'ĩt cĩmĩnt u'unal pɑcpɯm tĩ'wĩ ô'dô'yica. 13. hacpɯm mĩ'ĩgai cĩmĩnda tĩc ilmahkaŋ cĩmĩnt ĩnĩhyi'nahactulu tĩc mĩ'ĩgiwac. 14. wĩn wô'ôkan.

21. CONCERNING BEARS

1. e''me''eda'ta'lkɑtc ta''agi''vuka'ŋ u'nala. 2. pɑ'ckɑtc u'nala ala'winat ha'inda'pnĩ'ĩ'ŋ[122] ɑnĩt pôhpan[124] ku' wɑmeɑn ɑki'k kĩ'kɑtc wal u'nala. 3. pɑ'ckɑtc wa' u'unal yandzĩt. 4. wa'haigɑ'tc wɑmeɑnatĩpĩ', pɑcta' ô'yat wanda'[125] aŋhani'l, ha'ĩkɑ'tc wa' u'unal ala'wila. 5. pɑni''i'''kɑtc[126] ɑndama' a'winat macɑl tĩnt pɑni'i'''yu[126] ôgô'n u''ɯ't a'winat. 6. tanahap kɑtc u'nala a'na'yu'ma ku''ugɑ'tc wô'ma ma'agat mi''i''mgɑtc wah u''ɯt a'winat. 7. pɑ'ckɑtc kima'i' ala'awaŋ tĩ'wĩgĩ'kɑtc u'unal ata''agɑca''gila'ŋ kĩ'kidža wôhĩckɑtc ôgôn ta'agat wal ala'wĩpĩ'la. 8. mĩ'ĩgakɑtc wal wô'ôma. 9. pɑ'ckɑtc e'me'eda'ta'l hac u'nala ala'awat.

22. THE CLOWN

1. pic hili'idats aŋhani'la mĩyĩ'ĩwi'nat ala'wini'ba'ac. 2. me'edak tu'gukaŋ hac wogom tĩkakca tĩkigu'i'a'lu'gitc. 3. picpum tĩkiya'awac ĩdĩ'bica ti' u'mu'luwica kudi' ĩtĩpi'mica.

4. pic hili'idats tĩnĩda''iba'aŋ kimat ala'wagi'mac. 5. pic i'yawa'lbe'gĩt tĩkama'lu'tspe'gĩt. 6. pic aŋhani'l a'hyat piniyu tĩ'bi'. 7. picta piniyu tĩkalat. 8. tĩkiya'awacpum pic tĩ'ba'hai pini'ik indamai'igĩtpu'm ku'lai'igĩt te'etsumuk ha'inda.

9. pic hili'idats ti' iŋgim ĩ'lĩ'ĩŋ. 10. pic piŋgĩt aŋhani'la a'hyalbe' tĩ'ĩbi'ulu'ugĩt tĩkama'alu'tspe'gĩt. 11. wo'okangilu'ts tĩkiya'awackilu'ts u'mu'luwicagĩt ĩ'ĩdĩ'ĩbica kudi' ĩtĩpi'mica tĩ'wĩbum mu'luwa'haigĩt. 12. picpum o'yomi'ba'ac miya'hai we'litami'k. 13. picta tu'gal miyatwah we'litap.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

MISCELLANEOUS

20. SPEECH TO BOYS

1. Let me teach ye, boys, and ye listen. 2. If ye will hunt the deer, ye will give a little to the old men. 3. Then the old men say "Good, good," (they) say. 4. You will get old. 5. Ye must not go in anyone's house; that is bad, ye might be given poison in the food. 6. Anyone who wants to drink jimsonweed, I will give it to him to drink; ye will live well; then jimsonweed will preserve ye, ye will not die quickly. 7. While hunting deer ye must take down-feathers; then Yumugiwal will not frighten ye, nor Bear nor Mountain Lion, nor anything there.

8. (Heed this caution, for once) a White Coyote killed a hunter (who was not cautious).

9. When ye are ready to come back, pray to the mountain; it is fitting. 10. Then ye must bring the meat of the deer and present it here and there to the people. 11. Ye must not show disrespect to (animals) while wandering on the mountain. 12. The Rattlesnake, Bear, everything hears; then ye will wander safely. 13. Ye must not kill Rattlesnake; he is bad. Rattlesnake has a meanness which may possibly make ye sick; it is bad (for Rattlesnake) to be killed. 14. Pretty soon (the end) is present.

21. CONCERNING BEARS

1. Old-Timers were in the habit of meeting Bear. 2. Then (they) talk to Bear: "What are you doing in my trail?" and, "Give me room this way," (they) say to that Bear. 3. Then that Bear sits down. 4. From there he makes them move aside. Then they pass by, those people; that Bear hears the talking (as Old-Timers pass by). 5. Everything tells (Bear)—the brush, the rocks, the trees tell him everything. 6. And if you speak disrespectfully of the Bear, he knows it immediately; the tree right there tells him. 7. Then he is mad when somebody talks (of him). "Good," Bear says, "I will meet you," he says. Surely he meets that talker. 8. He kills that one right off. 9. Then Old-Timers do not talk of Bear.

22. THE CLOWN

(*Morning*):

1. Then the clown rounds up the people when he wants to talk to (them). 2. When it is still dark in the morning (and they) are not yet interrupted in eating, "You fellows cook (for the fiesta of the day)," he says. 3. "Then you fellows, having finished eating, will gamble, and will dance and also play hand-games" (says the clown in the first speech of the day).

(*Noon*):

4. Then at noon the clown comes when he comes and talks. 5. "Then you fellows stop awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 6. Then the people quit all their own gambling. 7. Then they, every one, go and eat. 8. "When you fellows have finished eating then you gamble awhile, anything at all," he says, "you play awhile," he says, "do anything you please."

(*Evening*):

9. Then the clown also came in the evening. 10. Then he says to the people, "You fellows quit your gambling for awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 11. "Pretty soon when we have finished eating, we will dance," he says, "we will gamble and also play hand-games; you fellows should dance well," he says. 12. "Then when you fellows want to copulate, you should go toward the open places." 13. Then they are going there all night—in the open places.

PERSONAL ANECDOTES

23. JOURNEY FROM TEJON

X 539 1. tci·džamgila'aŋ tehonbatsu iŋgim ku'utcana·p pa·lap. 2. me·takila'aŋ ingim napa·t-wana·p me·tak. 3. tu·cigila'aŋ iŋgim muwa·la. 4. hacpum miyahai wah muwa·lap utudu·wana·p yo·wi u·unalgīta. 5. tīwīgīkila'aŋ piŋgi·wac. 6. co·yigi ama·yu. 7. iŋgībatsugila'aŋ iŋgim. 8. pickila'aŋ muwa·la na·widam iŋgim. 9. pa·twana·p ī·lī·īŋ me·dagila'aŋ ta·mu·gut tuwubic. 10. wahkila'aŋ ī·wīnīt ha·yi pa·l a·yamuts kinitc. 11. pickila'aŋ wahai a·dawī·k tso·mi·k. o·hola·lap. 12. picki a·dawī·k utuhula o·hola·lap. 13. picki co·yi imbiŋk pa·l to·wah[127] wīnītkīki. 14. waha·igila'aŋ i·mi o·hola·lami·k. 15. wahkila'aŋ ī·bīlī·īla utuhula·p. 16. ha·yi pa·l wa·agīt. 17. waha·igila'aŋ i·mi. 18. metkila'aŋ tuwubil ta·mu·gut. 19. wana·ŋgila'aŋ ī·bīlī·la yītap. 20. met tu·uguŋ. 21. waha·igila'aŋ iŋgim tcali'enta·mini·k wana·ŋ wo·gami. 22. wahaiyu piga'ac wo'omhaidžiŋ miya a·yamute[128] mi'ickats.[129] 23. me·edagila'aŋ pa·bīt. 24. wīngila'aŋ ogon kimat. 25. pickila'aŋ ī·bīlī·gim kali'ente amhaidžiŋ ti tci·tcwana·p tu·galgila'aŋ ī·bīlī·gim. 26. wahkila'aŋ atahkin.

24. DEER HUNT

1. pe·welaŋ ta·hawacki otoha·la yītiya·mibatsu muwa·lap ege·wana·p. 2. picki ukuba·n muwa·liŋ ī·bīlī·la. 3. waha·igi īwīgi·yau tohi·la. 4. i·mi wana·ŋ ītsīlīu o·hola·lap. 5. wīŋgi ogon wīgi·yin miyat. 6. wana·ŋ ipca·gim wīŋa·lap. 7. wīŋgi ogon wīgi·yin kimat. 8. wahki ī·dīwa·gim wīŋa·la tīliwac miyakaŋni e'e·lamin apaba·'ani·ganan. 9. picki mi·m ayandzītap wo·mak īmī·īgina·n. 10. wana·ŋ ayandzīla wo·bapan miya'aŋ. 11. wo·mak u·mu· tīwī cu·naba·ngi u·mu·. 12. awai'wai'agim. 13. picki wahai i·mita·wīgīlac. 14. wahki ici·gin. 15. picki ele·win. 16. waha·igi iŋgim hini·mini·k. 17. le·winakanangi tohi·la. 18. pic tīwīgīt tahambil ta·wīgīc wo'okangil u·bu·igīt tahambil.

25. FIESTA NEAR BISHOP

1. tci·damgi bicip halīpīganan. 2. pic mu·hyil ī·dīwīlī. 3. picki wahai i·mi yo·wi aŋhani·l. 4. ī·cīwanami·gatsu aŋhani·l iŋgim. 5. pictau·mu·luw ti· tīpi·mil ti· tī·bi·l yo·wi. 6. yo·wi aŋhani·l. 7. mu·luwakila'aŋ pini·ik tu·ugit. 8. yo·wi okogo·im yo·wi o·yomi·l napa·ida·l mu·luwi·l ī·īwīn. 9. picta a·ih mu·luwi· waha·ida i·miyamiya aŋhani·l. 10. waha·igi i·mi bicipmini·k. 11. wīn wo'okan.

26. TRIP TO ISABELLA

1. īwī·aŋgila'aŋ i·mi isabela'ammi·k. 2. pic tuwubil ī·dī·'īt ha·yihkowa·l. 3. pickila'aŋ wahai ono·gim. 4. pic tīwīdziyaŋ no·'o·gimaŋ ihkowa'ut. 5. pickila'aŋ ī·bīlī·īgim hani·p. 6. pickila'aŋ ītīk pīlī·gimac. 7. picki wahai i·mi tīki·'awac teo'ogilami·k. 8. pic teo'-ogila'aŋ co·yin tīki·gu·i'atciyaŋ pīlī·laŋ. 9. picteiyaŋ teo'ogil ītīkan īmbī. 10. pickila'aŋ wahai ono·gim. 11. pickila'aŋ īmbī ītīk pīlī·gimac. 12. pickil towubil u·bui. 13. picki hac munu·ginat teulu·mi· pu·yuc. 14. picki tu·gana·widami'iŋ utsulu·m.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

PERSONAL ANECDOTES

23. JOURNEY FROM TEJON

1. Once we came from Tejon to South Fork. 2. Already we (began to) come at six o'clock in the morning. 3. Straightway we came to the mountains. 4. "Don't you go there in the tall mountains, (there) are many bears," they say. 5. "Good," we say when it is being said. 6. I (am) with my wife. 7. We came on foot. 8. Then we came to the middle of the mountains. 9. At three o'clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty. 10. There we are standing; (there is) no water (of) our bringing. 11. Then from there we looked down the canyon. 12. Then I saw cottonwood trees in the canyon. 13. Then I said to my wife, "I don't know but that water is standing there," I say. 14. From there we went toward the canyon. 15. We arrived there by the cottonwood trees. 16. Nothing; the water is dried up. 17. From there we took leave. 18. We are already very thirsty. 19. (It was) far away (before) we went and arrived in the valley. 20. Already it is getting dark. 21. From there we came toward Caliente, (which was) far away yet. 22. From there we had to go about twenty miles. 23. Already we are getting tired. 24. In spite of this, we are coming. 25. Then we came and arrived at Caliente; at eleven o'clock at night we arrived. 26. There we slept.

539X
484

24. DEER HUNT

1. Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiyam in the big mountains. 2. Then I went and arrived on top of the mountain. 3. From there I tracked the deer. 4. He went far away; he crossed the ridge in the canyon. 5. I am going (after) his tracks standing (there). 6. Far away he came out on the summit. 7. I am coming (after) his tracks standing (there). 8. There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going. 9. Then I, in a sitting position, aimed at him right away. 10. Far away he went and sat down half a mile (away). 11. Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him. 12. He came and dropped down dead. 13. Then from there I went when I saw him. 14. There I skinned him. 15. Then I packed him. 16. From there I came toward home. 17. I (am) the one who packs the deer. 18. Then, "Good," says the old man, when he sees it, "pretty soon we get full," says the old man.

539X
224

25. FIESTA NEAR BISHOP

1. Once in Bishop I (am) the one who lived. 2. Then the fiesta got fixed. 3. Then I went from there; (there are) many people. 4. From every place people came. 5. Then they danced, and (there is) hand-game, and (there is) much gambling. 6. (There are) many people. 7. We are dancing every night. 8. (There are) many women; (there is) much copulation. Six days dancing occurred. 9. Then they quit their own dancing; from there they went and went, the people. 10. From there I went toward Bishop. 11. It is all.

539X
527

26. TRIP TO ISABELLA

1. Yesterday we went toward Isabella. 2. Then it is very hot; (there is) no wind. 3. Then we came back from there. 4. Then the wind blows on us when we return. 5. Then we arrived in our own house. 6. Then we ate when we arrived. 7. Then, having finished eating, I went from there toward Chogil's. 8. Then the wife of Chogil is cooking when we arrived. 9. Then Chogil fed us again. 10. Then from there we came back. 11. Then we ate again when we arrived. 12. Then we got very full. 13. Then I did not yield to my own sleep when I was full. 14. Then, when it was the middle of the night, I slept.

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539

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY[138]

1. wa'hikiɑ'tc ipɑ'e wĭ'ngiwa'h halĭ't piŋgĭ't kɯmu'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ kudi'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ pɑ''adzi'n wa'hkila'a'ŋgɑ'tc pɯni''iyu ɑpɑ'e. 2. pɑ'ekigɑ'tc me't a''aya''u me'tkitcki' ô''ôdô''i. 3. pɑ'ekɑtcnĭ'ĭ'ŋ a''abu''n a''hya'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. pi''ciyɑ'n. 4. pɑ'ekigɑ'tc a'naŋa't picĭ'ba'a'e. 5. picki'tcnĭ'ĭ'ŋ a''abu''n ĭ'nihya't. 6. pɑ'ekigɑ'tc a'naŋa't tɯ'wɯbɑ'l a''na''mu''ugɯ'e. 7. pɑ'ekigɑ'tc cô'ŋôta' ĭwĭ'kĭkɑ'n ɑ'h yandzĭ'h a''abu''gĭckɑ'tc ha''''iekĭ't. 8. pɑ'ekigɑ'tc tĭ'ka't tĭ'kila'.

9. waha''igime't a''aya''u. 10. pɑ'eki ma''aga't me''eda'. 11. pɑ'e kɯmu'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ ĭ''dĭ'wĭla'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. 12. pɑ'eki toha't. 13. pɑ'eki ha''wala' mĭ''''iga't pɯni''ik ɑ'ndɯma''i teiki''ida' wa'l tĭ'kiuka'ŋ. 14. kina'niuka'ŋgi kɯmu''i. 15. pɑ'e tĭ'wĭ'igĭ't kɯmu''nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. 16. pɯni''ik ɑ'ndɯma''i'i mĭ''''igiuka'ŋ cu''''ita' ta'hpɯnda' kudi' taka''hi' kudi' ôwi''ida'. 17. pɑ'eki kɑ'nana't wala' kɯmu''i. 18. kudɑ'k wela''hana''liuka'ŋ kuyu''ula'. 19. kaŋa''-ga'naiyɑ'n yo''wɑ'k wi''ciuka'ŋ na''wida'm ucu''ula' kaŋa''ga'naiyɑ'n. 20. pɑ'ewala' a''bu''nĭ'ĭ'ŋ ka''adzɑ't wa'lgila'a'ŋ tĭ'kiuka'ŋ tci''tewa'na'a'e.

21. pɑ'eteiya'ŋ kɯmu'' tô''ila''niuka'ŋ. 22. tĭ'wĭbɯ'm tô''iya'i ha'epum ha''inda' ĭ''yĭha'i kɯ'dibɯ'm ha'e a'tami' ĭ'kĭtsi''ica'iyica' ta''wĭgĭ ta'nibɯ'm yahna't pɑ'ebum u''''u''la'wica'. 23. tĭ'wĭkĭ'kila'a'ŋ pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ tĭ'wĭ tô'iyĭ't tci''tewa'na'a'e. 24. wahĭ'ekiôgô'n me't u''''u''la mi''mgi ya''hna't kɯ'mu'ɯ'n ala''wiyɑ'n. 25. pɑ'eteiya'ŋ tĭ''ibɑ'nuga''adawa''niuka'ŋ ĭ''lĭ'ĭ'ŋ tô''môwa'e pɯni''ik ɑ'ndama''i ɑ'eta'. 26. pɑ'e a''cila''haibɯ'm me''eda'k ye'u'wɑɑ'n hu''uda'kina'ŋ wô''''ômbɯ'm ô'ô'bica'. 27. pɑ'e tĭ'wĭ'igĭ't. 28. ha'etɑŋha''int tsĭ'xkica' kɯ'tanɑ'p ha''''ɑ'e a''acĭ''lica' ku''udɑ'ŋ u''''ɯ't tsĭ'xkica'. 29. wôhĭ'ckila'a'ŋ a''cĭli''uka'ŋ tu''ugaka'ŋ tu''ci' ĭ''dzĭ''''ĭ't tɯ'wɯbɑ'l pa''l ɑ'ptagɑ'la'a'ŋ wa't pala''''ina't a''ci'ba'a'e pɑ'e tĭ'wĭ. 30. pɯni''ik ɑ'ndama''igila'a'ŋ ɑnĭ't tĭ'wĭ tci''tewa'na'a'e.

31. pɑ'ewaha''i tci''tc ele''lepĭ'l ĭ''bĭlĭ''igɑ'm. 32. pɑ'e pɑŋgĭ't a'naha'ta ha'e tu''umu''-mĭ'ĭ'ŋ wi''hĭla'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ pɯ'ŋgumĭ''iyɑ'n. 33. tĭ'wĭ'igĭ't kɯmu''nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. 34. pɑ'eteiya'ŋ i''mi''n wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĭ''bĭlĭ''la' hani''iba'n pɑ'e yo''wi pɯ'ŋgumĭ''n. 35. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ wi''ihĭ't pini''ik ta'l kudi'gila'a'ŋ kɯ'tugɯ't ĭ''lĭ'ĭ'ŋ pĭlĭ'c. 36. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ wa''adiuka'ŋ pa''abĭ'e nô''ôgi''maki'la'a'ŋ hani''mɑni''k. 37. pɑ'eteiya'a'ŋ pĭlĭ'ŋ kɯmu'' wa'haiyi'uka'ŋ. 38. ma''inɑ'epɯ'm ô''no''ogɑ'mgĭ't. 39. pa''abĭ'ekila'a'ŋ. 40. pɑ'eteiya'a'ŋ ei''uba' tĭ''bĭla't. 41. wĭ'ngila'a'ŋ ôgô'n pinĭ' nô''ôgi''maki'la'a'ŋ 42. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ ha'e ĭ''ĭdzĭ'm i''mi'. 43. pɑ'e ele''lepĭ''l ĭ''''ĭlĭ' ĭ''bĭlĭ''igɑ'm. 44. me''eda'k ĭ''dĭ''ĭdza' wa'l pɯ'ŋgumĭ''igĭ't ku' a''ba'i'igi' pa''imgĭ't wi''nɑ'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ tu''umu''mĭ''yĭ'ĭ'ŋgĭ't ku' wĭ'kĭgi''ma'ibu''-mu'ugĭ't. 45. tĭ'wĭ'igĭ't kɯmu''nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. 46. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ waha''i i''mi' wĭ'kĭla'c. 47. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ ĭwĭ'kĭkɑ'n. 48. ɑ'mbina''gila'a'ŋ wa'hki wi''hiuka'ŋ. 49. pɑ'ewaha''igila'a'ŋ ĭ''dĭ''ĭdza'.

50. pɑ'eki waha''i ɑckwe'le'ei'p i''mi'. 51. pɑ'chacki' ma''aga't ala''wiyɑ'n wa''adɑ'ŋ a''wɑ'napĭ''lɑ'ŋ. 52. pɑ'e tci''tc ele''lepĭ''l hacni' ma''aga'ŋ wa'l ala''wila' picni' a''wina't ele''lepĭ''l. 53. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ waha''i i''mi' pɑ'e ɑ'ckwele'' ibatsu' ĭ''lĭ'ĭ'ŋ i''mi' welɑ'n-mɑni''k. 54. pɑ'eteiya'ŋ tci''tc ta''twa'l a'a'pcila' wa'h. 55. pɯ'ŋguba'ta miya't. 56. pɑ'eteiya'ŋ a''ala''wɑ'n kô'uldgĭ't. 57. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ pɑ'niyu' kô'uldgĭ't mina'. 58. ha'ckila'a'ŋ ma''aga't ha'tcɑgi''n wĭnĭ'. 59. pɑ'eteiya'ŋ ta''twa'l ta''wĭgĭ''taya't. 60. waha''igila'a'ŋ ô''no''ogɑ'm ĭ''lĭ'ĭ'ŋ hani''mɑni''k. 61. pɑ'ekila'a'ŋ waha''i kima't ɑckwe'le'ei'p. 62. tci''tc cuwa''lgi i''mi' ɑckwe'le'e'ip. 63. pɑ'enɑnwa'' a''wɑ'napĭ''l wɯba' mi''mgiha'e ha'ĭ't wa'l hatei'giyɑ'n. 64. pɑ'eni' wɯba'. 65. pɑ'eki ĭ''wĭ''ĭdĭ'. 66. pɑcki' wa'l ô''wani'' a'tsaba''''ɑ'n. 67. wa'haigi' i''mi' hani''mɑni''k. 68. pɑ'eki waha''i a''wa''ha'i ôgô'n ha'cki ĭmbĭ' i''mi' ɑ'ckwele'ip.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. There, it is said, I was born; it is (where) I am living (now); my father says (this); and there, also, my older brother, it is said, all (of us siblings) were born. 2. Then, it is said, I grew up already; it is said I wandered about already. 3. Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me. 4. Then, it is said, I am crying. 5. Then, it is said, my mother is sick. 6. Then, it is said, I am crying very much when I am hungry. 7. Then, it is said, I took from there to here a little blanket. "Here, sit down, mother," I say, it is said; "No," she says. 8. Then, it is said, I eat food. 539X 159

9. From there I grew up already. 10. Then I am learning already. 11. Then my father made my bow. 12. Then I am hunting. 13. Then I am killing wood-rats; (I) used to eat those birds, everything. 14. I used to bring to my own father (whatever I shot). 15. Then, "Good," says my father. 16. (I) used to kill everything, rabbits, cottontails, and also quail, and also pigeon. 17. Then I bring that to my own father. 18. And also I used to cause fish to swallow (bait). 19. I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip). 20. Then my mother boils those (fish); we used to eat them all the time. [252]

21. Then father used to teach us. 22. "Wander about well(-behaved); steal nothing and also do not be nasty to the old men when you see (them); if you believe (my words), then you will get old." 23. "Good," we say, "then we are wandering about well(-behaved) all the time." 24. "Surely I got old already because I believe the talk of my own father." 25. Then he used to tell us myths in the evening when it was winter, (about) Coyote, (about) everything. 26. "Then go ye and bathe in the morning, when the Morning Star comes out; twice ye will dive in." 27. Then he says, "Good." 28. "Nothing will prick you; but if you will not bathe, then wood will prick you." 29. Surely, we used to bathe in the dark (before dawn); the water is very cold; we break the ice when we bathe; then (it is) good. 30. We do everything good all the time. 539X 866 867 159

31. Then from there one Mexican came and arrived. 32. Then he says, "Would that your offspring would go watch over my pets (goats)." 33. "Good," says my father. 34. Then he took us; there we went and arrived at his house; and his pets (are) many. 35. Then we look after (them) every day and also we gather firewood in the evening when we arrive (at camp). 36. Then we used to run away when we were tired out; we come back toward our own house. 37. Then when we arrived, father used to scold us. 38. "Why did you come back?" he says. "(Because) we were tired." 40. Then he goes and puts us back again. 41. Presently we are coming back in the same way. 42. Then we do not go for a long time. 43. Then after a while the Mexican came and arrived. 44. "I already sold those, my own pets," he says; "and I left some," he says, "my present to your offspring," he says, "and ye come get (them)," he says. 45. "Good," says my father. 46. Then we went from there to go get (them). 47. Then we took (them) from there to here. 48. We brought (them) there (where) I used to look after (them). 49. Then from there we sold them. 539X 857 159 [860 425 159]

50. Then from there I went to school. 51. Then I did not know the language of that teacher. 52. Then (there is) one Mexican; when I do not understand the language, then the Mexican tells me. 53. Then from there we went; then from school we went in the evening toward Weldon. 54. Then one man went and caught up to us there. 55. He is coming on horseback. 56. Then he talked to us, "Cold," he says. 57. Then we all say, "Cold!" too. 58. We do not understand what that means. 59. Then the man looks at us. 60. From there we came back in the evening toward our own house. 61. Then from there we are coming to school. 62. I went to school one year. 63. Then that teacher whipped me because I do not hear (i.e., understand) what she means. 64. She whipped me. 65. Then I got mad. 66. Then I tore my own book. 67. From there I went toward my own house. 68. Then from there I worked; I never went to school again. 539X 872 159 177

X 539 69. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ i·'mi' pi·'tersɤ'nīŋ hani·'iba'n tītdī·'"ina·'ala'e pô'ustɤ'i'. 70. wa'hkila'a'ŋ aka'mppuwa' wi·'ciba·'n muwa·'l'ŋ. 71. pɤ'cwalye·'ewa'ŋ ī'tīdī·'"ɤ'n kμmu·'nī'ī'ŋ wa"adula' pô'usti'ī'. 72. pɤ'ckinī·' tapɤ'ciuka'ŋ ta·'l kμ'di ī·'lī'ī'ŋ. 73. wa'l tīka't pīlī'e ī·'lī'ī'ŋ ta'pei·'la' kμ'di cu·'"ita'. 74. yo·'wigila'a'ŋ ī'tīdī·'"ɤ'n. 75. hīctī'hkila'a'ŋ e·'eya't tci·'te pô'usti'ɤ'p. 76. pɤ'ekanī·' wa'hina't pô'usti'ī' ô·'ônô·'μp. 77. mu·'udu·'iwɤ'naki' wa'h yīta'p. 78. pini"ik ta·'hawɤ'l wa'h a·'aha'l' tītdī·'"ina'c. 79. pɤ'ckinī·' ī·'lī'ī'ŋ i'ɤ'ckīla' pa·'la'. 80. wana·'ŋ ôgô'n wa'h pa·'l wīnī't. 81. me't cumu"uma'ŋ pɤ'cki ô·'ôno·'ogɤ'm ickī'kina'c. 82. pɤ'cki ī·'īyī'u nô·"ôgi·'ma'c. 83. tcô·'ômi·'ki' īwī'kīmɤ'n. 84. wa'haigɤ' ī·'īyī'u wahki' tsa·'ya·'u pɤ'chayi·"agi'. 85. pɤ'cki na'ŋ. 86. pɤ'cki a·'ma·'-igīla' ana·'gala'bina'e icka'taki' wili"ina't. 87. pɤ'e wa'h kμmu·'nī'ī'ŋ a"ala·'u. 88. ma·"ici·'kpi' miya't. 89. ī·'yī'ugi'gīki' ha·'yinī'ī'ŋ tcka'n pɤ'niyu' ī'mīnī·'u. 90. kima·'-agī't ɤ'ckīla·'mala'gī't. 91. waha·'igila'a'ŋ ô·'nô·'ôgɤ'm ickī'kina'e wahki·'k ka·'mpu'i. 92. pini"ik ta·'hawɤ'lgila'a'ŋ wa'h a·'ha'l'. 93. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ a·'yawa'. 94. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ ô·'no·'ogɤ'm hani'p. 95. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ tô·'mo'wagi·'ima'ŋ i·'mi' ci·'uba' kμ'tuga'ta' tītdī·'"ina·'ala'e. 96. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ pɤ'niyu' i·'mi. 97. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ wa'h ī'tīdī·'"ɤ'n pini"ik tô·'môwɤ'l. 98. yo·'wi kμ'tuga't wa"adμ'l tci·'tcu'. 99. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a·'yawa'. 100. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ ô·'no·'ogɤ'm hani·'mɤni·'k. 101. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ hani·'p ī·'ībī'l. 102. pɤ'ckɤ'la'a'ŋ na"ac halī't. 103. ha·'yiha·'int wa·'hayɤ'l.

104. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ ku·'liuka'ŋ. 105. po'gɤtī'kila'a'ŋ wôhô·'nôla·'p wila"alaki'la'a'ŋ tī·'mala·'waki'la'a'ŋ ô'môhɤ'ts. 106. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ tci·'te tībī't tu·'ilami' po'gɤti'. 107. ku'hackɤ'la'a'ŋ cuwa·'la'p ku·'ula't wôhô·'nôla·'p ôgô'n. 108. wa"adziya'ŋ tī·'mala·'wa't. 109. pɤ'ctciya'ŋ apcī'e a'maŋa'tala' ma'a't. 110. pɤ'e wa"awetcu' pogɤ't halī't. 111. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ wa"ada't pa·'ŋa'. 112. ela"aki'la'a'ŋ ī·'cī·'wa'nami·'k wôhô·'nô'la'a'ŋ ma·'aba'n. 113. pɤ'e pa·'imm uyu·'uga't wa"adina'kina't wa'l ma·'yɤ'n wôhô·'nô'la'a'ŋ. 114. pa·'imm wɤ'l'wi"ila'mina't wôhô·'nô'la'a'ŋ ma·'aba'n. 115. ta·'awī'tkila'a'ŋ ku·'ula't.

116. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ ti·' waha'i īmbī' cī·'wayɤ'n ku·'ula't ku·'lila'. 117. wô·'dzô·'yi"inaki'-la'a'ŋ watsi' wôhô·'nô'la'a'ŋ aya·'wiyɤ'ngila'a'ŋ wô·'dzô·'yi"inɤctμ't wa'tsigi'la'a'ŋ wô·'dzô·'yi"ina't. 118. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ tīdīhi·'na't u·'"μta' wô·'dzô·'yi"inɤcti·'ya"awa'c. 119. tī'wīlīki'la'a'ŋ pô"ôdzɤcta'. 120. wa'lgila'a'ŋ mu·'t wô·'dzô·'yi"inɤcta'c ki·'ma·'ôgô'n mi"ipɤ'l mu·'t e·'eya't. 121. ma·'haidžɤ'ŋnapa·'i u·'di·'ila'm wa'l tī·'ība't wô·'dzô·'yi"ini·'la'. 122. pa·'imī' a·'cta'l. 123. pɤ'ctci·'te pe·'wela'ŋ mu·'t. 124. pa·'i wô·'dzô·'yi"inɤ'cp tci·'tci·džɤtci·'tc. 125. pɤ'ctci·'te pe·'wela'ŋ mu·'t wa'l pô"ôdzɤcta'. 126. pɤ'e mi"ipɤ'l mu·'t. 127. pɤ'cwetcu' cī·'īwa'n mu·'t. 128. pɤ'e wa'taŋa·'aba'n mu·'t wa"adɤ'ŋ wô·'dzô·'yi"inɤcɤ'n. 129. pɤ'e waha'i īmbī' cī·'īwa'n mu·'t. 130. pɤ'e wa'l wô·'czô·'yi"inɤcta' ɤki·'k pa'lakī'ɤ. 131. waha·'i īmbī' cī·'īwa'n mu·'t. 132. pɤ'e ɤki·'k wa'l wīdži"imi·'na't. 133. pɤ'e wa'h yī·'wī'mina't wa'l pô"ôdzɤcta' e·'eya't. 134. ta·'awī'tkila'a'ŋ ku·'ula't.

135. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ u·'uga'ka·'yīla't pô"ôdzi'ba'a'c. 136. yo·'wigi'la'a'ŋ pa·'hu·'ulμ't u·'uga'ta'. 137. tī'wīgɤ'la'a'ŋ pa·'hu·'ulμ't. 138. u·'mu·'ca·'nɤki'la'a'ŋ. 139. pɤ'ckila'a'ŋ ya"awa'c pô"ôdzɤctμ't. 140. ci·'ba'pīla'gi'la'a'ŋ pu·'una't. 141. walgi'la'a'ŋ pô"ôdza't. 142. pɤ'e ki·'ma·' ôgô'n mu·'mina't pɤ'e wa'l pô"ôdzɤcta' ku·'uyμ't wa' mu·'mɤnapī·'l ô'mhôlô·'ôga'n cuwaô'lɤ'ŋ. 143. pɤctɤ'ŋ mu·'ugī't. 144. pɤ'epi mu·'t. 145. mi·"i·'mbi wa" pa·'hu·'i a·'hya't. 146. pɤ'e wa'h ku·'yμ'pī·'l mu·'t wetcu'. 147. pɤ'e wa'l pô"ôdzɤcta' mu·'mina't mi·'m ma·'aga't wa'l ku·'yi·'. 148. pɤ'e wa'l pici·'na'kina't watsi' wa'l pa·'hu·'i. 149. pɤ'e waha'i īmbī' wa'l tci·'dži·' ku·'ya·'ana't wa'l pô"ôdzɤcta' cuwa·'lɤ'ŋ ô'mhôlô·'ôga'n. 150. ya'h mu·'ugī't pɤ'e mu·'t. 151. mi·"i·'m pa·'hu'μ'ŋ a·'hya"agī't.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

69. Then we went in the home of Peterson to cut posts. 70. There we made camp at the bottom of the mountain. 71. Then that next day my father cut juniper posts. 72. Then I used to make bread at noon and also in the evening. 73. When he arrives in the evening, he is eating that bread and also rabbit. 74. We cut many (posts). 75. We win a unit of money (ten cents) for one post. 76. Then I carry the posts on my own back. 77. I piled (them) there on the level place. 78. He (father) stayed there all summer in order to cut (posts). 79. Then in the evening I went to get water. 80. The water is there far away. 81. When it got dark already, then I came back, fetching water from there to here. 82. Then I got lost, coming back. 83. I took the downward way. 84. From there I got lost; there I yelled; then nobody (answered). 85. Then I cried. 86. Then I ran; I am dangling my own pail when crossing (the canyon). 87. Then my father talked there. 88. "Where are you going?" 89. "I got lost," I am saying, "the water which I got ran out." 90. "Come," (father) is saying, "let's go fetch water," he is saying. 91. From there we came back in order to fetch water from there toward our own camp. 92. We stayed there all summer. 93. Then we finished. 94. Then we came back in our own house. 95. Then when winter comes, we go back again in order to go and cut firewood. 96. Then we went away from everything. 97. Then there we cut (wood) all winter. 98. (There is) only much juniper firewood. 99. We finished there. 100. Then we came back toward our own house. 101. Then we arrived in our own house. 102. Then we are just living. 103. (There is) no work.

539 X
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[465]
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221

104. Then we used to play. 105. We are playing tag in the bull-pine trees; we are climbing (the trees); we are chasing each other. 106. Then we make one boy "it." 107. And we are not playing on the ground (but) in the bull-pine trees. 108. That one (who is "it") chases us. 109. Then to catch us he touches someone. 110. Then that one stays "it" next. 111. Then we are running away up (in the trees). 112. We are jumping in different places in the branches of the bull-pine tree. 113. Then some are falling down (and) are running away from the branches of the bull pines. 114. Some are hanging on the branches of the bull pines. 115. We are playing during the day.

539 X
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116. And then again we are playing different games after that. 117. We are playing quoits; with the shoots of the bull pine, we are making the quoit; with it we play quoits. 118. Then we are cutting sticks; having finished making the quoit. 119. We are fixing the target. 120. We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins. 121. Five or six boys gamble with those quoits. 122. Some (are) proficient. 123. Then one is shooting first. 124. Each one (has) three quoits. 125. Then one is shooting first at that target. 126. Then he is shooting close. 127. Then next another one is shooting. 128. Then he is shooting on top of that quoit. 129. Then from there again another one is shooting. 130. Then he throws that quoit this way. 131. From there again another one is shooting. 132. Then he pushes aside those (which had been placed by the other boys). 133. Then there he is holding that target (i.e., he is closest to it); he is winning. 134. We are playing during the day.

135. Then, when we want to practice shooting at a target, we are going and gathering canes. 136. We are making many canes into arrows. 137. We are making arrows well. 138. We are putting feathers on them. 139. Then, having finished (the arrows), we are making the target. 140. We are tying the brush (for a target). 141. We are practicing shooting at that. 142. Then whoever is hitting it, then that hitter is hiding that target (which he hit) under the ground. 143. Then, "Shoot," (one of the boys) is saying to you. 144. Then you are shooting (at the target now concealed in the ground). 145. Right there you are leaving your own arrow (having shot it in the ground at the concealed arrow). 146. Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next. 147. Then he is hitting that target because he knows his own hiding place (better than the other who only knows the general spot in which he placed the target). 148. Then he pulls out that (hidden target) with his own arrow (which is firmly shot into the concealed target). 149. Then from there again he hides for him (another player) that one, that target under the ground. 150. "Now shoot," he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting. 151. "Leave your arrow right here," he is saying.

[411]

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539 152. pɛ'e wa" wetcu' mu"'t wa" ku"'yμpī"'l. 153. pɛ'e wa'l pô"ôdzicta' mu"'mina't. 154. pɪcta' e"'ya'a"'ana't tci"'te pa"'hu"'la'. 155. pɛ'e pa"'imμp pa"'hu"'bu"'i nô'ôla't hani"'p e"'yiwa'e.

156. pɛ'ckila'a'η waha'i cī"'wayɪ'n ῑmbī' ku"'ula't ya'hawa"'ala'. 157. a'na"'wɪctμ't-kɪ'la'aη pɪni"'ikɪ'la'aη ɪ'ndama"'i tī'wīlμ't ɪcta' kudi' u"'nala' tī'ba"'idĭi' kudi' a'ηhani"'la' pɪni"'ik ôgô'n tci"'tcwa'na'a'ckila'a'η pɪni"'nī't. 158. a'na"'wɪctμ'ckila'a'η wa'l ya'hawa"'ala' pɛ'ckila'a'η wa'l tībī't ī'"'dī"'ala"'p wa'l a"'na"'wɪcti". 159. pɛ'e waha"'i wa"'agī'e pa"'adzi'ī't. 160. ī"'ῑdsī'mɪnī't.

161. pɛ'ckila'a'η waha'i ku"'ula't ῑmbī' cī"'wayɪ'n ku"'lila' u"'gu"'idža"'ila'. 162. pɛ'ckila'a'η ti"'te tībī't tu"'ilami'. 163. pa"'yībī"'ῑla'ckila'a'η pu"'una't pμ'ndziyɪ'n. 164. pɛ'e ha'e ta"'wīgī't ha"'inda'. 165. pɛ'ckila'a'η waha"'i pu"'unani"'ya"'awa'e pɪni"'iyu' u"'gu"'idžī't. 166. pɛ'cteiya'η ku"'yī'a't. 167. ma"'abu"'mu"'ῑgī't. 168. mi'yaηhi"'kīki'-la'a'η. 169. pɛ'e ma"'igῑgi"'ima't. 170. pɛ'ckila'a'η wī"'giyɪ'n kima't pa"'imm. 171. pɛ'e ô"'no"'mɪni"'k e"'ela'. 172. pɛ'e tci"'te wīkī't. 173. pɛ'e wa"'awetcu' wī'n ôgô'n pinī'.

174. pɛ'ckila'a'η ha'e ῑmbī' ha"'ica' u"'ugμ'l'. 175. pɛ'ckila'a'η tohi"'uka'η tohi"'la' ta"'hawa'e tci"'tcwa'na'a'c. 176. pɛ'ckila'a'η ti"' wa'hi'a"'nala't. 177. waha"'igi'la'a'η tohi"'uka'η tohi"'la'. 178. kudi'gila'a'η waha"'i wele"'hana"'ala't pa"'lage"'wana"'p. 179. yo"'wigi'la'a'η kuyu"'l wi"'ica't ha"'yŏli' kud' tcô"'hi'. 180. pɛ'ckila'a'η pa"'ala't wa"'gɪ'naki'la'a'η. 181. pɛ'ckila'a'η ti"' waha'i ῑmbī' ye"'ewa'η wele'hana"'la't. 182. pɛ'ckila'a'η ti' wa'l pa"'ala't ῑmbī'. 183. kudi'gila'a'η tohi"'la' ῑmbī' toha't. 184. pɪni"'ik ta"'lgila'a'η toha't. 185. pɛ'ckila'a'η waha'i nô"'ôgi"'ma't ma"'haidžɪ'η ta"'l halī'kina'e hani"'mɪni"'kila'a'η. 186. pɛ'ckila'a'η pīlī'e ti"' ῑmbī"' wa"'hayī't wa'l wa"'ha'yila' tīwa'e.

187. pɛ'ckila'a'η ti' waha"'i ῑmbī' cī"'wana"'p ta"'ha'wila"'p tī'bata' ɪnī"'la't. 188. ɪnī"'la't pɪniyu'gi'la'a'η a"'abu"'nī'ī'η mina' pɛ'niyu'gi'la'a'η kudi' ī'bī' yo"'owi' a'ηhani"'l ī"'cī"'wa'n ha'e a"'ya"'mu"'ts a'ηgamu"'umī'ts cī"'ῑwa'n a'ηhani"'l. 189. yo"'wi a'ηhani"'l. 190. pɛ'cta patsa"'hila' tī'wīlī't ī"'lī'ī'η. 191. pɛ'ckila'a'η tohi"'la' mī"'ῑgi"'uka'η. 192. pɪni"'k ta"'hawɪ'lgila'a'η wa'h halī't tī'bata' ɪnī'e. 193. pɪni"'ik ta"'l tci"'te μcu"'lgila'a'η ɪnī't. 194. mī"'gi"'ῑki'la'a'η kud'gila'a'η a"'hīpī"'ῑyɪ'n ɪnī't uyu"'uga'η. 195. pɪni"'ik ta"'lgila'a'η ɪni"'uka'η. 196. waha"'igila'a'η nô"'ôgi"'ma't me't ha"'yi'ɪ'η tī'bata'. 197. pɛ'ckila'a'η le"'wina't tī'bata'. 198. pɛ'niyu' yo"'wi' a"'ya"'mu'ts ɪni"'te tī'bata' pɛ'ga'a'e wô"'a'mha'džɪ'η ma"'aca't. 199. pɛ'ckila'a'η le"'wina't pɛ'niyu' nô"'ôgi"'ma'e hani"'mɪni"'k. 200. wa'lgila'a'η tī'kiuka'η tô"'môwa'e patsa"'hila' kudi' cu"'ita' a"'ma"'k tca"'mila' yo"'wi' pɪni"'ik ɪ'ndama"'i tohi"'la' kuyu"'ula' pɪni"'ik ɪ'ndama"'igila'a'η tī'kiuka'η. 201. yo"'wi wa'a'nt wa'lgɪ'la'a'η ɪnī"'liuka'η mina'. 202. me't uyu"'uga'ηgi'la'a'η pɛ'niyu'gila'a'η tu"'nawa'ckila'a'η ɪnī"'la't wa"'anda'. 203. me't pɛ'e uyu"'uga't yo"'wi'. 204. pɛ'ckila'a'η wa'l i"'ica't wa"'anda'. 205. pɛ'e wa'l a"'ya"'mu"'ts a"'abu"'ts wa'gina't. 206. pɛ'e wa'l wa"'agī'η μ'nμηa"'ala't pa'hala"'p. 207. pɛ'e wa'l μ'nμηi"'ya"'awa'e pa"'a't pa"'ɪcta'p. 208. pɛ'e wa'l pa"'ala'e puwa't wahki"'k tu"'da"'-iyɪ'n. 209. pɛ'e waha"'i wa'l mihu"'ina't. 210. pɛ'e wa'l wi"'iwa't ka"'dzula"'p. 211. pɛ'e wa'l kina't hani"'lami"'k. 212. wa'lgila'a'η tīka't ɪcci"'idža'm ha"'ayi' ta'pɪci"'l. 213. tca"'mila'gila'a'η tī'ka't tci"'tek pɪni"'ik tô"'môwɪ'l.

214. pɛ'e waha"'i kμmu"'nī'ī'η mu'hila' ī"'dī'wīlī'. 215. pe"'wela'η mo"'nila"'bala' a'a"'i. 216. ī"'dī'wīlica'k muhi'yɪla"'agī't ku" pɛ'niyu'bμ'm kima"'ha'i'igī't wa" ta"'ala'pkī't pɛ'ckilu"'ts ī'mīyī'wica' tī'wīlī'ηgī't ma"'haidžɪ'η ta"'l wô"'ôka'ngilu"'ts umu'hica'gī't. 217. pɛ'cta waha'i pɛ'niyu' ī"'ῑbī'l wa'h ta"'ala'p. 218. pini"'iyμ't ī'mīyī'wica'. 219. pɛ'e hɪli"'ida'ts pɪηgī't wô"'ôkana"'gilu"'ts ī"'ῑdī"'bica'gī't kudi' tīpi"'ima'lgī't. 220. tī'wīgī't a'ηhani"'l. 221. pɛ'ctawa'l tu"'uga'l ī"'dī"'ῑba'. 222. wô"'pa"'i tu"'gawī'ta ī"'dī"'ῑba'. 223. pɛ'e hɪli"'ida'ts ɪmbɛ'ηk wô"'ôkana"'gilu"'ts a"'ala"'awɪ'n

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

857 x
152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 x
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are 159
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 524
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 857
lasts a long time.

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 x
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is 159
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 526
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 857
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 x
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 224
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). [251]
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are 226
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from [464]
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 x
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt- 159
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 222
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 857
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 x
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there [225]
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game 624
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

X 539

a'dzowa'la'gī't. 224. tī'wīgī'ta a'ŋhani'l. 225. ye''ewa'ŋgī't hɨli"ida'ts. 226. pɨ'ctawa'l ye''ewa'ŋ wa'l a'dzowa'la' a"ala'wɨ'n. 227. wa" hɨli"ida'ts ta''wīgi''ba'a'tμ'l ɨnda' a'ŋhani'lgī't. 228. tī''hawa'lu'uha''ibμ'm ômô'ixkī't hɨli"ida'ts. 229. tī'wīgīta' a''dzowa'l ku' ye''ewa'ŋgilu''ts ī''īī"hawa'lica'gī't a''dzowa'l. 230. ku'' ītī'pica'k tci''te kô'imi' kudi' tci''te ta''twala'gī't hɨli"ida'ts wa"atμ'l i''wɨ'hica''agī't. 231. tī'wīgī't a''dzowa'l. 232. pɨ'ctawa'l ye''ewa'ŋ wanda' a''dzowa'l ô'o''u. 233. tci''te kô'im kudi' tci''te ta''twa'ltīpī' ô'o''wa'n. 234. pɨ'c wanda'' a''dzowa'l a'nambī''i ītī'p kudi' wi''la''i. 235. pɨ'ctawa'h pɨ'niyu' ī''ī''īwī'n pa''atsu'. 236. pɨ'c tci''te ta''twa'l ô''ôba' na''widami"iba'p. 237. pɨ'c wa'h tci''te a''dzowa'l pô''ila''p pμ'mapa'n aya'nta. 238. wa'ta yīwī't ma''p. 239. me''eda'gī't hɨli"ida'ts tī''hawa''alu''bi''c. 240. pɨ'c wa'h a''dzowa'l ī"īdī''a'n wa'l wa'ta a''dzowa'l paxka'napī'l. 241. pɨ'c wanda' mo''nila''aba'l a''dzowa'l u''mu''ulu'. 242. pɨ'c wa'l tci''te u'umu'' mo''nila''bala'. 243. awa'ī'wa'ī'ala' mu''c. 244. pɨ'c wa" kô'im wi''hīpī'l ô'lī''īgɨ'm wa''iwa'ī'ala'ŋ. 245. pɨ'ç wa" kô'im ehe'u'wi''namɨ'n wa'l ta''twala' mu''gμ'mina'ŋ. 246. ku''mawa''la'p ītī'p. 247. pɨ'c ha'c μ'mμmu''ugɨ'n pici''ini' wa'l mu''cwa'i. 248. pɨ'c wa" a''dzowa'l mu''μpī'l ô'līmɨ'n wahki''k. 249. pɨ'c wa'l ɨpci''na'n wī'tsi'a'c wa'l wata' wa'taŋa''aba'n wa'l i"igɨ'n ɨ'pici''ina'n wala'. 250. pɨ'c waha'i ɨmbī' cī''wayɨ'n u''mu''. 251. pɨ'c ti'' waha'i ɨmbī' u'mu'' pa''ī'a'm u''umu''. 252. ha'c wala' ma"iyɨ'n ha'c μ'munu''ugɨ'n. 253. pɨ'c ti' waha'i ɨmbī' cī''wayɨ'n u''mu'' wô''ami'. 254. ha'c ama''nigɨ'n. 255. ɨ'lmaxka'ŋbμ'm we''edu''ugī't tī'wīwa'nbμ'm a''dzowa''lgī't. 256. pɨ'cta waha'i a''ix. 257. pɨ'c hɨli"ida'ts ɨmbɨ'ŋk wô"ôkana''gilu''ts 'a''ix ci''uba'gilu''ts i''mica' hani''mɨni''kī't hɨli"ida'ts. 258. pɨ'cta waha'i pɨ'niyu' i''mi'.

259. pɨ'cki waha''i wa''ha'yiuka'ŋ tci''tcwa'na'a'c. 260. pɨ'cki waha''i mi"iuka'ŋ pa''lage''wana''p. 261. pɨ'ckɨwa'h pīlī''īla'e halī't tī''dzi''ilɨ'ŋ ô''no''mɨni''iga'ngi' halī't kudi' tci''tc ta''twa'l. 262. pɨ'c wa'h a''na''wɨ'et ɨŋgɨ'm. 263. pɨ'cni' a''dawī''k wa'h halī'ŋ pɨ'cni' kīdzī''ina't ta''wīgī'c. 264. pɨ'c waha'i tī''dzi''la'p ôlhô'm'. 265. pɨ'ckɨ waha'i halī't ô'gônwa'h. 266. pɨ'c ɨ'pcakɨ'n tī''dzi''la'batsu' tu''uci ma'pita'l ele''lina'n ī'ndīna''wa'i. 267. pɨ'c waha'i mi'a''mala'gī'tni'. 268. waha''igila'a'ŋ ɨŋgɨ'm miya''ne''ewa'h pμŋgu'nī'ī'ŋ ī''wīnī't. 269. pɨ'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i ɨŋgɨ'm ô''wô''ôkɨ'ngila'a'ŋ pμ'ŋguyi''nī'ī'ŋ. 270. pɨ'ckila'a'ŋ ma''cila''p ī''ī''wī'n tuldμ'lapī''ila'p. 271. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a'ndana''. 272. wô''ôma'gila'a'ŋ yô''m tu''ciwa'h kô'im ī''dī''ī't tμ'wμbɨ'l tu''cinɨ'n na''bī''idī't ô''yôma'ŋ. 273. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a'taxkɨ'n mi''i''m. 274. waha''igɨme''eda'k ɨŋgɨ'm wa''haiyɨ'p. 275. pɨ'cwaha'i ɨŋgɨ'm hani''p hôlo''oda'p. 276. pɨ'ckinī'' waha'i ɨmbī'' wô''ôpa''i ta'ô'ŋ. 277. pɨ'cki waha'i ɨmbī' kô''imi' ī''īdī'u cī''wayɨ'n. 278. pɨ'cki wô''ôma' īwī'kɨmɨ'n. 279. wô''ôma'gila'a'ŋ ti'' wa'h yô''m. 280. wī'nôgô'ngi' pɨni''nī't pɨcwa'na'a'c ô''yôma't ī''cī''wayɨ'n. 281. pɨ'cki waha''i ī''īlī" ô''cô''ôyī' wa'l kô''imi pe''wela'ŋ ta''la' tī''wapī''i. 282. pɨcki' hani''p i''mi''n. 283. wa'hɨ ī''īdzī'm a''ha'l' a''ma''yu' ma''haidžɨ'ŋ cuwa''l. 284. pɨ'ckila'a'ŋ waha''i ô'môhi"ite a'pala'k. 285. pɨ'cki ôgô'n a''ix. 286. ha'cki ɨmbī' īwī'k ha''yica'. 287. pɨ'cki a''hal ɨ'h tci''tcu pala'kiya"awa'c wī'ngi ôgô'n pinī'' a''na''wɨcmi' tī''wa't. 288. pɨ'cki ômô'k ī''ɨdī'u ɨmbī' tci''te a''na''wicta'. 289. pɨ'cnī'ī'ŋ a''abu'n a''hya"agī't ha'cki ku''yī'a'tīpī'gī't mi''tala"agī't cô''yi'mī'ŋ na''luwɨ'ngī't cī''wayɨ'nbi' ku''yī'a'ī'igī't. 290. tī'wīgɨki'.

291. pɨ'cki waha''i ī'ī'nīhī'i. 292. pɨ'cki i''mi' a''dzowa''la'p. 293. pɨ'c wa'h a''dzowa''lnɨ'n ô''dôya''n. 294. pɨ'chacha"agɨ'l ma'ɨ'ngī't pɨni''nīpī''ldɨ'ŋ halī'tkī't tai''wa''ŋa' μndμ'k halī'tkī't. 295. ha'ckiha'ckīgī't pɨŋgī'ŋ. 296. waha''igi' ô''nô''ôgɨ'm. 297.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

X 539 cô''ôyi'gi' a''ma''i i''mi' wa'h. 298. wĭ'ŋgi' ôgô'n pinĭ'' nô''ôgi''ma'e. 299. pɩ'cki ĭ''ĭbĭ'l hani''p. 300. pɩ'cki kɹmu''i a"awi''n. 301. pɩŋgĭ't wa"a''dzowa''lni' pɩni''nĭpĭ''ldɩ'ŋ halĭ'tkĭ'tni'. 302. pɩ'e kɹmu''nĭ'ĭ'ŋ i''"a''nica''gik'ŋ mô''ômô''hta"agĭ't. 303. pɩ'cnɩ'n i''"a''n. 304. pɩ'cki a''dawĭ''k wa'l a''dzowa''la' tĭewayɩ'n. 305. pɩni"iki' ɩ'ndama''i a''dawĭ''k toha'ta' ɩ'kola'. 306. ma''dzo''oba'n ɩ'pcakɩ'n pɩ'e uyu''gala' cuwa''la'p kudi' ĭmbĭ' iki''gatɛu' tci''tc. 307. pɩ'ckiwa'l cô'ŋôyi' pɩŋgĭ't ta''wĭgĭ'gĭki' ɩ'kô'l. 308. pɩ'ckiwa'l ye''ewa'ŋ ta''twĭ". 309. tĭ'wĭk tô''iyĭ't.

310. pɩ'e wa" a''dzowa''l tĭewa'ngĭkɩ'tc tci''tc ta''twala' ɩmbɩ'ŋk ĭmĭ'"ĭgica''agi'-gĭ'kidža' ama'ŋ' ta''wĭgĭ'c. 311. pɩ'cnɩ'n wa" ta''twa'l a"awi''n. 312. pɩŋgĭ't wa" a''dzowa''gĭ't ĭmĭ'"ĭgica''gĭctɩ'ŋgĭ'tni' wa" ô''mô''hnĭ'ĭ'ŋ 313. tĭ'wĭgĭki' pɩŋgĭ'ŋ wa'l ô''mô''ix. 314. pɩ'ckiwa'l a''lɩ'tc ô''dôiya''n.

315. pɩ'e tci''tc ta''twa'l ĭ'ĭ'nĭhĭ'i. 316. pɩ'e wa" a''dzowa''l a'a''yi'u kudi' wa" tĭewa'n a''dzowa''l a'a''yi'u mina' wa'h. 317. pɩ'ckila'a'ŋ pɩni"iyu' a'ŋhani''l i''mi' wa'l ha'ĭ''ĭla'e wa'l a''dzowa''la'. 318. pɩ'e wô''ôma' ya''n tu'gawĭ't. 319. pɩ'e ti'' wa'l cô''ôgô'nnta' a''agĭ't mu''luwa'c. 320. mu''luwa't tu'gawĭ't. 321. i'' a''dzowa''ltɹ'l pɩni''nĭ'tkĭ't. 322. pɩ'e wa" pɩŋgĭ'ŋ ĭ''wĭ''ĭdĭ'. 323. ha''ɩ'ckɩnĭ''ĭgĭ't ku''uwĭ'n ta''twa'l ahlĭ'tkĭ'tni' ku' i''ci''igɩ'nica''gi' ha'e wô''ôga'm ye'ɹ'waka'ŋgĭ't. 324. pɩ'e yo''wi a'ŋhani''l ha'ĭ't pɩŋgĭ'ŋ. 325. pɩ'ewa" a''dzowa''l 'a''ix a''ya''ni'. 326. pɩ'e i''mi' hani''. 327. pɩ'e waha''i pɩ'niyu' a'ŋhani''l i''mi'. 328. kudi wa" tĭewa'n a''dzowa''l ɩŋgɩ'm pô''htami''k. 329. pɩ'ckinĭ'' miya''mala' tĭ''ĭdzi''la'pkĭki' ô''mô''ix wĭ'kĭla''ama'l i''"ila'. 330. tĭ'wĭgĭ't. 331. pɩ'ckila'a'ŋ i''mi' po''htami''k wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĭ''bĭlĭ''ĭla' pa'cata'p wa'h ta''twa'l ĭ''wĭnĭ't pa''i i''"ĭta'. 332. wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĭ''"ĭ''wĭ'n. 333. i''"ĭlu'. 334. pɩ'ckila'a'ŋ i''"ĭ' tci''tc i''"ila. 335. pɩ'e wa" a''dzowa''l ĭ''bĭlĭ''ĭgɩ'm. 336. agi''ɩbu''-mu''"ĭgĭ't. 337. pɩ'e waha''i ĭmbĭ' ô"ôxta'. 338. pɩ'e tci''tc ta''twa'l ɩmbɩ'ŋk wa"awĭ'nĭ' yuka''ya'hĭgĭ't. 339. tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't wa'lgi ku''yĭ'a'tkĭ't. 340. pɩ'e wô''ôma'' a''lɩ'tc ɩpici''n. 341. wô''ôma' a''lɩ'tc ĭ'tĭba''ni' cu''naba'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. 342. pɩ'e ha'e ɹhu"uda' wa" a''lɩ'n. 343. pɩ'cki wô''ôma' ĭ'tĭba''n tca"apĭba''n wô''ma'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ a''lɩ'n ɹhu"uda'. 344. pɩ'e pĭ'tĭti''na'e i''mi' uyu''gala'. 345. pɩ'e wa'h nĭmĭ'tɛɹŋwa'n e'e'lakɩ'n a''lɩ'tc ɩ'pɛci''n. 346. pɩ'cnĭ'ĭ'ŋ wa" ô''ômô''nn ĭwĭ'k. 347. ĭ'wĭka'n a''lɩtcɩ'n. 348. pɩ'e tci''tc ta''twa'l a''ma''igĭla' hani''p ĭwĭ'kĭla' a''lɩ'tc. 349. pɩ'cki waha''i ci'uba' i''mi' hani''lami''k a''ma''i wa'l ô''mô''ix. 350. pɩ'e wa" ta''twa'l ĭ''bĭlĭ''ĭgɩ'm wa'h. 351. a''lɩ'tc yĭ''wĭ''-gima't ma''p. 352. ma'' wa" ta''twa'l nô'ŋôiɩ'lgĭ't pica''madza"ĭgĭ't. 353. pɩ'e wa" ta''twa'l hani''gana'n ha'e pica''agĭ'tni'.

354. pɩ'cki waha'i ɩŋgɩ'm hani''mɩni''k. 355. pɩ'e wa'l ye''ewa'ŋ naha'kana'n ĭ''bĭlĭ''ĭgɩ'm wô''ôda'. 356. pɩ'cnĭ'ĭ'ŋ a'ŋgamu''umĭ'n pɩŋgĭ't me't naha'kana'n ɩŋgɩ'mgĭ't a'la'a'e ô''lĭgĭ't. 357. pɩ'ckɩ waha'i ô'l. 358. ô''nô''ôba'ngi' ɩpɩ'c. 359. pɩ'e naha'kana'n ĭ''"ĭ''wĭnĭ''gɩ'm wa'h a''lɩ'tc ɩ'pici''n. 360. pɩ'cki pɩŋgĭ't ma''"ɩnɩ'cpi' pici''ina't a''lɩ'tc-kĭki'. 361. wĭ'kĭgi''ma'kilɩ'ŋgĭ't pɩ'e ma'' a''li"idɩ'ŋgĭ't. 362. ɩ'h cu''naba''ngĭki'. 363. pɩ'ckila'a'ŋ ôlhô'm'. 364. pɩ'cki wa'l a''lɩ'tc ɩ'pici''n pô"ôgôcɩ'n ô'mhôlo''gaba''n. 365. pɩ'cki amha' wa'l a''lɩ'tc. 366. pɩ'e tu''uci' wa"atci''tc a''lɩ'tcnɩ'n ĭ'tĭba''n cu''naba''n. 367. tu''ci tci'nĭnĭ''"a't. 368. ma''"ɩnɩ'cpi' tci'nĭnĭ''"a'tkĭki'.

369. pɩ'ckila'a'ŋ waha''i ɩŋgɩ'm ô''nômi''k wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĭ''bĭlĭ''ĭla' wa'h tĭ''dzi''la'p. 370. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a"ala''u. 371. ma''"ɩnɩ'cpi' wa'l ta''twala' ĭmĭ'"ĭk. 372. pe''wela'ŋ a''lɩ'tc ɩ'pici''ngĭki' pɩ'cki wĭ''gila'p u''mu''. 373. ku' ma''i'ɩnɩ'cpi' a''lɩ'tc le''wina'tkĭ't.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

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539 374. wa" ta'twa'lni' ku'yĭ'a'tkūki', pɑŋgĭ't ɯndu'uga' ta'twa'lgūki'. 375. pɑ'e wa" ta'twa'l ô"ôxti'u. 376. pɑ'e ha'"ĭgĭ't wa" a'dzowa'l ĭmĭ"ĭgica'agi' yuka'yahei'igĭ't wahĭ'eni' ôgô'n ata"aga'. 377. kɯ'p ha'inda' ɑ'nĭgi'ma't tĭ'dsi'la'pkĭ'tni' wa" ta'twa'l tei'tcwana'p me'eda'kĭ't. 378. wĭ'kĭgi'maki' i'"ila'gūki'. 379. ku'wanɑ'p ha'e ma'aga't yĭxpi'l tĭ'ĭdzi'lgĭ't tu'gana'wi'dami'gĭ't. 380. yĭxpi'l wandɑ'lgūki' pɑŋgĭ'ŋ kuwĭ'ngɑ'la'a'ŋ ôgô'n wĭkĭ't wa'l i'"ila'gūki' kɯndɯ'k hani'l côpcô''ôba't wa'hkila'a'ŋ wūkĭ'tkūki' ti'a'tcômô'kmaha'nigĭ'cɑŋgi'la'a'ŋ wĭkĭ't wa'l i'"ɑla'. 381. pɑ'e wa" ala'wapĭ'l kĭdzĭ'"a't pɑŋgĭ'ŋni'. 382. yo'winĭ'ĭ'ŋ ô'mô'h ĭxtsa'wapĭ'lni'. 383. pɑ'e waha'i ha'e ĭ'mĭnu'ugɑ'n ala'wapĭ'l. 384. pɑ'e waha'i ɯmbɑ'ŋk wa" ala'wapĭ'l mi'nama'lu'tskĭ't pa'lage'wana'pkĭ't tsô'hicta'pkĭ't. 385. pɑ'e waha'i ɯmbɑ'ŋk ala'wapĭ'lnĭ'ĭ'ŋ ô'mô'hmĭ'yɑ'n kima'haibu'mugĭ't pa'lage'wana'pkĭ't ye'ewa'ŋgĭ't wa'hkilu'ts a"ala'wica'gĭ't.

386. waha'igi' i'mi'ni'u wa'l tu'uga'l. 387. pɑ'e wa'l me'eda'ki' i'mi'ni'u tĭ'kɯcta'p. 388. pɑ'e wa" naha'kana'n ĭ'wĭ'nĭtwa'h hawa'aba'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ tĭka'ŋni'. 389. yo'wi'a'ŋhani'l cu'naba'n. 390. pɑ'e tei'te ta'twa'l imbɑ'ŋk a'nawĭ'n wa'h tĭcwa'n ta'twa'lgĭ't. 391. hă'"gĭ't naha'kana'n yĭ"ĭwô"ôka'ngilu'ts ɑ'wɑli"ɯn. 392. wica'gūki' tĭ'kambe'gūki' pɑ'epumni' wɑ'l'wɑ'l'ɑ'naha'igɑki'.

393. pɑ'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i i'mi' ala'wɑ'etami'k. 394. pɑ'e pɑni"iyu' wa'hnɑ'ɑ'ŋ ô'mô'hmĭ'n halĭ't wa'h ala'wɑeta'p. 395. pɑ'e naha'kana'nɑ'n ɯmbɑ'ŋk tanbi' ĭmbĭ ôxti'eami'u kuwĭ'n wô"ôka'ngĭ'haibi'ĭgĭ't ô'mô'hmĭ'ĭ'ŋ a"ala'wica'gĭ't. 396. pɑ'eta a"ala'u tĭ'wĭt pɑ'niyu' a"ala'u. 397. pɑ'e wa"adɑ'ŋ a'dzowa'lɑ'ŋ pa'ahu'n ha'Thala't. 398. pɑ'enĭ'ĭ'ŋ a'lɑ'n ɑ'pɑci'ni'u tei'te wô'ôka'n u'mu''. 399. pɑ'e tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't ala'wapĭ'l. 400. pɑ'enɑ'n ô"ôxta' a'nibɯ'mbe' ala'wi'ba'a'tkĭ't. 401. ha'"ɑ'ckĭki' pɑŋgĭ'ŋ. 402. pɑ'e waha'i ala'wapĭ'l ômô'ixp a"ala'u tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't ɑ'pica'abi"ĭgĭ't ku'hacpi' ĭmbĭ'' a'lɑ'te le'wɑ'naha'i'ĭgĭ't taŋki'"ma"adɑ'ŋ u'gu'yĭ"ica' ku' mi'yaha'i'ibi' ɑkĭ'kĭ't. 403. tĭ'wĭgĭki' pɑ'e ha'cki ĭmbĭ' a'lɑ'te ele'ewɑ'n ha'"ica'. 404. ɑ'pica'agi'.

405. pɑ'cki waha'i ɑ'wina'ŋha'lami'k i'mi'. 406. wa'hki' ĭ'bĕlĭ'ĭla'. 407. tu'ei yo'wi' a'na'wɑ'ɛm. 408. wô'ôma'gi' ĭwĭ'kĭmɑ'n tei'te wa'l tu'uga'l. 409. ɯ'tsulu'malɑ'gi'la'a'ŋ. 410. a'ha'lica'gilɑ'ŋ a'ma'yu'gĭ'tni'. 411. ha'"ɑ'ckĭki' ha'yinĭ'ĭ'ŋ ô'ôya'ngɑki' pɑŋgĭ'ŋ. 412. pɑ'cki wa'l ye'ewa'ŋ tô''iyini'"nĭmĭ't wa'h. 413. pɑ'cki ti'waha'i ĭmbĭ' tei'te ĭ'ĭdi'u wa'lgi tiyu' ĭwĭ'kĭmɑ'n. 414. pɑ'ckila'a'ŋ ɯ'tsulu'm. 415. pɑckila'a'ŋ me'eda'k ô'l. 416. pɑ'ckila'a'ŋ ĭtĭ'kala' tĭ'kɯcta'p wa'hkila'a'ŋ ta'awĭ't a'aha'l. 417. tu'ei yo'owi' a'na'wɑ'ɛm kima't wa'h. 418. agi' ĭwĭ'n aya'u'pɑ'ɛn ta'twa'lgĭta' ô'xtat' wa'l kô'imi'. 419. ku'uŋa'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ wĭ'nĭgĭ't. 420. pɑ'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i me't tu'ugɯ'ŋ i'"mi' ô'no''oba'n.

421. pɑ'ckila'a'ŋ wa'h ata"aga' wa'l na'haka'nayɑ'n ɑnya'na'a'ŋ. 422. naha'kana'n ma'"icɑ'kpi' mi'ina't i'' kô'imi'gĭ't. 423. na"ackɑ'la'a'ŋ tô''iyĭ't. 424. ha'c munu'uga't mi'ni'ɑ'ŋgĭ't anbi' ôgô'n pini"ik a'na'wɑemi' ô'dôiya'nica'gĭ't. 425. ha'"ɑ'ckĭki'. 426. a'hyɑ'"ĭgĭ't. 427. pɑ'ckiwa'l kô'imi' ɯmbɑ'ŋk miya'gūki'. 428. pɑ'e tĭ'wĭgĭ't ha'"ica'gilɑ'ŋ ôgô'n a'dawĭ'gica"ĭgĭ't. 429. ku'tanɑ'p cô''ôyi'b'a't kɯ'p tei'te kô'imi' ala'wɑ'naha'i'igĭ't ha'e ôgô'n pɑni"ikĭ't pɑ'e tĭ'wĭgĭ't.

430. pɑ'cki wô''ôma' ĭmbĭ' cĭ'wayɑ'n ĭ'ĭdi'u. 431. pɑ'e miya'mala'hani''iba'nĭ'ĭ'ŋgĭ't. 432. pɑ'ckila'a'ŋ i'mi'. 433. wa'hki' a'ma'i a'aha'l' hani'iba'n.

434. pɑ'cki waha'i ɑŋgɑ'm bɑcɑ'pmɑni'k. 435. wa'hkiwa'l na'haka'nayɑ'n a'dawĭ'k. 436. mă"agĭ't a'mbime't ô'cô'yĭ"ĭgĭ't. 437. ha'gūki'. 438. tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't. 439. pɑ'cnɑ'n ma'i amha'. 440. ha'lĭha'ibi' a'ma'i tĭ'wĭgĭ't. 441. tĭ'wĭgūki' pɑŋgĭ'ŋ.

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying.

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out.

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there.

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying.

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

539 442. pɛ'cki a·'ma·'i a·'ha'l napa·'i cuwa·'l. 443. pɛ'c i'lmahka'ŋ wa" kô·'im a·'na·'yu-wĭ'tni'. 444. pɛ'cki waha·'i awa"at wa'l kô·'imi'.

445. pɛ'cki waha·'i cĭ·'wayɛ'n kô·'imi' ĭmbĭ' ĭ·'ĭdĭ'u. 446. wa'lgi' ô·'cô·'ôyĭ'. 447. ĭ·'ĭdzĭ'mgi' a·'ma·'i a·'aha'l'. 448. tĭ'wĭwa'n kô·'im haca'teagĭ't ha·'inda' a'mhaidžɨ'ŋ cuwa·'lgi' a·'ma·'i a·'ha'l'.

449. pɛ'cki waha·'i miya·'ama'l hani·'ba'nĭ'ĭ'ŋgĭki'. 450. tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't. 451. waha·'igila'a'ŋ ɪŋgɪ'm. 452. pɛ'ckila'a'ŋ ĭ·'ĭbĭ'l. 453. pɛ'cki wa·'ha'yiuka'ŋ ma·'cila' ĭcĭ'kiwa'ŋ. 454. pɛ'ckila'a'ŋ waha·'i aha'niha'ɪla' aŋhani·'la' ô·'μnami·'k. 455. wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'ĭla'. 456. pɛ'c wa" tci·'tc a·'na·'wɪ'ct ɪ'peakɪ'n ta·'wĭgĭ'ctciya'ŋ pĭlĭ·'ĭla'ŋ. 457. tu·'cigɪ'te kĭdzĭ·"a't. 458. mă"agĭ't. 459. ɪ'mbido' mă"kĭkɪ'la'a'ŋ. 460. pɛ'cnɪ'n ma·'i amha'. 461. pɛ'c waha·'igila'a'ŋ ĭ·'lĭ·'ĭ'ŋ ô·'no·'ogɪ'm. 462. ci·'uba'gila'a'ŋ ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'ĭgɪ'm hani·'la'p. 463. pɛ'c wa'l ye·'ewa'ŋnɪ'n cô·'ôyɪ'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ a·'waha'i tu·cibμ'm ô·'mô·'ix kĭdzĭ·"'ina't ta·'wĭgĭ'ckĭ'ĭ't cô·'ôyɪ'ŋ pɛ'ga'a'c a·'na·'wɪ'ctkĭ't. 464. pɛ'c ĭ·'wĭ·'ĭdĭ'. 465. pɛ'c mi·"iba"aki"igĭ't hani·'p. 466. tĭ'wĭgĭki' pɪŋgĭ'ŋ.

467. pɛ'cki waha·'i i·'mi·'n pμŋgu'batsu'gila'a'ŋ i·'mi'. 468. i·'miya·'gila'a'ŋ ci·'uba'. 469. wanaô'ŋgila'a'ŋ ata'xkina·'ala' waha·'igila'a'ndi' i·'mi' wa'l ye·'ewa'ŋ. 470. pɛ'ckila'a'ŋ ti' ĭmbĭ' ata'xkina·'ala'. 471. waha·'igila'a'ndi' ĭmbĭ' i·'mi'. 472. ma·'haidžɨ'ŋ ta·'lgila'a'ŋ i·'mi'. 473. pɛ'ckila'a'ŋ ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'ĭla' hani·'ba'n wa"adɪ'ŋ kô·'imĭ'ŋ 474. pɛ'cki waha·'i ye·'ewa'ŋ ô·'no·'gimi·'iba". 475. pɛ'cha'c miya·'gĭ't wa" kô·'im ha'cki ĭmbĭ' ĭ· wĭ·'dica'gĭ't. 476. pɛ'cki a·'he'l wa'h ci·'uba'.

477. pɛ'c waha·'i ĭ·'ĭlĭ' ĭ·'wĭ·'ĭdĭ' ĭmbĭ'. 478. wô·"ɪcĭ't ôgô'n wa'l a·'na·'wɪcta'. 479. pɛ'cki waha·'i ɪmbɪ'ŋk ha'cpi' tĭ'wĭ a·'ha'lica' we·'edu' ku' ô·'no·'lica·'agi'gĭki'. 480. pɛ'cki waha·'i i·'mi' tĭ·'dzi·'lami·'k pɛŋgi·'ya"awa'c. 481. pɛ'cki waha·'i wa'l ma·'igĭli·'-wɪla' ĭwĭ'k waha·'igi' ɪŋgɪ'm. 482. pɛcki' ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'ĭgɪ'm yĭtɨ'p. 483. wa'hki' a'ndana'. 484. waha·'igi' ĭŋgĭ'batsu' ɪŋgɪ'm. 485. pɛ'cki ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'ĭgɪ'm hani·'p ĭ·'lĭ·'ĭgima'ŋ. 486. pɛ'cki a·'ha'l' hani·'p tci·'tcwalgi' a·'hal i'h. 487. pɛ'c wa" kô·'im ô'ô·'ôwa'n wa"ogô'n tĭ'wĭ kima'h ci·'uba"ĭgĭ't. 488. pɛ'cki kμmu·'i ɪmbɪ'ŋk ô·'wani·'yɪ'nɡɪ' ĭwĭ'k wa"adɪ'ŋ kô·'imĭ·'ŋgĭki' ku' a·'ya'tni'gĭki' kμmu·'i. 489. i·' tĭ'wĭ ta·'wĭgĭ·'la'i'ibi'. 490. pɛ'cki waha·'i i·'mi' pμŋgu'batsu' i·'mi' ma·'haidžɨ'ŋ ta·'lgi' i·'mi'. 491. pɛ'cki ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'ĭla'. 492. tu·'cinĭ'ĭ'ŋ cô·'ôyɪ'n kĭdzĭ·"a't ta·'wĭgĭ'eni'. 493. pɛ'cki wa'h a·'aha'l' ĭ·'ĭdzĭ'mgiwa'h a·'ha'l'.

494. pɛ'cki waha·'i ɪŋgɪ'm hani·'mɪni·'k. 495. ta·'wĭgĭ·'ĭla'mbe·' kμmu·'igĭki' wica'k ô·'no·'ogɪ'mica'. 496. pɛ'c tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't. 497. waha·'igi' ɪŋgɪ'm. 498. pɛ'cki ĭ·'bĭl i'h. 499. wô·'ôma'k pĭlĭ'c wa·'ha'iyila' ĭwĭ'k. 500. pɛ'cki a·'wa·'aha'i pɪni"ik ta·'hawɪ'l kudi' tci·'tc tô·'môwɪ'l.

501. pɛ'c wa'h kô·'im ô'o·'wa'n ki'maha·'i'ibi"igĭ't a'la'a'c. 502. pɛ'cki wô·'ôma' i·'mi'. 503. pɛ'cki ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'la'. 504. wa'hki' a·'aha'l'. 505. pɛ'ckila'a'ŋ waha·'i bɪcɪ'pmɪni·'k i·'mi'. 506. pɛ'cwahkɪ'la'a'ŋ a'a·'ini'u. 507. ĭ'nĭhya't wa" na·'hu'wiyɪ'ŋgĭta'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ cô·'yiyɪ'n. 508. pɛ'ckila'a'ŋ i·'mi' wa'h hani·'iba'n. 509. pɛ'c me't u·'du·'umu". 510. pɛ'c ĭ·'ĭ'nĭhĭ'i ĭkwa'n apa"adzi" cu·'naba'n wa" ĭmĭ"ĭk. 511. pɛ'c aya·'upi·'bitɛ'n amha·'ada' mĭ'kɨhi cô·'yiyɪ'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. 512. wa'lgila'a'ŋ a"aya·'awɪ'n. 513. pɛ'c tĭ'wĭ a"aya·'u. 514. pɛ'c a·'ma·'yina'n tô·'iyĭ'ĭt tci·'tcwa'na'a'c. 515. pɛ'c cô·'yɪ'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ wĭ·'ĭdĭ't tci·'tcwa'na'a'c.

516. pɛ'cki waha·'i i·'mi' tci·'tc ele·'lepĭ·'ĭla'p tĭ·'ĭdza't i·"ila'. 517. pɛ'cki ĭ'ndĭna·'-awa'i tci·'tc i'wata'. 518. pɛ'ckiwa'l i·"ĭ' tci·'idža'mgi' wô"ôka'n i·"ĭ'. 519. wa'haigi' i·'mi'. 520. pɛ'cki ĭ·'ĭyĭ'u wĭ'tsacwa'l i·"ila' ha'ckiha·'inda' ama'k. 521. wa'hki ĭpĭ'tĭta'. 522. pɛ'eni' ma·'gina" o·'oco'ŋ. 523. kô"ônɪ'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ ɪcĭ'lupi·'namɪ'n. 524. pɛ'cki u·'umu·'k wa'h. 525. pɛ'c wa'h pa·'i ata·'twa'l ĭ·'bĭlĭ·'ĭgɪ'm. 526. pɛ'ckɪteta' wa'l ma·'gɪ'na'i' ô·'ôlɪ'n. 527. pɛckɪ'tenɪnda' ô'wôhô·"ɪ'n. 528. pɛ'ckɪteta'nɛ'n ɪŋgɪ'n bɪcɪ'pmɪni·'k wa'h a·'dzowa·'la'p ku'hackɪ'niwa'ndzɪ'l ma·'aga't ha·'inda'. 529. pɛ'ckɪ'te yo·'wi' a'ŋhani·'l

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman. 539X 159

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her. 837

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. 539X 159 578 [195]
464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking.

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter. 539X 159

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. 515. Then my wife is angry all the time. [845 768] [592]

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many 539X 159 [273]

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539 a'dawī'gīgi'mni' kudi"iwa" a'dzowa'l. 530. pɛ'ckɪ'te tso'hana'ama'gī'kidɨa' kô"ônɛ'nī'ī'ŋ. 531. pɛ'ckɪtenɛ'nda' i'mi'n cū'naba'n. 532. wa'hkɪtenɛ'n o'dzo'oha'n. 533. pɛ'e na'na'uda'ô'ŋgi' ama'k. 534. tsulu'mɛcta'pki' mī'hī'a't. 535. pɛ'cki tei'te kô'imi' a'dawī'k we'tni' wī'n wi'hīpī'l. 536. tī'kana'tni'. 537. a'mbi tɵ'wɵbɛ'l ī'nīhya'tkī'tni'. 538. ha'"ɪ'ckīki'. 539. pɛ'e tī'wī'īgī't. 540. pɛ'eni' a''cina't. 541. wa'hki a''aha'l' tei''te mī'īya'l. 542. pɛ'eni' waha'ī i'mi'n hani'iban'nī'ī'ŋ.

543. wa'hki' a''aha'l' ī''dzīmi' hani''p ma'haidžɨ'ŋ mī'īya'l īnī'hyaki' wo'gami'. 544. pɛ'cki waha''i ɪŋgɪ'm. 545. i''mica'k hani'kīki' cô'yi'. 546. tī'wī'īgī't. 547. ku'' i''mi'nica'k mī'kihi'gīki'. 548. pɛ'e tī'wī'īgī't ku'' tī'wīp wi'ha'i'igī't. 549. pɛ'cki waha''i i''mi' tɛ'miwa'la'a'ŋ hani'iba'n. 550. wo"ôkana'k ô'no'ola'gīki' hani'pkīki' ku'' i''mi'nica'k mī'kihi'gīki' wa'l tɛmi'wala'. 551. tī'wī'īgī't tī'wīp wi'ha'i'igī't. 552. tī'wīgīki' pɛŋgī'ŋ.

553. waha''igila'a'ŋ ɪŋgɪ'm. 554. ɪ'hkila'a'ŋ ôgô'n a'ha'l. 555. pɛ'cki halī't ôgô'n i'h. 556. pɛ'e tcô"ôgɪ'l ī''ībī'l i'h. 557. pɛ'e ī''bīlī''īgɪ'mnī'ī'ŋ hani'iba'n. 558. pɛ'enɛ'n ma'aba'n īwī'k. 559. mā"agī't. 560. a''ma'bɪ'tenī'ī'ŋ wī'n ta'wīgi'n. 561. pɛ'e yila'haki' ta'wīgī'cɛ'ŋgī't. 562. kɛ'k mina'gīki' pɛŋgī'ŋ. 563. pɛ'e waha''i cô''yɛ'nī'ī'ŋ īwī'nīgī't. 564. pɛ'cki waha''i ma''aba'n īwī'k. 565. mā'"īgī't. 566. ɛmbido' mā"kīki'. 567. pɛ'ewaha''i tcô"ôgɪ'lnɛ'n ɛmbɪ'ŋk ô''wa'naki' ɛnya'na'a'ŋ ala'wiyɛ'ngī't ku'wana'p ha'enɛ'n a''wɛ'ngī't tcô"ôgɪ'l ku' tei''te peso'gi' e''ya'a''ana'tkī't wô'bapa'n ta'alɛ'ŋgī't tɛ'mbinɛ'n a"awi'nica' wô'bapa'n ta'lɛ'ŋgī't kudiŋ īmbī"īdžī''te e'h kô'imgī't wa"anɛ'n wô'baŋa'n ta'alɛ'ŋnɛ'n a"awi''nica'gī't. 568. pɛ'e tī'wīgīki' pɛŋgī'ŋ. 569. pɛ'etawa'h aka''mpuwa" waha''igɪ'la'a'ŋ wa'haiyī't wô'bapa'n ta''lɛ'ŋ. 570. pɛ'e waha''i tī'wīda"aya"awa'ŋ tcô"ôgɪ'l kima't a'mbacɵ'pīmī'ŋ hani''iba'n. 571. wa'h kima't wa'ha'iyīgi''ma'e. 572. pɛ'e waha''i ī''lī'ī'ŋ miya't ci''uba' wī'n ôgô'n pi''nī'pɛni"ik ta'l. 573. pɛ'e waha''i tcô"ôgɪ'la'a'ŋ cô''ôyɛ'n ôxta't mina' ta'hambɛ'li'. 574. pɛni"ik ɛ'ndama''ī' wīkī't. 575. ibi''ila' ôxta't pɛni"ik. 576. ha'ittcīgi''wa't ɪŋwa'ngī't. 577. pɛni"ik wa'l ôxta't. 578. pɛni"ik ta'l pɛni''inī't. 579. pɛ'ckila'a'ŋ wa'hayī't ôgô'n tcô"ôgila' a''ma''yu'. 580. pɛni"ikila'a'ŋ ɛ'ndama''ī' wīkī't tī"ībɛ'nuga"adawa''la'. 581. wa'l pɛni"ik tcô"ôgɪ'l ô''wana't.

582. pɛ'cnī'ī'ŋ wa'h ô''mo''nn ô'o''wana''nani'. 583. tsô''ôhɛ'lgi'gī't ku' a''wɛ'naha''ibi'nī'ī'ŋ amba'i'icɛ'ngī't kudi'nī'ī'ŋ na'lu'wiyɛ'ngī't ta'wīgī''gi'maha''ini"īgī't cô''ôyɛ'ni' ô'ôdzô'hkī't. 584. pɛ'cki a''awi''n wa'l amba'i'icɛ'n ku'diwa'l na'lu'wiyɛ'n. 585. pɛ'e tī'wī'īgī't a''dawī'gī'lica'gila"agī't. 586. tī'wīgīki' pɛŋgī'ŋ 587. wa'h ku' a'naha'p ha'e wa'l ô''mô''ix ala''awɛ'ngī't wa'l tcô"ôgila"agī't pɛ'ŋgīha''ibi' mi''ina'idžī"īgī't bɛcɛ'pɛmɛni'kī't.

588. pɛ'cki waha''i tcô"ôgila' a"ala''awɛ'n. 589. a'naha'pkɛtcha'ctci'ya'a'ŋ mi''ngīki' tcô"ôgila'. 590. pɛ'e tī'wī'īgī't yu'' i''mica'gilɛ''ts ye''ewa'ŋgī't. 591. pɛ'e waha''i ye''ewa'ŋgi' a"ala''wɛ'n wa'l mi'ibā"apī''la' me''eda'gilu''ts i''mi''iba"kīki'. 592. pɛ'e ha'cakma'nɛ'k mi"igī't ku' wi''hɛ'lbe'' na'na''u ta'lgī't pɛ'cki ô''yata' īwī'kica'gī't. 593. pɛ'cki tcô"ôgila' ɛmbɪ'ŋk hayi''igɛ'te ô''ya'n wa"adɛ'ŋ mi'i''ba"apī''lɛ'ŋgīki' ku'' a'naha'tspɵ'm ha'e wi''h na'na''u ta'gī'tni' pɛ'cki ô''yata' īwī'kica'gī't pɛ'cki tcô"ôgila' ɛmbɪ'ŋk. 594. wa"ôgô'n tī'wī' mi'ɪ'tckī't ɛ'ŋgilu''ts mapɛ'lgī't. 595. pɛ'cki waha''i ɛmbɪ'ŋk wa'l ta''twala' i''miya'gɛ'la'a'ŋgidža'gīki'. 596. yu'' tī'wī'īgī't pɛ'ŋgīha''ibɵ'mnī'ī'ŋ pa''dzi''yɛ'n pīlī''īla'ckī't ki'maha''i pica'ckī't. 597. tī'wīgīki' pɛŋgī'ŋ.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

people came to see me, and also that doctor. 530. Then, it is said, "Let me sew him up," (that doctor) is saying, it is said (referring to my head). 531. Then, it is said, they brought me inside the house. 532. There, it is said, he sewed me up. 533. Then after four days I knew it. 534. I am lying in bed. 535. Then I saw one woman; she is the one who nurses me. 536. She is feeding me. 537. "Are you being very sick?" she is saying to me. 538. "No," I am saying. 539. Then, "Good," she is saying. 540. Then she is bathing me. 541. I stayed there one month. 542. Then she took me to my house. 539X 159

543. I lived there a long time in my own (Bishop) house. 544. After five months I am sick yet. 545. "I shall go to my own (Kern River) house," I am saying to my own wife. 546. "Good," she is saying. 547. "And I shall take Mickey," I am saying. 548. Then, "Good," she is saying, "and you care for him well," she is saying. 549. Then from there I went to the house of the agent. 550. "I go back pretty soon," I am saying, "to my own house," I am saying, "and I shall take Mickey," I am saying to that chief (the Indian agent). 551. "Good," he is saying, "you care for him well," he is saying. 552. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

553. From there we came. 554. We stayed here. 555. Then I am living here. 556. Then Chogil arrived here. 557. Then he came and arrived at my house. 558. Then he took me in his hand (shook hands). 559. "Hello," he is saying. 560. I saw him for the first time. 561. Then, "I am glad to see you," he is saying. 562. "I (am) too," I am saying when he is speaking. 563. Then from there, "(This) is my wife," he is saying. 564. Then from there I took her hand. 565. "Hello," she is saying. 566. "Hello yourself," I am saying. 567. Then from there Chogil spoke to me, "I am writing the language of Indians," he is saying, "and can you not teach me?" Chogil is saying; "and one dollar I am paying," he is saying, "for half of the day," he is saying, "you will teach me half of the day," he is saying; "and also another one, a woman, is living there," he is saying, "that one will teach me half the day," he is saying. 568. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 569. Then they camped there; we are working from there, half the day. 570. Then from there in the afternoon Chogil is coming to the house of Ambashupim. 571. Coming to work, he is coming there. 572. Then from there in the evening he is going back again; it is the same (as this) every day. 573. Then from there the wife of Chogil is asking Old Man too. 574. She is getting everything. 575. She is asking (about) every flower. 576. "What is its name?" she is saying. 577. She is asking that (about) everything. 578. She is doing that every day. 579. Then we are working with Chogil. 580. He is getting every myth. 581. Chogil is writing all that down. 539X 159 177

582. Then my friend wrote to me there. 583. "I (am) arrested," he is saying, "and you tell my sister in future," he is saying, "and also my younger brother," he is saying; "you come see me in future," he is saying; "the wife jailed me," he is saying. 584. Then I told his sister and also his younger brother. 585. Then, "Good," she is saying, "we shall go to see him," she is saying. 586. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking. 587. "And you might talk to your own friend," she is saying, "to that Chogil," she is saying, "you say in future, 'Take us in future,' " she is saying, " 'toward Bishop,' " she is saying. 539X 159

588. Then from there I talked to Chogil. 589. "It is said that you might take us," I am saying to Chogil. 590. Then, "Good," he is saying, "well, we will go tomorrow," he is saying. 591. Then from there the next day I talked to that one who wants to go (the younger brother): "We are on the point of going already," I am saying. 592. "I cannot go," he is saying, "but you wait a while, (about) four days," he is saying, "then I will get money (for finishing irrigation work)," he is saying. 593. Then I spoke to Chogil. "The money of that one, of the one who wants to go, is said (to be) nothing," I am saying. "'And you might wait four days,' he is saying to me, 'then I will get money,' he is saying," thus I spoke to Chogil. 594. "That (is just as) well, our going (alone, without him)," he is saying, "we (must go) today," he is saying. 595. Then from there I spoke to that man (the younger brother), "It is said that we take leave," I am saying. 596. "Well, good," he is saying, "when you go and arrive, you say in future to my older brother, 'When you get out, come (to Kern River) in future.' " 597. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539 598. waha'ígila'a'ŋ i'mi'. 599. wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĭ'bĭlĭ'ĭla' ı'ndıpe'ndena'p. 600. pı'ckila'a'ŋ waha'ĭ ô"ôrta' wa'l na'haka'nayı'n. 601. angı'te wōhĭ'e wa" teô'ôhı'l halĭ't i'hkĭkı'la'a'ŋ. 602. pı'e wa" naha'kana'n hă'gĭ't. 603. pı'e teô"ôgı'l ımbı'ŋk ala'winı'ba"akı'la'a'ŋgĭ't. 604. pı'e tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't. 605. pı'ckila'a'ŋ i'mi eu'naba'n. 606. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a'dawĭ'k wa'l teô'hila'. 607. mă" mă" yuka'yahi'gĭ't ku' wĭ'nagi"igĭ't. 608. wĭ'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ ô'mô'ŋŋgĭki'. 609. tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't. 610. ta'wĭgĭ'gi'makı'la'a'ŋgĭki'. 611. pı'e me'eda'k a"ala'wi'yugĭ't napa'i mĭ'ĭya'lgi' amhi'ugĭ't. 612. pı'e teô"ôgıla'k a"awi'n. 613. pı'e teô"ôgı'l ımbı'ŋk tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't ôrta'ama' i' na'haka'nayı'n. 614. pı'e teô"ôgı'l ô"ôrta'. 615. pı'e naha'kana'n ımbı'ŋk haca'ta pı'e mhapı'lgĭ't napa'i mĭ'ĭya'l amhi'ugĭ't wa" naha'kana'n. 616. pı'e teô"ôgı'l tĭ'wĭ'ĭgĭ't.

617. pı'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i i'mi'. 618. wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĭ'bĭlĭ'ĭla' bıcı'p wa'h ô'mô'hô'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ hani'ba'n. 619. pı'e mă"ĭgĭ't ô'mô'xnĭ'ĭ'ŋ pĭlĭ'ĭla'ŋ ku' agi"ĭwĭ'nĭgĭ't teô"ô[illegible]. 620. wĭ'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ ô'mô'ŋŋkĭki'. 621. ku' a'nĭwĭ'n cô'ôyı'nĭgĭ't. 622. hă"kĭki' pıŋgĭ'ŋ. 623. pı'e wa" ta'twa'l ma'aba'n ĭwĭ'k teô"ôgila'kudi' cô'ôyı'n. 624. lôho'malu"µgĭ'tciya'ŋ. 625. wa'hkila'a'ŋ hani'iba'n a'ahaⅠ' wô'ôda'l.

626. waha'ıgı'la'a'ŋ ei'uba' ô'no'ogı'm. 627. ı'xkila'a'ŋ ĭ'ĭlĭ'ĭgı'm ei'uba'. 628. pı'ckila'a'ndi' ı'x pĭlĭ'e a'wa'ha'i ımbĭ'. 629. pı'e waha'i teô"ôgı'l ımbı'ŋk wô"ôka'ngi" ô'no'ola' hani'pkĭ't. 630. pı'e tĭ'wĭgĭki' pıŋgĭ'ŋ. 631. pı'e waha'i i'mi'. 632. teô"ôgı'l ô'no'ôla'da' hani'mmi'k. 633. pı'e teô"ôgı'l ımbı'ŋk miya'e ıŋgı'mica'k ĭmbĭ"ĭgĭ't ei'wana'p ta'ha'wila'pkĭ't pı'ekı'l ti' a'wa'ha'i'ica'gĭ't. 634. tĭ'wĭgĭki' pıŋgĭ'ŋ. 635. pı'eta waha'i i'mi'.

636. pı'cki teô"ôgila' mi'iya"awa'ŋgi' kµ'tuga'ta' tĭtdĭ'"ı'n pıni"ik tô'môwı'l. 637. pı'cki waha'i a'yawa' tĭtdĭ'"ini'. 638. pı'e tei'te ta'twa'l ô'o'wana'ndži'ya'a'ŋ. 639. pı'e ki'maha'ibu'mu' mu'luwi'la'pkĭ't mu'luwi'lagı'la'a'ŋ ĭ'dĭ'wĭlu'lica'gĭ't tĭ'wĭwana'ptĭ'wĭgita'p. 640. pı'ckila'a'ŋ tĭ'wĭgĭ't o'wana'e. 641. pı'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i i'mi'. 642. wa'hkı'la'a'ŋ ĭ'bĭlĭ'ĭla' me't tu'wµbı'l tu'uga'l wa'h tehô"n. 643. tu'ei yo'wi a'ŋhani'ldžiya'm pĭlĭ'la'ŋ yo'wi a'na'wı'em. 644. wô'ôma'gı'la'a'ŋ u'mu'lu' tu'gawĭ't. 645. waha'igila'a'ŋ me'eda'k ıŋgı'm. 646. pı'e a'ya'mu'ts ma'gı'na'a'e tĭ'e. 647. pı'ckı'la'a'ŋ a'waha'kı'n wĭ'"ita'p. 648. pı'ckila'a'ŋ mihĭ'iyagi'ma't mihĭ'ila'. 649. pı'e a'ya'mu'ts ma'gı'na'a'ts a'eahna'. 650. pı'e waha'i teô'hmi'k a'ma'igila'. 651. pı'e wa'h tĭnda' e'eba'. 652. pı'e ĭ'pĭtĭ'tamı'n. 653. pı'ckinĭ'" e"elakı'n cuwa'la'p. 654. pı'ckinĭ'" ela'kını"ina' mĭ'kihi' e'le'wı'nakı'n. 655. pı'e wanda' wô'" ata'twa'l nĭnĭ'tswa'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ cuwa'la'pta' uyu'gagi'm. 656. wa'h a'ya'mu'ts ma'gı'na'a'ts ka'yĭ't. 657. pı'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i ô'ôli'n ei'uba'. 658. pı'e tĭ'wĭ ha'caha'inĭ'tĭcĭ' wô"ôka'n wa" ı'cpehu"awa'n a'pala'"ala'. 659. pı'e ei'uba' a'ma'igila'. 660. wa'haigı'la'a'ŋ ti' ıŋgı'm. 661. pı'ckı'la'a'ŋ ĭ'ĭbĭ'l hani'p. 662. pı'ckila'a'ŋ a'aha'l hani'p.

663. pı'e waha'igila'a'ŋ tĭba'tawa'l wĭcĭ'ŋ ınĭ'"ĭla' wĭŋa'lami'k. 664. wa'hkila'a'ŋ mĭ't tĭ'bata'. 665. yo'wi' a'ŋhani'l ĭ'bĭlĭ'ĭgı'm. 666. pı'e wa'h wahĭ'e cô'yı'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ ĭ'bĭlĭ'ĭgı'm. 667. ı'xpiwe't tĭ'bata' ınĭ'tkĭ'tni'. 668. hă"kĭki' pıŋgĭ'ŋ. 669. pı'eni' wa'h a'ma'i a'ha'l'. 670. waha'igila'a'ŋ pı'niyu' tĭ'bata' ınĭ't. 671. pı'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i tĭ'bata' ını'ya"awa'e ıŋgı'm hani'mını"iga'nĭ'ĭ'ŋ. 672. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a'aha'l' amı'l.

673. waha'igila'a'ŋ i'mi' tu'li"ımını'k. 674. tĭ'bata'malu'ts tĭ'dxa'ala'. 675. pı'ckila'a'ŋ i'mi'. 676. napa'igila'a'ŋ ma'cata' i'mi'n kudi' cô"ôgô'nŋta'. 677. pı'ekila'a'ŋ wa'h ĭ'bĭlĭ'la' tu'li'ı'p. 678. pı'ckila'a'ŋ a'ŋhani'la' yo'wi a'dawĭ'k. 679. pı'cta ha'indabµ'm kina'tkĭ'ttciya'ŋ. 680. tĭ'bata'gĭkı'la'a'ŋ. 681. wĭ'n wa" tĭ'wĭwa'n tĭkı'lgĭta' ku' ha'yi a'ya'mu'ts ô'ôya'takĭta'. 682. pı'cta ĭ'ndĭna'wa'i i' ı'gıcpı'te. 683. ha'yi' ô'ôya'tkĭta'. 684. pı'ckila'a'ŋ waha'i i'mi' base'yala'mını'k. 685. wa'h-

598. From there we took leave. 599. We went and arrived there at Independence (where the man was jailed). 600. Then from there we asked that sheriff. 601. "Is it rightly said that the prisoner is living here?" we are saying. 602. Then that sheriff is saying, "Yes." 603. Then Chogil spoke, "We are wanting to talk to him," he is saying. 604. Then, "Good," he is saying. 605. Then we went inside. 606. We saw that prisoner there. 607. "Hello, hello," he is saying to Yukaya, "and who is this?" he is saying. 608. "It is my friend," I am saying. 609. "Good," he is saying. 610. "We are coming to see (you)," I am saying. 611. "But I am already judged," he is saying, "I am given six months," he is saying. 612. Then I told Chogil. 613. Then Chogil spoke, "Good," he is saying, "let me ask this sheriff." 614. Then Chogil asked. 615. Then the sheriff spoke, "He can't get out now," he is saying, "he is given six months," that sheriff is saying. 616. Then Chogil is saying, "Good." 539 X 159

617. Then we took leave from there. 618. We went and arrived there at Bishop, there at the house of my friend. 619. Then, "Hello," my friend is saying when (we) are arriving, "and who is (this)?" he is saying to Chogil. 620. "It is my friend," I am saying. 621. "And is (this) his wife?" he is saying. 622. "Yes," I am saying when he is speaking. 623. Then that man took Chogil and also his wife in his hand. 624. "You come in," he is saying to us. 625. We stayed there at his house for two days.

626. From there we came back again. 627. We came and arrived here, back again. 628. Then also, when arriving here, we worked again. 629. Then from there Chogil spoke, "Pretty soon I go back to my own house," he is saying. 630. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 631. Then from there he takes leave. 632. Chogil (and his wife), they go back toward their own house. 633. Then Chogil spoke when taking leave, "I shall come again," he is saying, "in another summer," he is saying, "then also we shall work," he is saying. 634. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 635. Then from there they took leave.

636. Then when Chogil had finished taking leave, I cut firewood all winter. 637. Then from there I finished my own cutting. 638. Then one man wrote to us. 639. Then, "You come to the dance," he is saying, "we shall make a dance," he is saying, "at Christmas." 640. Then when writing to him, "Good," we are saying. 641. Then from there we took leave. 642. We went and arrived there at Tejon; (it was) already very late. 643. (There are) many people when we arrived, many girls. 644. Right away we danced all night. 645. We came from there in the morning. 646. Then our machine became bad. 647. Then we approached the river (at the bottom of Kern Canyon). 648. Then we are coming and ascending the steep place. 649. Then our machine stopped. 650. Then from there it ran backward. 651. Then it hit the rock there. 652. Then it turned over. 653. Then I jumped out on the ground. 654. Then, while jumping, I lifted Mickey out. 655. Then those two men, our partners, they came and fell down. 656. Our machine is lying there. 657. Then from there we put it up back again. 658. Then (it is) well; nothing (is) bad; pretty soon that windshield broke apart. 659. Then it ran again. 660. From there, also, we came. 661. Then we arrived at our own houses. 662. Then we stayed at home. 539 X 159 [313]

663. Then from there we went toward Walker pass to gather pine nuts when they got ripe. 664. We are gathering pine nuts there. 665. Many people came and arrived there. 666. Then, sure enough, my wife came and arrived there. 667. "So, you are gathering pine nuts here?" she is saying. 668. "Yes," I am saying when she is speaking. 669. Then she stayed there with me. 670. From there we are all gathering pine nuts. 671. Then, having finished gathering pine nuts, we came from there toward my house. 672. We stayed there a while. 539 X 159 222

673. From there we went toward Tule. 674. "Let us go sell pine nuts." 675. Then we took leave. 676. We took six bags, and also tobacco. 677. Then we went and arrived there at Tule. 678. Then we saw many people. 679. Then they are saying to us, "What are you bringing?" 680. "Pine nuts," we are saying. 681. "That is good food," they are saying, "but our money (is) nothing," they are saying. 682. Then they bought a little. 683. "The money (is) gone," they are saying. 684. Then from there we went toward Visalia. 685. We 539 X 159 432

X 539 ki'la'a'ŋ ĩ·'bīlĩ·'la' ĩ·'lĩ'ĩ'ŋ. 686. pɪ'ckila'a'ŋ waha·'i ye·'ewa'ŋ i·'mi' wahki·'k wa'l ɪnya·'na'a'ŋ ha'lĩka'matsɪ'n wĩ'n ôgô'n pinĩ·' ha'yi' ô·'ôya'p. 687. yo·'wi' a·'na·'-wɪ'cm. 688. pɪcki'tĩpĩ' wi·'na'a't i·' ɪ'gɪcpɪ'tc tĩ'bata'. 689. tĩ'wĩ tĩ'wĩgĩta'. 690. kĩdsĩ·'"ata'. 691. tĩ'wĩwa'nbi' ta·'twa'lĩgĩ't. 692. waha'igila'a'ndi' i·'mi' pre·'cnu"ɪ'-mɪni·'k. 693. wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĩ·'bĩlĩ·'lla'. 694. waha·'igila'a'ŋ ɪnya·'na'i' wa'hki·'k. 395. yo·'wi ɪnya·'na". 696. wa'hkila'a'ŋ ti' ĩ·'dĩ·'ĩdza' i·' ɪ'gɪcpɪ'tc. 697. pɪ'e tei·'tc cô"ɪbɪ't cô''ôgô'nntă' ĩ'ndĩna·'wa'i. 698. waha·'igila'a'ŋ i·'mi' nô'tfô·'kmɪni·'k wana·'ŋ muwa·'la'p. 699. wa'hkila'a'ŋ i·'mi' ege·'wana·'p muwa·'lô'p. 700. tu·'ci' ɪ'lmaxka'ŋ pô·'ht wa''awa't tμ'wμbɪ'l. 701. pɪ'c kμmu·'nĩ'ĩ'ŋ tɛμŋgμ't. 702. wa'hkila'a'ŋ ĩ·'bĩlĩ·'la' nô'tfô·'kɪ'p. 703. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a'taxkɪ'n. 704. pɪ'ckila'a'ŋ waha·'i ye·'ewa'ŋ i·'mi' pɪni''ik hani·'la'. 705. ha·'yi ô·'ôya't. 706. pɪ'cta ĩ'ndĩna·'wa'i i·' ɪ'gɪcpɪ'tc. 707. wa'hkila'a'ŋ a·'aha'l pa·'ida·'l. 708. pɪ'ctawa'l pĩlĩ'ĩ't wanda' a'ŋhani·'l tĩ·'na·'waya·'gima'c tĩ'bata'. 709. tu·'ci ô'kôgô·'im yo·'wi kima't tĩ'bata' tĩ·'na·'waya·'gima'c. 710. pɪ'c wica·'abμ'm mi'yaha'i wica' ɪŋgɪ'mica' a'ŋhani·'l yo·'wi"igĩ't. 711. ha·'"ɪ'ckĩkɪ'la'a'ŋ i·'mica·'gɪ'la'a'ŋ 712. ha·'"ɪ'ckĩta' wanda' ô'kôgô·'im halĩ'lbe·' ĩ·'dzĩmi'gĩta'.

713. pɪ'ckila'a'ŋ waha·'i ye·'ewa'ŋ ɪŋgɪ'm ci·'uba' hani·'mɪni·'k. 714. me't a·'ya·'mu·'ts ĩ·'ĩdzĩ'm mi'yapĩ·'ts. 715. ĩ·'ĩbĩ'lgɪ'la'a'ŋ hani'p'. 716. pɪ'c waha·'i cô·'yɪ'nĩ'ĩ'ŋ i·'mi' hani·'mɪni·'k. 717. pɪ'cki' waha·'i a·'ha'l' hani·'pkila'a'ŋ a·'ha'l' hani·'p.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539 X
159
432

went and arrived there in the evening. 686. Then from there the next day we went toward the living-place of the Indians; it is the same—their money is gone. 687. (There are) many girls. 688. Then I presented them some pine nuts. 689. "Good, good," they are saying. 690. They are laughing. 691. "You (are) a good man," (they) are saying. 692. From there also we went toward Fresno. 693. We went and arrived there. 694. From there, also, we went in the morning toward the Indians. 695. (There are) many Indians. 696. There also we sold a little bit. 697. Then one old woman bought tobacco. 698. From there we went toward Northfork (a northern affluent of the San Joaquin River) far away in the mountains. 699. We went there in the big mountains. 700. The very steep road has meanness. 701. Then my father is afraid. 702. There we went and arrived at Northfork. 703. We slept there. 704. Then from there we went the next day toward the house. 705. The money (is) gone. 706. Then they bought a little. 707. We stayed there three days. 708. Then, coming to buy pine nuts, those people are arriving. 709. Many women are coming, coming to buy pine nuts. 710. Then, "You go later on in future, many people will come later on," (the women) are saying. 711. "No," we are saying, "we shall go (now)." 712. "No," those women are saying, "stay a while longer," they are saying.

713. Then from there the next day we came back again toward our own house. 714. We had already been gone a long time. 715. We arrived at our own house. 716. Then from there my wife went toward her own house. 717. Then after that I stayed at home; we stayed at home (i.e., Mickey and Yukaya, who are inseparable).

NOTES

[1] *-kuc*, qt. conj. part., irregularly stressed; when stressed, the form is generally *-guc*; when occurring as sentence final, *-kidža*.

[2] (-)*kī*(*t*), vb., *-kuc*, qt. The vb., *pɨŋgī-* (atelic) *ɨmbɨŋk* (telic) TO SAY appears after a quotation as *kīt*, i.e., with pres. tense suff. attached, and the first syllable of the atelic form lost. While the qt., *-kuc*, is classified as a part. st. because it is uninflected, it may well be related to *-kī-*.

[3] *wana'ŋ*, part. st., is here followed by two conj. part., the qt., *-kuc-*, and the pers. pron. *-ta*.

[4] Part. st. usually having the value of two morae, often without the nasalization and without the glottal stop.

[5] Part. st., not a vb. which may be normally inflected.

[6] One would expect the form *-kuc* rather (see footnote 1). It is interesting to note that in the occurrence of the form of the qt., *-kidža*, not in sentence-final, there is a pause, and what follows suggests an afterthought: an additional clause may be tacked on, the actor may be specified, and so on.

[7] *tsuŋgut*, vb. followed by two conj. part., *-tɨŋ-*, pers. pron. obj. of vb., and *-nī'īŋ*, poss. pron., referring to the n. which follows.

[8] Final *-a*, pers. poss. pron., usually HIS, HER, sometimes ITS, but here used as a concordance device to refer to the preceding conj. part., *-nī'īŋ*.

[9] Lit., "at its heart of the house."

[10] The vb. TO BE is *wīn-* (atelic) *īwīn* (telic). The initial vowel of the telic form is sometimes lost.

[11] Part. st., with final vowel lengthened.

[12] Cf. neg. part. *hac*, NOT, *ha''ic*, NO, *ha'i(nd(a))*, NOTHING, WITHOUT, with footnote 4.

[13] Three part. st. which give the feeling of being a single word because they are bound together by alternation of stress: *puc-*, THEN, *-kuc-*, qt., *wah*, THERE.

[14] Lit., "in its heart of the smoke-house."

[15] Obsolescent or esoteric myth-words. The word commonly in use for DEER is *tohi'-l*, for MOUNTAIN SHEEP, *ma'ca-t*.

[16] *-nī'īŋ*, conj. part. poss. pron. MY, refers to the following nominalized vb., lit., "my bringing the deer."

[17] *tu'ci-*, part. st., sometimes meaning STRAIGHT, but here used as a stylistic ornament, empty of meaning.

[18] *waha'i*, part. st., THEN, FROM THERE, related to *wah*, THERE. This st. appears in various forms with demonstrative meanings, sometimes definite, sometimes very vague.

[19] *puc*, part. st., THEN, *-kul*, subj. pron. separated from vb. by n., *tīnt*, ROCK, which is the predicate obj. but in subj. case.

[20] Part. st. governs obj. which in this instance is *pumatsin*, ITS EDGE.

[21] *puni'ik*, part st., sometimes having the obj. form *piniyu*, EVERYTHING; *-kic*, qt. In some sentences the qt. is not translated.

[22] Part. st. with vague modal meaning. The translation is little more than a guess.

[23] Auxiliary vb. The vb. st. referred to is the last word in the sentence.

[24] Lit., "its juice of the tobacco." The n. st. *pa'-* means WATER in the abs. forms, SOUP or JUICE in relative forms.

[25] Nonidentical actor sub. vb. requires its notional subj. (*icta*) to be formally an obj. n. (*-a*, obj. suff.).

[26] Part. st. with vague modal meaning (cf. footnote 22). Even a guess as to meaning did not seem permissible here.

[27] Cf: footnote 18. (*a'*)*wa*(*'*)*hai* might also have been translated as FROM THERE, AFTER THIS.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

[28] *met*, part. st., weak form of *me·eda*, NOW, ALREADY, PAST.

[29] **wīnīt-kīt-kidža*.

[30] Lit., "on his neck of the chief."

[31] *-me·eda*. Cf. footnote 28, *-dzi*, obj. pron.

[32] **ataxkin > taxkin*. The loss of initial vowel in the telic form seems to be characteristic of certain vb. rather than due to phonetic conditions. Cf. footnote 10.

[33] Cf. footnote 18.

[34] *-tīpī*, formally an obj. pron., notionally, the obj. of main vb., *a·dowī·k*, and subj. of nonidentical actor sub. vb.

[35] *mahīgī(c)*, part. st., HOW MANY, *-pi*, conj. part. pron., YOU, subj. of vb., *ku·yī'at*, whose obj. is placed between the subj. pron. and vb.

[36] Here *-pi* immediately precedes its vb.

[37] Here *-pi* precedes its vb. while the obj. of vb. follows, and the poss. pron. (*-nī'īŋ*) referring to the obj. n. is attached to the vb.

[38] Obj. of preceding vb. Final *-n* is a concordance device showing that the poss. pron. disj. attached to the preceding vb. belongs to this n.

[39] Part. st., exclamation of surprise.

[40] Part. st. for interrogative clauses.

[41] Part. st., the sound of a gun or bow being shot.

[42] Three part. st. Cf. footnote 13.

[43] Part. st. Cf. footnote 41.

[44] Part. st., exclamation characteristic of crows.

[45] Part. st., exclamation of pain.

[46] Cf. footnotes 35, 36, 37, 38. Here the subj. pron. *-pi* refers to the second following word, which is a vb.; the poss. pron. *-nī'īŋ* to the following word, which is a n. and the obj. of the vb.

[47] Cf. footnote 37. This is certainly the most common order.

[48] Part. st., possibly **kitck-* with loc. *-(min)i·k*. Several part. st. ending in *-i·k* indicate directions.

[49] A variant form. Cf. footnote 28.

[50] Part. st. with final vowel having the value of two morae instead of the usual one. Such vocalic lengthening seems rather characteristic of certain part. st. and may have a vague rhetorical significance.

[51] Part. st., weak form of the exclamation, *we·eda*.

[52] Part. st., exclamation of curious surprise.

[53] Part. st. Cf. *ih*, HERE, *i·*, THIS, and footnote 48.

[54] Part. st.: *ku(·)* AND, *-di(·)* ALSO, *-gūc*, qt.

[55] *ô·nô·ôban*, OUT IN BACK. Cf. *ô·no·mini·k* BACKWARDS, and *ô·nô·-l* THE BACK (of both animate and inanimate things). Without the n. st., *ô·nô·-*, BACK, the two preceding words would be classified as part. st.

[56] Probably misheard for *tī'wīkīkidža'*. The accents coincide with the regular alternation of stress but are marked because a fixed stress falls on the first vowel of *tī'wī*. Cf. *tī'wīkidža'*, "good, it is said," where the regular alternation of stress is not followed because of the fixed stress.

[57] A characteristic ending of myths is *wahô·ôwôk* (*wah* THERE, *ô·wôk* IT IS ENDED). Possibly the informant misspoke here when he said *wôha·awôk*.

[58] Childish nickname for UNCLE.

[59] *to·to·-* is taken as the st. for the nickname UNCLE, with zero abs. suff., *-'a-* relative suff., *-'aŋ-* poss. pron. YOUR, *-diŋ* obj. pron. FOR YOU, the obj. of the following vb.

[60] Auxiliary vb. The vb. st. is the last word in the sentence.

[61] *-ih*, part. st., HERE, is included as a final element in this word because the alternation of stress includes it in the word-pattern.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

[62] *u'mu'>mu'* (*-dīpī*, obj. pron.) is another case of loss of initial vowel in the telic form of vb. st. Cf. footnote 32.

[63] *me'da* ALREADY, PAST. Cf. footnote 28. The initial vowel is reduplicated to express collective plurality. The second st. in this compound is *-ta-l*, possibly a shortened form of *ta'-l*, DAY, "Old-Timers," being men of "past days." *-kitc*, qt.

[64] Two sub. vb. follow this main vb., SHE STOOD. This main vb. is intransitive.

[65] Identical actor sub. vb., i.e., subj. of this vb. is the same person as subj. of the preceding main vb.

[66] Suus obj. of preceding sub. vb.

[67] Nonidentical actor sub. vb., i.e., subj. of this vb. is not the same person as the subj. of the main vb. (footnote 64). If the main vb. were transitive, its obj. might be the notional subj. of this vb. In any event, the notional subj. of this vb. must be formally in the obj. case. In this sentence the preceding n. (footnote 66) serves as the notional subj. of this vb. which forms in effect a sub. clause of the preceding sub. clause: "She stood there" (main clause) "when she saw that one, her husband" (first sub. clause), "when he was coming" (second sub. clause). The syntactic pattern of this sentence is repeated in the following sentence, with a different verb order.

[68] Subj. of main vb. Cf. footnote 72.

[69] First sub. vb., same subj. as subj. of main vb. (footnote 68).

[70] Obj. of first sub. vb. (footnote 69), both formally and notionally.

[71] Second sub. vb. The obj. of the first sub. vb. (footnote 70) is notionally the subj. of this vb.

[72] Main vb. (with qt., *-kitc*, repeated), intransitive.

[73] Subj. form, *wa'* (cf. *wa'adiŋ*, gen., *wal* or *wala* obj.), *-ki'k*, loc. element, TOWARD THAT ONE who is logically the same person as the obj. (see footnote 70, above) of the first subj. vb., but is felt notionally to be closer to the preceding intransitive vb. (footnote 72), as it is in point of position.

[74] *wa'-* THAT, seems to be conjunctively attached to *kō'im* WOMAN, because the vowel of the demonstrative is characteristically repeated in composition with other elements.

[75] Nonidentical actor sub. vb. requires a n. formally obj. to be its notional subj.

[76] Not the obj. of any vb. but formally obj. in order to be the notional subj. of the preceding sub. vb. (footnote 73).

[77] Part. st., *tan-* IF, *-bi* subj. pron., YOU. By metathesis and secondary unvoicing, **tanbi>*tanib>tanip*.

[78] Part. st. *amai(')* WITH, governs obj., *-ai* obj. pron. ME.

[79] *an-* interrogative part. st., *-bi* subj. pron. YOU. Cf. footnote 77.

[80] *wa'* is used more particularly as a demonstrative to point out animate things, *unduga(')* to point out inanimate things.

[81] *ku-* AND, *nik*, indep. 1 person subj. pron., a pleonastic form.

[82] Part. st., a vague demonstrative, THAT, THERE.

[83] Lit., "this way." The force of the preceding part. gives the sense, "the other way."

[84] *cō'yi-* suus obj. of following vb., *-gi* subj. pron., subj. of following vb. The n. and pron. are firmly knit together into a single word (phonetically, not semantically) by the device of repeating the final vowel of the n. after an intrusive glottal stop.

[85] **pō'-ah-lu-bi'c*. The *-h* of the imp. suff. is syncopated before the pron. *-lu-*, and the vowel of the pron. is syncopated before the postposition *-bi'c*, IMMEDIATELY.

[86] **kim-ah-lu-bi'c*. Cf. footnote 85.

[87] Part. st., mild exclamation.

[88] *i'mi*, telic form of vb. st. TO GO, *-(i)ca*, fut. suff., *-diŋ*, obj. pron. YOU, obj. of part. st. understood to be *amai* (see footnote 78) which governs the obj. but is not actually spoken in this sentence. For intrusive vowel and glottal stop, see footnote 84.

[89] Lit., "of this one, of the man, his wife."

3: Voegelin- E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

[80] The emphatic and lengthened form, *'a'ma'iyu* (cf. *amai*), is presumably a rhetorical device to stress the notion of accompaniment.

[81] Lit., "on its top of the water."

[82] Part. st. of vague modal significance.

[83] *pe'welaŋ-*, part. st., FIRST, compounded with *-da-l* (final *-ŋ* assimilates to *-d*), possibly a shortened form of *ta'-l*, DAY, people of "the first days" being "pioneers."

[84] Formally suus obj., notionally the subj. of the following sub. vb.

[85] Lit., "of the mountain quail, its skin."

[86] *-(a')bini* forms a suff.-like unit, i.e., the subj. pron. *-bi*, YOU, and the obj. pron. *-ni*, ME, are as integral a part of this vb. as if the pron. unit (*-a'bini*) were a suff., and for the same two reasons: alternation of stress and association of the vowel increment, *-a'-*, which has the value of two morae in alternation of length because the vowel increment associated with the preceding suff., *-(a)kin-*, has the value of one mora.

[87] **ala'w-in-at-kidža-ta*. The last two elements are part., the qt. and subj. pron.

[88] Part. st., exclamation of approval characteristic of Coyote. Others using this exclamation do so in a Coyotean sense, which corresponds in Tübatulabal to the Pickwickian sense in English.

[89] Part. st. used for superlatives. What Coyote says is lit., "superlatively its goodness of the song."

[100] The vb. TO SING is one of the reversed-formation types: *a'ya'n-* (atelic) *ya'n* (telic). The nominalized derivative is based on the atelic form, but the initial vowel of this form is sometimes dropped, as also happens in vb. st. having the normal formation. Cf. footnote 32.

[101] Auxiliary vb. followed by the naked atelic vb. st.

[102] *wa(h)* THERE, *-ki'k* TOWARDS. This part. governs obj. n.

[103] *kin-* (atelic) *iŋgin* (telic) TO BRING. Cf. nominalized forms, *kini-l*, "the gift, the bringing, the thing brought," *kini-p*, "their gift, their bringing, the thing they brought." The sentence is a nominal one.

[104] *(i)wīn*, vb. TO BE, with final *-n* assimilated to the *-g* of *gutc*, qt. This vb. begins what is essentially a nominal sentence, although here the vb. TO BE is explicitly instead of implicitly present.

[105] Lit., "its past going (nominalized vb.) of the Mud-Diver."

[106] Part. st. exclamation, probably related to *i'*, *ih*, THIS, HERE.

[107] *tsulu'maŋ-* nonidentical actor sub. vb. *-dzi'* the notional subj. of this sub. vb., but formally obj. yet not the notional obj. of the main vb. because the main vb. is intransitive.

[108] Part. st., exclamation characteristic of old women. Others using this exclamation do so when an improper remark is made, with the implication that their reaction is that of an old woman.

[109] Main vb. The preceding n. is the subj. and the obj. is a zero pron.

[110] Nonidentical actor sub. vb. The obj. of the main vb. (zero pron., cf. footnote 109) is the notional subj. of this sub. vb.

[111] Main vb. The subj. of this vb. is a zero pron.

[112] Identical actor sub. vb. The subj. of the main vb. (zero pron., cf. footnote 111) is also the subj. of this sub. vb.

[113] *ma'-* part. st., WHERE, *-nī'īŋ* poss. pron. MY, refers to the following n.

[114] Imp. vb. with the *-h-* of the imp. suff. syncopated before the conj. part. *-ni*. This imp. vb. has two objects, the conj. part. *-ni*, ME, which is in the obj. case because it is a personal pron., and the following n. which is not in the obj. case (cf. footnote 115).

[115] Notionally the obj. of the preceding imp. vb., but formally in the subj. case. It is only noun objects of imp. vb. which are in the subj. case (cf. footnote 114).

[116] Part. st. WITH causes the preceding n. to be in the obj. case. Perhaps *a'ma'k* is felt to be used with inanimate obj. n., while *a(')ma(')i* is used with animate obj. n.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

[117] The intrusive final *-c* of the n. st. *cō'ibic-* (*-t*, abs. suff.), OLD WOMAN, is not understood. Cf. footnote 118.

[118] *cō'ibi-* (*-t*, abs. suff.), OLD WOMAN, is the usual form of the n. st. Cf. footnote 117.

[119] A compound of *wo'-*, TWO, and *pa'i*, THREE, indicates a quantity which lies between two and three units.

[120] *halīt-* HE SITS, *-nī'īŋ* poss. pron. referring to the following word, which is then lit., "in my neighborhood."

[121] Presumably the telic form of a vb. st. whose atelic form would be **ī'līka* but is never actualized.

[122] The telic form of a vb. st. whose atelic form is *īlī'ǫ-*.

[123] *ha'inda*, lit., "nothing," *-pi* subj. pron., YOU, with vowel syncopated before poss. pron., *-nī'īŋ*, MY, referring to the following n., which is, however, not juxtaposed to this disjunctive poss. pron.

[124] *pôh-* n. st., *-p(a)*, loc., *-n*, conj. part., a device to indicate that the preceding disj. poss. pron. (footnote 123) refers to this n.

[125] Pl. of *wa'*. It is possible that *wa'* THAT : *wanda* THOSE as *ha'yi* NOTHING : *ha'inda* NOTHING (pl. ?).

[126] Here *pini'ik* is used as subj., *piniyu* as obj., but the converse may also occur.

[127] *to(')* part. st., lit., "uncertain," generally used in the sense of "I don't know." *-wah*, THERE.

[128] Ind. pron., OUR.

[129] Lit., "our going is necessary."

[130] This autobiography was dictated quite rapidly. It represents the normal talking speed of the informant. Certain special problems and special patterns arise from this fact which cannot be adequately treated in footnotes. For example, the autobiography differs from other texts in that characteristic collocations of two, three, and even four particle stems are quite consistently run together to form a single word, at least in respect to alternation of stress. The first person pron., *-gi*, so necessary in an autobiography, is generally to be found in such a composition of particle stems. Rather than refer in separate notes to each of these compositions, all particles are abstracted and these are to be presented in their various combinations in a dictionary. However, an attempt was made to translate the autobiography so literally that a morphological analysis might be possible without the aid of a dictionary.

539

[For literary texts, see category 116, the complete source.]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

THE TÜBATULABAL.

ORIGIN AND MOVEMENTS.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

197 174 131 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatulabal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits
648 of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

131 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern
101 River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water-fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yo Kuts NS29

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishin are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had
131 crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts
197 foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and
177 Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that
563 of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

824 137 [117 252] Leaves, stems watercress (beros, Spanish loan word), Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum (L.) Britt. & Rendle, not eaten aboriginally; sometimes boiled now for greens; leaves of wild mustard (hi·ulit), Sisymbrium officinale L., fried in grease; "learned this from Mexicans" (SM).

Immature pods of tree yucca or Joshua tree (umu·bi·l), Yucca brevifolia Engelm.; desert floral area.

Receptacle of cacti (iya·l), Opuntia caseyi Britt. & Rose var. magenta Pursh and O. basilans Engelm.; desert floral area.

Some plant species named, but put to no use, as: wild lilac (to·bu·l), Ceanothus divaricatus Nutt., foothill floral area; choya cactus (u·šil), desert floral area; California poppy (yogobul), Eschscholtzia californica Cham. and E. minutiflora Wats. (same name), foothill, desert floral areas, respectively; several varieties of lupines (šimindiŋ taman, rattlesnake's teeth, so named because pistils and stamens protrude from keel of flower like teeth, SM), Lupinus sparsiflorus Benth., L. odoratus Heller, desert floral area, L. albifrons Benth., L. densiflorus Benth. var. lacteus C.P.S., foothill floral area, L. microcarpus Sims, var. ruber C.P.S., L. micranthus Dougl. Few other plants also named, rejected as food (p. 12).

For 86 plant species SM could give no economic, medicinal uses or names, referring to all of them as weeds (mašil): Albronia pogonantha Heimerl.; Achillea millefolium L. var. lanulosa Piper; Agoseris alpestris Greene; Azolla filiculoides Lam.; Baeria chrysostoma F. & M.; Brickellia californica T. & G.; Bromus rubens L.; Castilleia miniata Dougl.; Centaurium venustum Rob.; Centromadia (Henizonia) pungens (T. & G. Greene); Cerastium arvense L.; Chaenactis stevioides H. & G.; Cheilanthes covillei Max.; Chenopodium californicum Wats.; Chorisanthe staticoides Benth., C. watsonii T. & G., C. thurberi (Gray) Wats.; Chrysothamnus teretifolius Hall; Cotula coronopifolia L.; Cryptantha miriculata (A. DC.) Greene; Cuscuta californica Choisy; Datisca glomerata Brew. & Wats.; Delphinium hansenii Greene, D. purpusii Brandegee; Dicentra chrysantha (H. & A.) Walp.; Emmenanthe penduliflora Benth.; Encelia actoni Elmer; Epilobium californicum Hausskn.; Epipactis gigantea Dougl.; Ericameria cuneata (Gray) McCl. var. spathulata Hall; Erigeron divergens T. & G.; turkey mullein, Eremocarpus setigerns Benth.; Eriogonum argillosum J. T. Howell, E. angulosum Benth., E. mohavense Wats.; Eriophyllum ambiguum Gray, E. pringlei Gray, E. confertiflorum Gray; Euphorbia serpyllifolia Pers.; Galium angustifolium Nuss.; Gilia latiflora Gray, G. capitata Dougl.; Godetia viminea Spach; Greeneocharis circumscissa (Torr.) Rydb.; Gymnogramma trianularis Kaulf.; Hugelia filifolia Jepson; Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene; Lepidospartum squamatum Gray; Linanthus aurens (Nutt.) Greene; Lotus strigosus (Nutt.) Greene, L. oblongifolius (Benth.) Greene, L. argophyllus

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

●121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
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TÜBATULABAL AND KAWAIISU KINSHIP TERMS

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	219
Phonetic Transcription	220
Tübatulabal	220
Kawaiisu	228
Comparison	232
Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu	232
Kawaiisu, Kaibab Paiute, and Uintah Ute	244

INTRODUCTION

In November and December, 1915, the writer was engaged in an examination of the tribes inhabiting the eastern and southern slopes of the San Joaquin drainage basin to determine the limits in California of social and ceremonial organization on the basis of dual divisions.[1] Among the tribes visited were the Tübatulabal of the Kern River region in the southern Sierra Nevada and the adjoining Kawaiisu of the Tehachapi Mountains at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Both of these Shoshonean groups lack the dual organization for which the writer was seeking. The kinship systems of these two peoples are of especial interest, however, and the facts about them are presented in the following pages. Important features of these systems are the use of single terms for reciprocal relationships (identical-reciprocals), the use of diminutive suffixes, and the use of terms and suffixes denoting the condition of connecting relatives.

[1] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291–296, 1916.

105 and to be restricted solely to that group. No
171 myth collection taken from any primitive group can hope to be all-inclusive for the mythology of the entire group, and this myth has by accident doubtless been previously overlooked, both by native raconteurs and by ethnologists when they have been engaged in myth taking. The approximate distribution of the myth, when known, will be of interest, and if it is found in only one or two other tribes, with its recording will go the last unclouded claim that could be put forward for the unique character of any trait in Tübatulabal culture.

METHOD OF STUDY

101 The following ethnographic study of the Tübatulabal, a Shoshonean-speaking people of the southern Sierra Nevada foothill region of California (fig. 1), is based on field work done
●[122] near Weldon, Kern county, in the summers of 1931-
115 33 on funds provided in part by the Board of Research of the University of California. My chief

115 informants were Steban Miranda, aged 86 (father 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Palagewan; mother Tübatulabal) and Frances Philips, 68 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso). Mrs. Estefana Miranda Salazar, 40 (father Tübatulabal, mother Yokuts), interpreted for her father, and Mrs. Legora Tungate, 45 (father Tübatulabal, mother 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Koso), for her mother, Mrs. Philips. Other informants and interpreters were Petra Nichols, 89 (father Tübatulabal, mother Palagewan); Mike Miranda, 45, Steban Miranda's son and full brother to Mrs. Salazar; Frank Chico, 30 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso); Fernando Miranda, 47 (father Mexican, mother Tübatulabal); Rosie Pablo, 45 (father Yokuts, mother Tübatulabal); Susie Williams Nieto, 48 (father Kawaiisu, mother Tübatulabal).

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a
traveler entering the South Fork valley of the
Kern, in what is now east-central California,
would have found throughout the length of this
narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of
domed willow and tule houses. In these houses,
or ranging in groups over the valley and foot-
hills, he would have been likely to encounter
certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew
this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-
signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless
herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing
slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, trav-
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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

[p. 1(b)]

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, who directed my research, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, who offered many suggestions incorporated in the ethnography, I am especially indebted. I wish also to thank Dr. C. F. Voegelin for frequent linguistic aid, Dr. A. H. Gayton for comparative references to mythological material, and Dr. Stanley Newman for information relative to the Yokuts names for tobacco.

128 Botanical specimens were identified and assigned to floral areas by Dr. Herbert L. Mason, of the University of California. Dr. Helen-Mar Wheeler, of the same institution, supplied information from field observations relative to two species of Nicotiana native to the Tübatulabal area. Miss Shirley Andress, of Weldon, allowed me to examine and photograph her Tübatulabal ethnographic specimens; Mr. P. Sumner Brown, of Kernville, put precipitation records at my disposal; and Mr. O. C. Bangsberg, of the Southern California Edison company, supplied information regarding the falls in the augmented Kern.

The occasional ethnographic specimens and models presented by informants and negatives taken during field work have been deposited in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley (museum catalogue numbers 1-28226 to 28228, 28570 to 28577, 28781 to 28789, 28811; 15-10538, 10541 to 10552, 10555, 10556, 10558 to 10560). The Museum has, besides this material, 36 ethnographic specimens from the Tübatulabal (1-19789 to 19825, 21064), collected chiefly by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman, a collection of Tübatulabal baskets from the E. L. McLeod collection (1-20944 to 20961), and 34 negatives (15-6240 to 6274) taken by Dr. Waterman. Museum catalogue numbers are identified throughout by prefix 1- (for specimens) and 15- (for negatives).

Genealogies of all informants and census data collected in the field, as well as a manuscript of 37 myths and variants collected jointly with Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and supplementing Dr. Voegelin's published collection of texts (Voegelin, 1935b), have been deposited with the Department of Anthropology, University of California.

Upon Dr. Kroeber's suggestion the ethnography is written mainly in a telegraphic style. Abbreviations as follows are also used: r., river; N, north (etc.); n., northern (etc.); elev., elevation; mt., mountain; mi., mile; yr., year; Calif., California.

Statements credited to specific informants are followed by the initials of the informant's English name, enclosed in parentheses.

Native names were written in a "broad transcription" with phonetic values as given in the Tübatulabal Grammar (Voegelin, 1935a, 55-87). However, following recent recommendations for a simpler orthography (AA 36: 629), Tübatulabal affricates, for example, being single phonemes,

•128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dž	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ʒ
c	sibilant	š

HABITAT

101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on [177] w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tIbatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

and not merely the ordinary term plus a suffix as in the case of relatives by affinity. The terms applied to five such relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relatives were obtained. The suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added in these cases, apparently with some such meaning as "used to be;" for this is the meaning given for the analogous Kawaiisu suffix -puni or -repuni. Doubtless the suffix is added to other Tübatulabal terms of affinity besides the five mentioned, but examples were not obtained. It is not unlikely also that the term nawasu (child's spouse's parent) is changed upon the death of one of the connecting relatives, just as the corresponding Kawaiisu term teeni is changed (see p. 232). The Tübatulabal term kali (father's sister's husband) and its identical-reciprocal take the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ (see p. 222). On this account it is suspected that all other analogous terms for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews by affinity likewise take this suffix. However, information on this point was not obtained.

In the following list m. s. and w. s. stand respectively for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

TÜBATULABAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS[5]

ana. Father (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare kumu (father), abu (mother), and ümü (mother).

kumu. Father (after death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father, stepfather. Reciprocals: tumu (son; daughter; brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather, while yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother.

abu. Mother (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare ümü (mother), ana (father), and kumu (father).

ümü. Mother (after the death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother. Reciprocal: tumu (son; daughter; sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child).

[5] The terms anociwan, kuñan, pauwan, soiyin, tohan, wüñin, and yuguan were always given with the terminal -n, which means "my" (see A. L. Kroeber, Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 262, 1909). The terms agist, amust, hümübic, impaiyis, wasumbis, wo.ict, and ya.ubic were never given with the terminal -n. The remaining terms were given both with and without it, and are here listed without it. In reference, and sometimes in address, the suffix -nuñ, also with the meaning "my," is added to the term as in wasumbisnuñ, tôhanuñ, and kutcinuñ.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

601

informant for wife's sister's daughter. The third informant also gave aiyawutawa for wife's sister's son. In the list on page 222 the meanings of these two terms appear as stepdaughter and stepson respectively, as these are the only positively ascertained meanings.

Mrs. John Nicolas, a Kernville Tübatulabal, gave osambis as the term for sister's child (w. s.). She was very positive about it, and although it was obtained from no one else, it may represent a dialectic difference. An Onyx (South Fork of Kern River) informant, Tom Pope, stated that the people about Kernville, on the main Kern River, used certain terms which were not used on the South Fork. He mentioned as an example the term hôki, which is the term for a grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. According to Mrs. Nicolas, there were two terms for great-grandparents, saka for great-grandfather, ipi for great-grandmother, with reciprocals sakabin and ipibin. Other informants gave saka for both grandparents. This, too, may be a dialectic difference. As shown in the case of the Miwok, such variations in a relationship system may occur within a few miles.[8]

UNCERTAIN USAGES OF TERMS*

Relationship	*Informants*					
	Bill Chico	Petra Miranda	Clotilda L. Gomez	Tom Pope	Mrs. John Nicolas	Indian Henry
Wife's sister's child	kali	——	*tumu*	kalibin	kalibin	aiyawutaw anociwan
Wife's sister	*yuguan*	——	piya	*yuguan*	*yuguan*	tugu
Sister's husband (w. s.)	*piya*	kumobic	*piya*	*piya*	*piya*	kumobic
Brother's wife (m. s.)	——	tumubic	piya	piya	*tugu*	*tugu*
Husband's sister	——	kumoanana	tugu	tugu	*hümübic*	*hümübic*
Wife's sister's husband	——	impaiyis	——	——	patci	piya
Husband's brother's wife	——	anakutcim	——	——	anakutcim	tugu

* After this table was in type the following terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law were secured from Mrs. Mary Imitirio, a Tübatulabal woman living on Tule River Indian Reservation, Tulare County, California: Wife's brother, piya; sister's husband (m. s.), piya; wife's sister, yuguan; sister's husband (w. s.), piya; husband's brother, ya.ubic; brother's wife (w. s.), tugu; husband's sister, hümübic, brother's wife (w. s.), tugu.

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The analysis of the Tübatulabal terms of relationship in the succeeding table is on the basis of the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[9] His eighth category, "Condition of the connecting relative," is here amplified in meaning so as to cover the change of terms for father and mother following the death of one or more of their children (see abu and ümü = mother, ana and kumu = father,

[8] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. Compare the meanings of ate, kole, and tcale.

[9] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

in the preceding list on p. 222.) The cross used in the following table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

In the following table the category "Generation" is undoubtedly expressed by more terms than would be the case if fuller genealogical

CATEGORICAL ANALYSIS OF TÜBATULABAL KINSHIP TERMS

Term	Generation	Blood or marriage	Lineal or collateral	Sex of relative	Sex of connecting relative	Sex of speaker	Age in generation	Condition of connecting relative
abu	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
agist	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
agistbin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
aiyawutawa	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
aka	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
akabin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
amüst	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—
ana	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
anociwan	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
apa	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
apavin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
hôki	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	×
hümübic	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
impaiyis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
kalibin	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	×
kali	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	×
kumu	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
kuñan	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
kutei	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
nalawi	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—
nawasu	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
patei	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
pauwan	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	—
piya	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	×
saka	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
sakabin	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
soiyin	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
tasi	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
tohan	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
tugu	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
tumu	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
utsu	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
utsubin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
ümü	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
wasumbis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×
wô.ict	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
wüñin	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
ya.ubic	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
yugu	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	—
yuguan	—	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
Terms*	36	31	10	25	17	11	7	11

* Number of terms in which each category is expressed.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

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601
171

might break down this complete expression of the category. In Tübatulabal four out of forty terms fail to express this category; one of these four is the term hôki, which is applied to either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. The remaining three are the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which are applied also to spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, a very different classification from the Kawaiisu which has already been discussed.

The difference in the expression of the category "Blood or marriage" in the two languages is largely due to the difference, just mentioned, in the classification of spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, which among the Kawaiisu are classed as grandparent and grandchild. This difference alone takes eight Kawaiisu terms out of this category. The corresponding Tübatulabal terms for grandparent and grandchild naturally fall under this category, as they all definitely express consanguinity without expressing affinity also.

The other categories are expressed quite similarly by the relationship systems of the two languages, with the exception of the categories "Sex of relative" and "Sex of speaker." The difference in the first instance is the result of the Tübatulabal uniting of great-grandson and great-granddaughter on the one hand and great-grandfather and great-grandmother on the other hand, while the Kawaiisu distinguish two great-grandchildren and two great-grandparents. In the second instance, "Sex of speaker," the difference is due to the use of identical-reciprocals for nepotic relatives by the Kawaiisu and to their non-use, except in one case (kali-kalibin), by the Tübatulabal.

Like the last table, the following table presents a categorical comparison, also in percentages of the number of terms, of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu kinship systems and those presented by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in his paper on the "Classificatory Systems of Relationship."[17] For Dr. Kroeber's Miwok figures those of the writer[18] have been substituted. It is clear that in at least one category, "Lineal or collateral," the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu hold a unique position and have no near approach in any of the other systems here presented, except the Miwok.[19]

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[17] Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., xxxix, 79. 1909.

[18] Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., xii, 171, 1916.

[19] The comparisons in the three succeeding tables must be used with reservation, as a factor of uncertainty has been introduced by differences in the collecting of the data. For Miwok the material is far more detailed than for the other groups.

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have been no farther removed in point of time--a 131 traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same valley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-177 signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my 123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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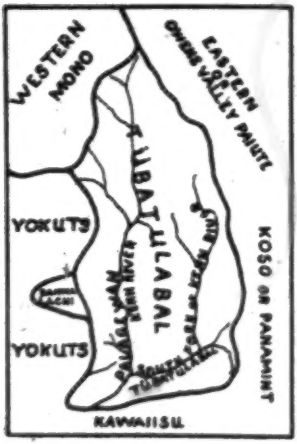


Fig. 1. Tübatulabal and neighboring groups.

[p. 7(c)]

128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dž	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ʒ
c	sibilant	š

HABITAT

101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal [177] band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tibatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

●131 Habitat.- Deltoid-shaped wedge of territory
133 claimed by Tübatulabal and Palagewan (fig. 1) consisted roughly of natural drainage area of Kern r. and its tributaries from river's source near Mt. Whitney to w. end of Kern canyon 14 mi. NE of Bakersfield; this area comprises some 1300 sq. mi., and is mainly mountainous with elevation between 2500-14500 ft. The n. 2 3 of area lies in high Sierras, with many mt. meadows
[312] and numerous peaks of 6000 ft. and more; it is well-watered, both Kern and South Fork of Kern being perennial streams, flowing southward at bottom of deep narrow canyons in parallel courses 20 mi. apart. Lawson gives 2 excellent views of canyon of unaugmented Kern and Little Kern plateau, showing character of region (Lawson, pl. 41a, b).

133 In s. third of area (fig. 1) mountainous character of country continues save for 3 narrow valleys, each drained by a stream, which ray out N-NE, E-NE, S-SW from common flood plain at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r. The n. valley is that of Kern r.; this flood-plain valley extends N, strewn with boulders and gravel, up unaugmented Kern for distance of 10 mi. from confluence, its breadth diminishing from 1 1/2 mi. to few hundred feet. The e. valley, that of South Fork of Kern r., extends E from confluence for 15 mi., with width in its
[134] lower part of more than one mile. In this valley, flood-plain silts and sands mantle stream gravel in large part and make agricultural land. The s. valley, or Hot Springs valley, is a little over 4 mi. long and about 1 mi. wide; it is divided longitudinally into 2 parts by low median ridge of
[312] granitic rock. On e. side of this ridge is flat-bottomed alluviated plain from 1 2-3 4 mi. wide; in this plain are situated several hot springs. On w. side of median ridge in Hot Springs valley is tortuous channel of Kern r.; stream enters this rocky channel through streamworn notch in n. end of median ridge immediately at junction of South Fork and Kern r. Alluvium which forms floor of Hot Springs valley derived from 3 incoming streams, largest of which is Erskine creek which enters valley at s.e. corner and there builds up notable fan which spreads out over its entire width. Second stream is Vaughn creek which centers at s. end and gives rise to less important fan which is confluent with that of Erskine creek; smallest creek is that which drains an incipient canyon in face of steep mt. slope which bounds valley on e. side between Erskine creek and South Fork of Kern r. (Lawson, 399). Lawson gives several photographs of Hot Springs valley and excellent view looking up South Fork valley from confluence of South Fork and Kern r. (Lawson, pls. 39a, b, 40a, b).

133 Near s. end of Hot Springs valley Kern r. enters precipitous gorge through which river rushes over huge boulders, creating continuous rapids for its 25-mi. course through gorge. There are no outstanding cataracts or falls in

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens
[373] when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hands "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[687] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
●131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

●131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). PN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, PN).

[p. 39(4)]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

THE TÜBATULABAL.

ORIGIN AND MOVEMENTS.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

197 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatu-
174 labal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history
●131 is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of 648 the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

•131 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern 101 River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water's fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yo Kuts NS29

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishin are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts
●131 foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and
197 Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that
177 of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter.
563 Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

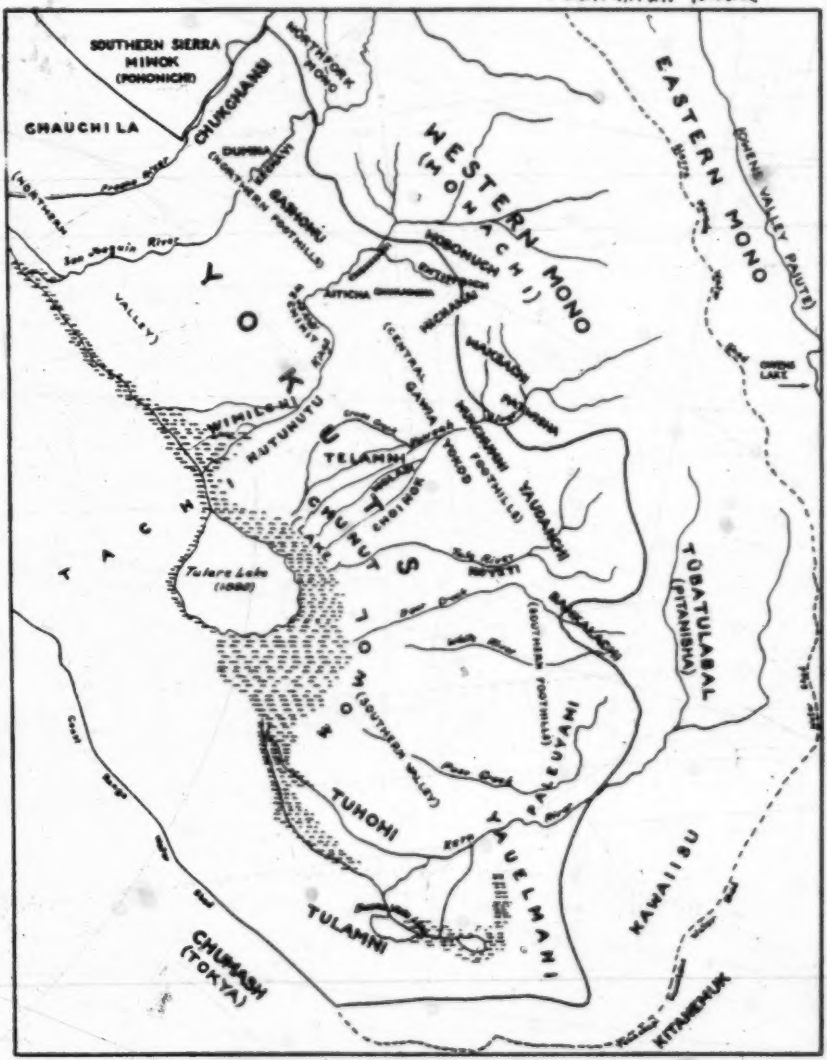
000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

T Y M 101 131 133

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[FACING P. 1]

Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22



Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo'ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo'wan. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe'kal yoko'č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu'wat, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

The Kawe'sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

The Ričiki'tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani'sa who lived at Pita'nan, where there was a deep little river."

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu'sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa'yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo'hui

[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal NS29

159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena'wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, 'n^wao, was east of Čena^wu. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's:ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'w:l ti''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi''i.[128]

T Y [354] T Y

343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

133 river as it flows through gorge, but from e. mouth of gorge for 60 mi. downstream there is drop of 50 ft. per mi. in river's course. There are 2 periods of high water in Kern r.; one during winter rain-flood from Jan.-March, second during summer snow-flood, from May-July; lowest water occurs in October (Gifford and Schenck, 17). Minimum flow of Kern in dry season 2700-3000 cu. ft. per second, in season greatest capacity over 19000 cu. ft. per second (Pen Pictures, 248).

133 Three valleys lie at 2500-3000 ft. elevation.
●132 They are in a climatic province which is semi-arid, with mesothermal temperature and summer deficiency of rainfall (Thornthwaite, pl. 3). Temperatures from 110-115° F. not uncommon in July-August; winters not severe, but generally some snow falls in valleys, more on foothills, and there are always heavy snows in mts. Precipitation records for Kernville, in Kern valley, are:

Year	Rainfall (in inches)	No rainfall
1924	6.48	May-September (inclusive)
1925	7.43	September
1926	11.66	June-September (inclusive)
1927	10.37	May-September (inclusive)
1928	6.47	June-September (inclusive)
1929	5.04	July, Aug., Oct.-Dec.
1930	6.97 plus 19 in. snow	June-October (inclusive)
1931	9.92	May, September
1932	7.34	July-November (inclusive)

[312] Previous to white settlement and diversion of water for agriculture, South Fork valley contained 2 large lakes, W of Onyx, NW of Weldon on
[175] Jesus ranch (SM). In 1776 Garcés, writing of unaugmented Kern near Kernville, says, "On this famous river, which I named Rio de San Felipe, there are abundant pastures, famous woods, and much irrigated ground (tierra de regadio)" (Garcés, 282). In foothills which enclose valleys are numerous hot and cold springs and intermittently flowing streams.

137 Vegetation of 3 valleys and lower foothill regions mixed; Shantz and Zon include valleys in chaparral area; my botanical collections from valley-foothill region contain specimens from desert, foothill, and Great Basin floral areas. This mixed vegetation area extends in E-W line across s. base of Tübatulabal territory. N of it are several different forest belts extending in N-S line; on w. edge of area along Greenhorn mts., is spruce-fir strip; E of this along canyon of unaugmented Kern strip of yellow pine-sugar pine forest; E of this another spruce-fir strip and finally on e. edge of Tübatulabal territory strip of piñon-juniper forest (Shantz and Zon). In extreme n. part of Tübatulabal area, on w. slope of Sierras, is found subalpine forest and, at higher altitudes, alpine communities (Klyver, 8). In terms of Merriam's life zones, using tree indicators of Grinnell and Storer (Grinnell and

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in
[314] front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of
[412] soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10638). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

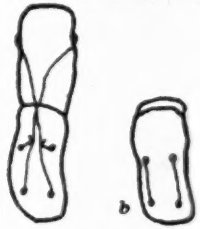

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow
● 132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, 1929, pl. 97a, b); banging done by holding front
[372] hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens James (cĭw'wĭ·ĭbĭ·l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

131 Habitat.- Deltoid-shaped wedge of territory
●133 claimed by Tübatulabal and Palagewan (fig. 1) consisted roughly of natural drainage area of Kern r. and its tributaries from river's source near Mt. Whitney to w. end of Kern canyon 14 mi. NE of Bakersfield; this area comprises some 1300 sq. mi., and is mainly mountainous with elevation between 2500-14500 ft. The n. 2 3 of area lies in high Sierras, with many mt. meadows
[312] and numerous peaks of 6000 ft. and more; it is well-watered, both Kern and South Fork of Kern being perennial streams, flowing southward at bottom of deep narrow canyons in parallel courses 20 mi. apart. Lawson gives 2 excellent views of canyon of unaugmented Kern and Little Kern plateau, showing character of region (Lawson, pl. 41a, b).

133 In s. third of area (fig. 1) mountainous character of country continues save for 3 narrow valleys, each drained by a stream, which ray out N-NE, E-NE, S-SW from common flood plain at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r. The n. valley is that of Kern r.; this flood-plain valley extends N, strewn with boulders and gravel, up unaugmented Kern for distance of 10 mi. from confluence, its breadth diminishing from 1 1/2 mi. to few hundred feet. The e. valley, that of South Fork of Kern r., extends E from confluence for 15 mi., with width in its
[134] lower part of more than one mile. In this valley, flood-plain silts and sands mantle stream gravel in large part and make agricultural land. The s. valley, or Hot Springs valley, is a little over 4 mi. long and about 1 mi. wide; it is divided longitudinally into 2 parts by low median ridge of
[312] granitic rock. On e. side of this ridge is flat-bottomed alluviated plain from 1 2-3 4 mi. wide; in this plain are situated several hot springs. On w. side of median ridge in Hot Springs valley is tortuous channel of Kern r.; stream enters this rocky channel through streamworn notch in n. end of median ridge immediately at junction of South Fork and Kern r. Alluvium which forms floor of Hot Springs valley derived from 3 incoming streams, largest of which is Erskine creek which enters valley at s.e. corner and there builds up notable fan which spreads out over its entire width. Second stream is Vaughn creek which centers at s. end and gives rise to less important fan which is confluent with that of Erskine creek; smallest creek is that which drains an incipient canyon in face of steep mt. slope which bounds valley on e. side between Erskine creek and South Fork of Kern r. (Lawson, 399). Lawson gives several photographs of Hot Springs valley and excellent view looking up South Fork valley from confluence of South Fork and Kern r. (Lawson, pls. 39a, b, 40a, b).

133 Near s. end of Hot Springs valley Kern r. enters precipitous gorge through which river rushes over huge boulders, creating continuous rapids for its 25-mi. course through gorge. There are no outstanding cataracts or falls in

●133 river as it flows through gorge, but from e. mouth of gorge for 60 mi. downstream there is drop of 50 ft. per mi. in river's course. There are 2 periods of high water in Kern r.; one during winter rain-flood from Jan.-March, second during summer snow-flood, from May-July; lowest water occurs in October (Gifford and Schenck, 17). Minimum flow of Kern in dry season 2700-3000 cu. ft. per second, in season greatest capacity over 19000 cu. ft. per second (Pen Pictures, 248).

133 Three valleys lie at 2500-3000 ft. elevation.
132 They are in a climatic province which is semi-arid, with mesothermal temperature and summer deficiency of rainfall (Thornthwaite, pl. 3). Temperatures from 110-115° F. not uncommon in July-August; winters not severe, but generally some snow falls in valleys, more on foothills, and there are always heavy snows in mts. Precipitation records for Kernville, in Kern valley, are:

Year	Rainfall (in inches)	No rainfall
1924	6.48	May-September (inclusive)
1925	7.43	September
1926	11.66	June-September (inclusive)
1927	10.37	May-September (inclusive)
1928	6.47	June-September (inclusive)
1929	5.04	July, Aug., Oct.-Dec.
1930	6.97 plus 19 in. snow	June-October (inclusive)
1931	9.92	May, September
1932	7.34	July-November (inclusive)

[312] Previous to white settlement and diversion of water for agriculture, South Fork valley contained 2 large lakes, W of Onyx, NW of Weldon on Jesus ranch (SM). In 1776 Garcés, writing of unaugmented Kern near Kernville, says, "On this [175] famous river, which I named Rio de San Felipe, there are abundant pastures, famous woods, and much irrigated ground (tierra de regadio)" (Garcés, 282). In foothills which enclose valleys are numerous hot and cold springs and intermittently flowing streams.

137 Vegetation of 3 valleys and lower foothill regions mixed; Shantz and Zon include valleys in chaparral area; my botanical collections from valley-foothill region contain specimens from desert, foothill, and Great Basin floral areas. This mixed vegetation area extends in E-W line across s. base of Tübatulabal territory. N of it are several different forest belts extending in N-S line; on w. edge of area along Greenhorn mts., is spruce-fir strip; E of this along canyon of unaugmented Kern strip of yellow pine-sugar pine forest; E of this another spruce-fir strip and finally on e. edge of Tübatulabal territory strip of piñon-juniper forest (Shantz and Zon). In extreme n. part of Tübatulabal area, on w. slope of Sierras, is found subalpine forest and, at higher altitudes, alpine communities (Klyver, 8). In terms of Merriam's life zones, using tree indicators of Grinnell and Storer (Grinnell and

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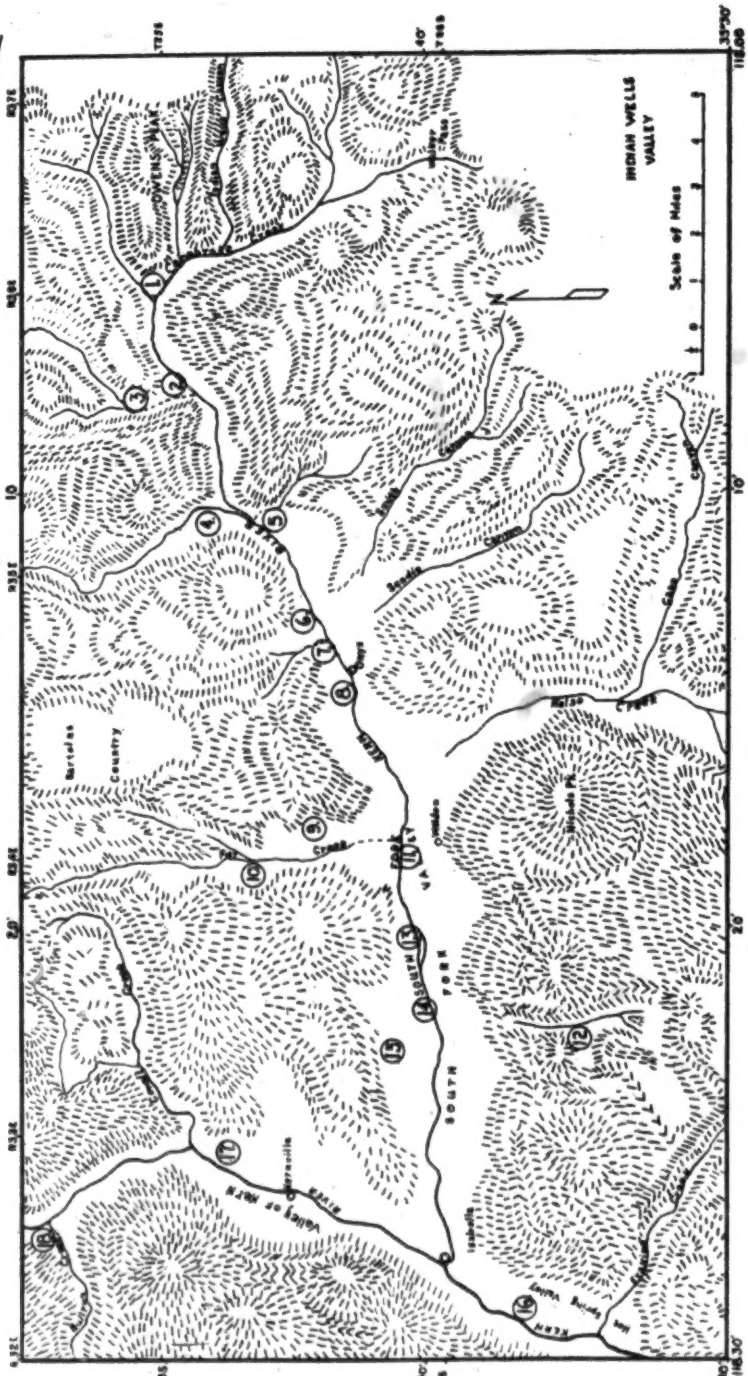

Fig. 11. Map showing three valley regions and Tübatulabal hamlet sites, e. part of Tübatulabal area.

[p.42]

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789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle backgroumd tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; Z, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

[p. 84 (b)]

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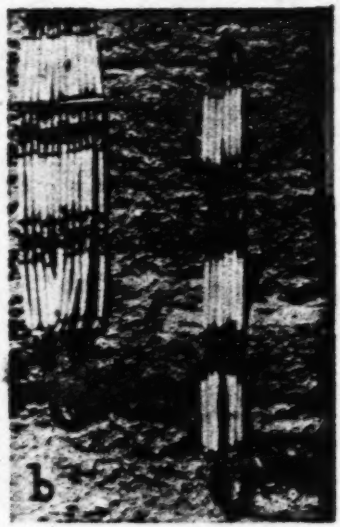

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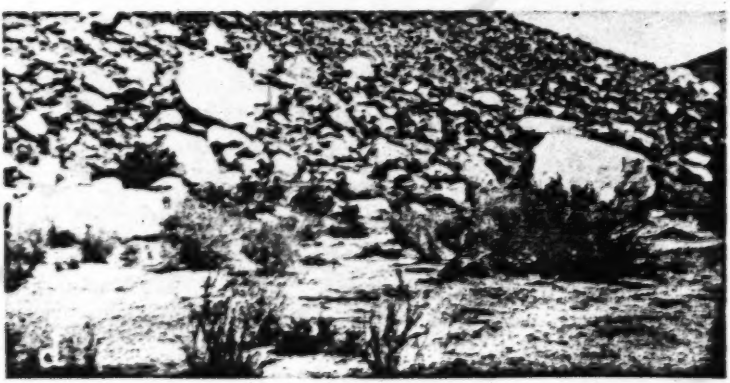

[p. 90]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yo Kuts NS29

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishin are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Mollalabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

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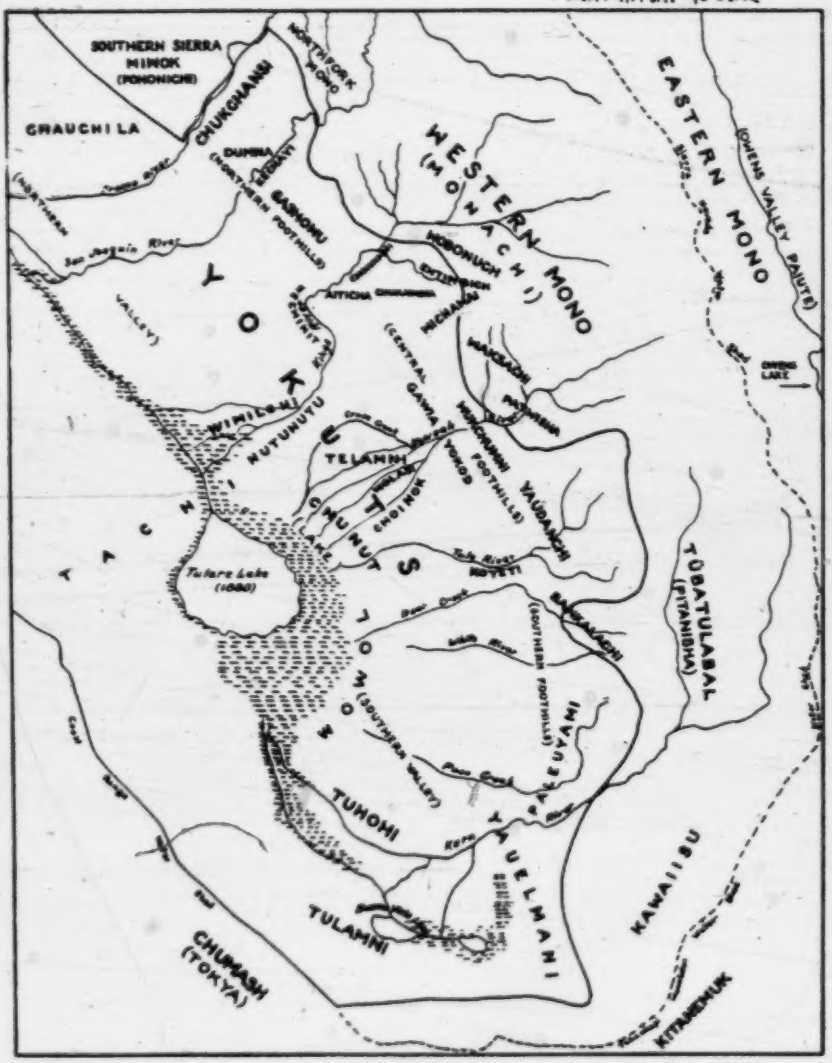
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22

[FACING P. 1]



Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

131 Habitat.- Deltoid-shaped wedge of territory
133 claimed by Tübatulabal and Palagewan (fig. 1) consisted roughly of natural drainage area of Kern r. and its tributaries from river's source near Mt. Whitney to w. end of Kern canyon 14 mi. NE of Bakersfield; this area comprises some 1300 sq. mi., and is mainly mountainous with elevation between 2500-14500 ft. The n. 2 3 of area lies in high Sierras, with many mt. meadows
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133 Near s. end of Hot Springs valley Kern r. enters precipitous gorge through which river rushes over huge boulders, creating continuous rapids for its 25-mi. course through gorge. There are no outstanding cataracts or falls in

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uŋa·l) obtained in winter
● 135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
491 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
[415] "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
487 day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

●136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several in-
241 dividuals have retained land granted them in 1893,
511 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Ma-
[463] jority of young and middle-aged men work as cow-
[462 boys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of
231] garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon
[222] crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM
177 was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hcl.) [171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
●136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tĭba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šĭmĭnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapĭl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ĭ·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapĭ·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ĭihyĭmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apĭ·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu·lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·şayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellowhammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gĭnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awĭ·t) and other worms, grubs, in-
[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawĭt) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, FP) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t)
[177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods included deer (tohi·l), antelope (yĭta'batal), mt.
●136 sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwĭt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cümil), gray squirrel (cawanĭnt), blue squirrel (lĭšĭ'ĭgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bĭ·l), bluejay (a·ɣayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
[533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might
224 also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around";
[237] if no deer sighted, within short while space
[276] cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
[301] beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

133 river as it flows through gorge, but from e. mouth of gorge for 60 mi. downstream there is drop of 50 ft. per mi. in river's course. There are 2 periods of high water in Kern r.; one during winter rain-flood from Jan.-March, second during summer snow-flood, from May-July; lowest water occurs in October (Gifford and Schenck, 17). Minimum flow of Kern in dry season 2700-3000 cu. ft. per second, in season greatest capacity over 19000 cu. ft. per second (Pen Pictures, 248).

133 Three valleys lie at 2500-3000 ft. elevation.
132 They are in a climatic province which is semi-arid, with mesothermal temperature and summer deficiency of rainfall (Thornthwaite, pl. 3). Temperatures from 110-115° F. not uncommon in July-August; winters not severe, but generally some snow falls in valleys, more on foothills, and there are always heavy snows in mts. Precipitation records for Kernville, in Kern valley, are:

Year	Rainfall (in inches)	No rainfall
1924	6.48	May-September (inclusive)
1925	7.43	September
1926	11.66	June-September (inclusive)
1927	10.37	May-September (inclusive)
1928	6.47	June-September (inclusive)
1929	5.04	July, Aug., Oct.-Dec.
1930	6.97 plus 19 in. snow	June-October (inclusive)
1931	9.92	May, September
1932	7.34	July-November (inclusive)

[312] Previous to white settlement and diversion of water for agriculture, South Fork valley contained 2 large lakes, W of Onyx, NW of Weldon on
[175] Jesus ranch (SM). In 1776 Garcés, writing of unaugmented Kern near Kernville, says, "On this famous river, which I named Rio de San Felipe, there are abundant pastures, famous woods, and much irrigated ground (tierra de regadio)" (Garcés, 282). In foothills which enclose valleys are numerous hot and cold springs and intermittently flowing streams.

●137 Vegetation of 3 valleys and lower foothill regions mixed; Shantz and Zon include valleys in chaparral area; my botanical collections from valley-foothill region contain specimens from desert, foothill, and Great Basin floral areas. This mixed vegetation area extends in E-W line across s. base of Tübatulabal territory. N of it are several different forest belts extending in N-S line; on w. edge of area along Greenhorn mts., is spruce-fir strip; E of this along canyon of unaugmented Kern strip of yellow pine-sugar pine forest; E of this another spruce-fir strip and finally on e. edge of Tübatulabal territory strip of piñon-juniper forest (Shantz and Zon). In extreme n. part of Tübatulabal area, on w. slope of Sierras, is found subalpine forest and, at higher altitudes, alpine communities (Klyver, 8). In terms of Merriam's life zones, using tree indicators of Grinnell and Storer (Grinnell and

●137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893,
241 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in
511 extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Ma-
[463] jority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of
[462 garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens,
231] geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the
[222] nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell,
177 cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

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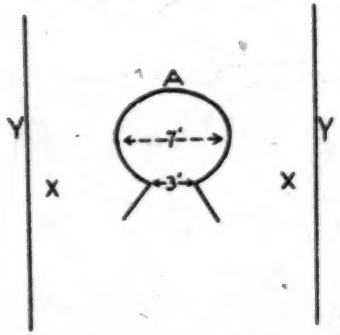

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, [171] thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 411 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 12) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes. [251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

824 ●137 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punṣil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maŋi·l) from blue oak (maŋi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

824 ing" (SM); "pretty good; not very bitter" (FP).
●137 (2) Acorns (winiya·l) from black oak, Q. californica (Torr.) Cooper; grow in Greenhorn mts.; nuts mature biennially; "good, oily; don't need much leaching" (SM); "these were the best; we went for them every yr." (FP). (3) Acorns (yu·mukt) from Wislizenus or live oak (yu·mu·gul), Q. wislizeni A. DC., foothill floral area; grow in some profusion in lower foothills of 3 valleys; nuts small, mature biennially, "bitter" (SM), "take all day to leach" (FP). (4) Acorns (takwat) from California scrub (takwa·dul), Q. dumosa Nutt. (?); grow "over by Paiute mts., also on Greenhorn mts."; nuts mature annually, "rather small, bitter" (SM). (5) Acorns (wa'anwĭt) from maul oak (wa'anul), Q. chrysolepis Liebm., foothill floral area; grow "up in mts. W of Chimney meadows" (SM); nuts mature biennially, "pretty bitter" (SM). (6) Acorns (ši·bi·l) from valley oak (ši·bi·'ĭ·l), Q. lobata Nee; grows in San Joaquin valley; nuts large, abundant, mature annually; "sweet"; Tübatulabal made trips into Yokuts territory "around Porterville" to gather these (SM).

*Piñons (tĭbat) from single-leaf or piñon pine, Pinus monophylla, Great Basin floral area; cones mature biennially; nuts rich in oil; piñon pine found at altitudes 4000-6000 ft., chiefly in e. part of Tübatulabal area.

*Pine nuts (wohont) from Digger or gray pine (wohonol), Pinus sabiniana, foothill floral area; cones mature biennially; trees common throughout foothills in area.

Buckeye nuts (pa·ša·'ul) from California buckeye, Aesculus californica Nutt., foothill floral area; grows in great profusion on steep sides of Kern r. gorge.

Sunflower seeds (ta·lata·ugibĭ·l); post-white; formerly planted in gardens.

Seeds, berries (generic term, anht) included: *Chia seeds (pa·ši·l), Salvia columbariae Benth.; *thistle sage seeds (pacist), S. carduacea Benth.; desert floral area.

*Bunch grass or wild rice (u·gibĭ·l), Echinochloa crus-galli (L); alkaline weed.

*Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. (ku·l) and M. gracilenta T. & G., desert and Great Basin floral areas.

*Wild oats (ma·št).

*Rabbit's foot or beard grass (po·mbikanan, furry), Polypogon monspeliensis (L.) Desd.; general in distribution.

*Seeds of wild heliotrope, Heliotropium curassavicum L., alkaline areas in general, and seeds of Eriogonum species (tu·nabo·l). Specimen of 2 other varieties of seed plants (šo·'itih and pa·waqul) not obtained.

*Gooseberries (wopnil), Ribes quercetorum Greene, foothill floral area; abundant in lower foothills of area.

*Boxthorn berries (pi·'ict), Lycium torreyi Gray, desert floral area.

Manzanita berries (kĭnal), Arctostaphylos sp.

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●137 *Juniper berries (wa·'at), Juniperus californica Carr, var. utahensis and J. utaliensis Lemmon; Great Basin floral area; berries of both species mature second yr.

Elderberries (ku·hupĭl), Sambucus velutina D & H; foothill floral area; eaten (SM), not eaten (FP).

Wild grapes (wo·lo·nt), probably from Vitis californica Benth.; gathered in Koso territory near Inyo-Kern.

Deadly nightshade berries (mane·ẓa'), Solanum nigrum L., foothill floral area.

Roots (generic term wi·šin) included: Tule roots (si'i·bĭ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl; marshes in general.

*Cattail roots (to·ibĭ·l), Typha latifolia L.; general in ponds.

Bulbs (generic term ko·mbin) included: Mariposa lily bulbs (ho·ẓišt), Calochortus venustus Dougl., and C. palmeri Wats.; foothill floral area.

Bulbs (yambal) which were 1 1/2 in. long, "looked like potatoes"; plentiful at Fay ranch in mts. N of Weldon and at Tejon (SM).

Stalks (generic term u·'un) included: *Spanish bayonet (kuyat), Yucca whipplei Torr.; foothill and desert floral areas. Cf. kuya'dibĭ·l, center stalk of Y. whipplei, used in manufacture of bull-roarer.

*Red thistle (čiyiyal), Cirsium occidentale (Nutt.) var. coulteri Jepson; foothill floral area.

Mescal (kukt), Nolina parryi Wats.; desert floral area.

Wild rhubarb (aba·nal), species of dock.

Leaves (generic term nanhabĭ·l), pods, receptacles (ča'a·bil) included: *Leaves, stalks, heads of wild onion (ši·wil), Allium peninsulare Lemmon, A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic (wowo·l, testicles), A. lacunosum Wats.; foothill floral area.

*Leaves of Coreopsis bigelovii (Gray) Hall (ibi·l, also generic term for flower); desert and dry interior floral areas.

*Leaves, stems of small red variety of clover (panwal); of larger variety (panwal u·wan), Trifolium involucratum Ort., foothill floral area; and of variety which was tall, "sour" and grew in moist places (panwal tuwuganan).

*Leaves (tu·t), stems of salt grass (tu·bu·l), Distichlis spicata (L.) Greene; saline soil.

Leaves of Cotyledon laxa (Lindl.) Brew. & Wats. (ma·šali·nu, Spanish loan word); foothill floral area.

Leaves of fiddle necks (ugabul), Lotus scoparius (Nutt.) Ottley, and Ellisia membranacea Benth. (ka·mu·yah), foothill and desert floral areas, respectively.

Leaves, stalks of Monardella candicans Benth. var. exilis Gray (ka·lukt, the armpit); desert floral area; of Pellaea compacta Max (tča), foothill floral area; of mountain tea (u'tu·dul), Ephedra viridis Coville.

[p.15 (b)]

824
●137
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252]

Leaves, stems watercress (beros, Spanish loan word), Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum (L.) Britt. & Rendle, not eaten aboriginally; sometimes boiled now for greens; leaves of wild mustard (hi·ulit), Sisymbrium officinale L., fried in grease; "learned this from Mexicans" (SM).

Immature pods of tree yucca or Joshua tree (umu·bï·l), Yucca brevifolia Engelm.; desert floral area.

Receptacle of cacti (ïya·l), Opuntia caseyi Britt. & Rose var. magenta Pursh and O. basilans Engelm.; desert floral area.

Some plant species named, but put to no use, as: wild lilac (to·bu·l), Ceanothus divaricatus Nutt., foothill floral area; choya cactus (u·šil), desert floral area; California poppy (yogobul), Eschscholtzia californica Cham. and E. minutiflora Wats. (same name), foothill, desert floral areas, respectively; several varieties of lupines (šïmïndïŋ taman, rattlesnake's teeth, so named because pistils and stamens protrude from keel of flower like teeth, SM), Lupinus sparsiflorus Benth., L. odoratus Heller, desert floral area, L. albifrons Benth., L. densiflorus Benth. var. lacteus C.P.S., foothill floral area, L. microcarpus Sims, var. ruber C.P.S., L. micranthus Dougl. Few other plants also named, rejected as food (p. 12).

For 86 plant species SM could give no economic, medicinal uses or names, referring to all of them as weeds (mašil): Albronia pogonantha Heimerl.; Achillea millefolium L. var. lanulosa Piper; Agoseris alpestris Greene; Azolla filiculoides Lam.; Baeria chrysostoma F. & M.; Brickellia californica T. & G.; Bromus rubens L.; Castilleia miniata Dougl.; Centaurium venustum Rob.; Centromadia (Henizonia) pungens (T. & G. Greene); Cerastium arvense L.; Chaenactis stevioides H. & G.; Cheilanthes covillei Max.; Chenopodium californicum Wats.; Chorisanthe staticoides Benth., C. watsonii T. & G., C. thurberi (Gray) Wats.; Chrysothamnus teretifolius Hall; Cotula coronopifolia L.; Cryptantha miriculata (A. DC.) Greene; Cuscuta californica Choisy; Datisca glomerata Brew. & Wats.; Delphinium hansenii Greene, D. purpusii Brandegee; Dicentra chrysantha (H. & A.) Walp.; Emmenanthe penduliflora Benth.; Encelia actoni Elmer; Epilobium californicum Hausskn.; Epipactis gigantea Dougl.; Ericameria cuneata (Gray) McCl. var. spathulata Hall; Erigeron divergens T. & G.; turkey mullein, Eremocarpus setigerns Benth.; Eriogonum argillosum J. T. Howell, E. angulosum Benth., E. mohavense Wats.; Eriophyllum ambiguum Gray, E. pringlei Gray, E. confertiflorum Gray; Euphorbia serpyllifolia Pers.; Galium angustifolium Nuss.; Gilia latiflora Gray, G. capitata Dougl.; Godetia viminea Spach; Greeneocharis circumscissa (Torr.) Rydb.; Gymnogramma trianularis Kaulf.; Hugelia filifolia Jepson; Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene; Lepidospartum squamatum Gray; Linanthus aurens (Nutt.) Greene; Lotus strigosus (Nutt.) Greene, L. oblongifolius (Benth.) Greene, L. argophyllus

824 (Gray) Greene; Lycum cooperi Gray; Marrubium
137 vulgare L.; Malacothrix californica DC.; Melilotus indica All.; Mimulus gluttatus D.C., M. cardinalis Dougl.; Mirabilis laevis (Benth.) Curran; Montia perfoliata (Donn) Howell; Nama demissum Gray; Oenothera alyssoides and O. alyssoides T. & G. var. decorticans Jepson, O. bistorta Nutt., O. caespitosa Nutt., O. contorta Dougl., O. pallida Lindl., O. palmeri Watson, O. scapoidea T. & G.; Pallaea and romedaefolia Fee; Penstemon laetus Gray, P. palmeri Gray, P. breviflorus Lindl.; Phacelia tanecilifolia Benth., P. hispica Gray var. cicutaria McB.; Platystemon californicum Benth.; Polygonum persicaria L.; Ranunculus aquatilis L.R. var. cymbalaria Pursh.; Rumex crispus L., R. hymenosepalus Torrey; Senecio douglasii DC.; Sidalcea malvaeflora Gray; Sisymbrium incisum Engelm.; Sphaeralcea (Malvastrum) exile (Gray) Jepson; Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC.) Rydb.; Stephanomeria exigua Nutt. var. pentachaeta Hall, S. virgata Benth.; Tropidocarpum gracile Hook.; Vaccaria vulgaris Host.

This list probably represents only small fraction of indigenous plants available to Tübatulabal, of which they made no use; it serves to illustrate, in concrete fashion, selective processes at work, among people of hunting-gathering culture, in their utilization of their floral environment, and negative rôle which part of that environment played in their culture.

Plants put to other ethnobotanical uses, for curing, house building, etc., referred to in discussions of these subjects.

222 Gathering of plant food.- When acorns ripe,
[462] "all the people except very old persons and young children went together to get them" (SM); women chiefly collected them while men hunted, trapped.
251 Acorns gathered from ground in small conical baskets, transferred when baskets full to large basket, in which they were brought back to camp and spread out on deerskins, tule mats for 3-4 days to dry, this preventing acorns from sweating when cached; then stored at acorn grounds, in elevated caches. Acorns gathered near home packed back to hamlets, cached near houses.

222 When berries ripe on shrub (opo·bol), Rhamnus
824 californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, which grows in foothill floral area, "the people knew piñons were ready to be gathered in the mts. So some men went out first to see where the piñons were good; just any men went; they decided, and then everybody went to the places where these men said the nuts were plentiful" (SM). All inhabitants of
[887] hamlet or of several hamlets went together; sometimes very old persons might not stay at piñon camp when weather became too cold, but return to hamlet alone. Piñons gathered when cones reached maturity, but before they had opened; men, boys knocked cones off trees with staves or pulled down branches with "shepherd's crook" staff; men, women picked up cones, put them in conical lug baskets which were emptied into larger conical

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

263 Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass 258 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base ●137 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal 824 depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks [272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball, 278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for 751] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this [262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs 263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias 824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bĭ·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise 264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people [415] had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave [753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they [774 might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers poten- [609] tial enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

524 534 Bull-roarer.- Bull-roarer (ku·lišt, lit., instrument for playing, i.e., toy) made from stalk of Spanish bayonet, Yucca whipplei Torr., foothill, desert floral areas. Stalk dried, split in half, section 8-10 in. cut off, attached at center (sic) to 4-ft. length of native twine; stick handle lacking. Boys' toy (SM).

TOBACCO

137 249 Two species of tobacco (šo'ogonht), Nicotiana bigelovii Wats. and N. attenuata Torr., grow wild on floors of Kern and South Fork valleys and on slopes of lower foothills, at elevation from 2500-2800 ft. Of 2 species, N. bigelovii commoner than smaller-leaved N. attenuata, but native term is same for both and 2 species grow side by side, sometimes less than 1 ft. apart. At various points in South Fork valley not yet under cultivation wild tobacco plants are concentrated in 1- or 2-acre patches or fields (šo'ogonhtiŋ ugan), sparsely interspersed with low clumps of brush and turkey mullein; from such fields (pl. 3) tobacco was and still is (1933) being gathered for use by Tübutulabal women.

249 Tending and preparation.- Tobacco patches never burned over in fall; although ES drew my attention to half-burned clump of brush situated in patch she and FP were "working" in 1932, saying tobacco seemed to grow better where ground had been burned over, she and SM both said tobacco patches were never fired in order to produce better stands of plants next year. "The rain is what makes the plants grow" (SM).

In spring, about June 1, when plants 18-24 in. high, and beginning to blossom, women working singly or in groups of 2-3 began tending wild tobacco. This first tending consisted in snipping off, with thumb and index finger of right hand, side shoots and occasionally tips of plants. Hardy plants, mainly of bigelovii species, which did not have too many small shoots clustering around base of main stalk, selected for attention; after woman had pruned plant she would sometimes, but not always, wrench off some of large leaves which grow flat on ground around base of plant, and occasionally she would uproot weed growing close by plant. Selection of plants to tend made more or less at random from among numerous healthy specimens surrounding women workers; according to MM it was owing to this that later, several pruned plants were overlooked at final harvesting of crop. At first pruning of their 1932 crop ES and FP worked from 6 a.m. to around 10 a.m.; all trips to tobacco patch made early in morning, to take advantage of comparative coolness for, although pruning itself not difficult, it necessitates almost constant stooping over plants in full glare of hot midsummer sun. Also sun makes tobacco "strong" and sticky

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789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

[p. 84(a)]

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts
Tubatulabal NS22

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Los'-yeh, now aged about 95 and last surviving full-blood of the Bankalachi Tribe from near Glennville, Eastern Kern County.

and helped record the names of many village sites and natural landmarks. On the site of present Kernville was the Bankalachi village of *Tulonoya*. Another Bankalachi village, *Pitnaniu*, was located where Isabella is now. Where Bodfish is now was the village of *Tumoyo*. *Haukaniu* was located where the old mining village of Keyesville was established. *Mawsow* (ow as in cow) was the Bankalachi name for a village about a mile and a half above the forks of Poso and Little Poso Creeks. It was

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343 sional use such as pack baskets, baby cradles, fishing gear, sacks, etc.

251 Fresh meat dried in sun by being cut into thin strips, 6 x 12 in. or smaller, hung up, either salted or unsalted, on branches of tree or on line made from native twine strung between 2 trees; drying generally took from 6-7 days. Fish split, cleaned, salt rubbed over them; hung up on willow branches to dry in sun during summer months. Neither meat nor fish smoked or dried over fire; dried fish "would last a long time" (FP, SM). Wild grapes spread out in sun to dry "like raisins" then stored for winter use; box-thorn berries dried whole or in cakes; rush roots sun-dried, stored; small seeds stored, either parched or unparched, in skin sacks or baskets, in storage house.

221 Staples; yearly consumption of food.- As food
262 calendar shows (p. 11), during spring and summer seasons Tübatulabal had relatively varied vegetable diet, but by fall their plant foods decreased in variety and during winter they "just ate acorns, piñons, and meat of any sort they could get, and dried and fresh fish" (SM). Of 2 vegetable foods eaten during winter, acorns figured as staple; "more acorns were eaten than piñons; old-timers ate acorn mush with deermeat, like bread. We just get acorns now once in awhile, because now we have white flour" (SM). That piñons were, however, also important in Tübatulabal diet, is shown by amount stored during good piñon yrs. However, abundant crops occur at best only every second yr., whereas acorns, of which Tübatulabal had 6 varieties to draw upon, could be procured in one locality or another annually.

Regarding proportion of animal, vegetable food eaten, my meager data on subject indicate meats, including birds and fish, may have com-
●[146] prised 40 per cent of food consumed throughout yr., acorns, piñons (if crop good) 40 per cent, small seeds, stalks, raw foods, etc., 20 per cent. As to amount of food consumed by family throughout year, data lacking for flesh foods, but for acorns SM said family 2 adults, 3 children needed one acorn granary (of dimensions given above), full, to have sufficient acorns for year. "If they had a larger family, they made a bigger granary" (SM). To this amount of acorns should be added contents of smaller acorn granary family might have near home. Piñon supplies varied, but in yrs. of good crop family of 5 stored cache such as described above, full of piñons, besides bringing several sackfuls home at end of piñon-gathering period.

251 Since all foodstuffs in order to be kept prop-
262 erly had to be sun-dried before being stored, weather which prevailed at season when wild foodstuffs were available for gathering and storing often regulated to a degree amount of food stored from yr. to yr. This consideration applies especially to storage of fish and some of minor plant foodstuffs, such as salt from salt grass,

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community
● 158 who deliberately set fire to others' property; insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be
[753] watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
[624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[171] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

159 The following autobiography was taken in English from FP, her daughter LT interpreting, in 1933. FP gave the autobiography within a space of 2 weeks; a day or so after our last session together she went to Bakersfield for shamanistic treatment; on the return trip she was run over by a car and killed.

When first asked to tell the story of her life, FP demurred, saying she "had never been anywhere, just stayed in the South Fork valley all her life." The autobiography she gave is little more than an outline, which she was beginning to fill in with increasing amounts of detail, however, during the last few days I worked with her.

For the sake of clarity I have arranged the material in chronological order; parts of it were not so dictated. A photograph of FP is given in pl. 1b.

An autobiography of MM, FP's husband's brother's son, the Mike Miranda of the following pages, was obtained in text by Dr. C. F. Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

I was born about 2 yrs. after the soldiers killed all those Indians over at Kernville (1863); my older brother was still being kept in a cradle then and I was born about 2 yrs. later.

159 My mother used to tell me about the massacre;
173 Jose Chico pulled my father out from those men and the soldiers didn't kill him; he ran away. There was one man who was shot in the eye, but he had power and recovered. Lots of men were killed. The fight started over the Indians' killing other people's cattle; Jose Chico interpreted for the white men and the Indians; he was the man who took my father out. There were 3 men saved when the soldiers shot at the Indians.

159 One man had an amulet, a bearclaw with beads
173 on it. He was running and he got out of breath
751 and dropped that claw; then he was killed. The people found it afterward. If he hadn't lost his power he would have escaped all right. Another man had rattlesnake for his pet. He was badly hurt; his insides were all cut up; when the people saw him after the massacre there was a rattlesnake lying on top of him, and that snake made that man get all right. Rattlesnake was his pet and took care of him. That man's name was hi·ay·ši·l; he was a Monilabal (Yokuts). He got all right again; my father saw him when he was helping bury those dead Indians; he saw that rattlesnake come and help him. PN has a rattlesnake for her pet, too; perhaps she got it from dreaming. She never took jimsonweed, I know.

159 I was born at omomĭp (no. 6, fig. 11). My
163 mother had 8 children; most of them died before
165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

159 When I was a little girl I used to go with my
482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy
857

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 8 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomĭp
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomĭp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had dis-
[262] appeared. I could straighten out my arm again. After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomĭp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomĭp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomĭp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[263] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, p. 28) [p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.--Analyst]

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the
other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots
of them, at a spring. He made a little brush
house and sat inside that house; when the doves
came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't
see him inside the house and he shot them with
bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring
half a sackful to camp; those doves were good
and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people
camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I
was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone;
there was no one else with us. We traveled all
night on that desert; it was moonlight. There
are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots
of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe
they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and
we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When
we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring,
we wanted to drink that water there. So we
stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a
hill above the spring a little way off; we ran
the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
[171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the
spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill
us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they
didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then,
lots of them; they chase women, right away when
they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the sum-
mit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a
little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested
a little, because we were tired. It was sunup
when we got to the summit. Then we came down to
Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid
and ran over on a little hill where we watched
them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people
living there. We were going home to omomĭp from
there, but they told us my mother had left
omomĭp to gather chia seeds and that nobody was
home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody
from omomĭp was over at Scodie's mt., so that
same day we went over there. We were very tired,
but we couldn't stay over at omomĭp all alone,
with nobody in the house. We found my mother all
right.

My grandmother came back from over on the
desert a week after we got back. That girl who
came home with me that time is still living; she
lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband
is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady.
She looks young yet; the Indians never used to
get old-looking for a long time in the old days;
[262] these young people do now though because they eat
everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used
to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wišimlĭt (SM's

159 765 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlIt was making a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they boiled and fried it. I met wišimlIt's youngest son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him before, because after wišimlIt's man was killed in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 584 582 Pete was about the same age that I was. He saw me over there at the fiesta.

"Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."

But my mother didn't want me to go with him; he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 231 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta there was a man who used to get eagles from Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the mts. near the man's place for a long time. The man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming he would fly close to him, knock him down with his wings; then he would cut that man's load all to pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man, too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he never came back any more. That old man raised him; anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 627 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my father told me about. It happened a long time ago. The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."

Four men went with him, away up on the S side of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad doctor.

159 584 582 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete came to our camp and he asked for me again. That time my mother said to him, "You're all right." Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and helping us. His mother, wišimlIt, didn't pay anything for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlIt paid for her and brought her to yItiyamup to be Steban's wife. Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know anything about it. When he came home there was a wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yïtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yïtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yïtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yïtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 "You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wĭsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
591 were married; my people were living up there, making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yĭtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yĭtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomïp was visiting
781 my grandmother at yïtiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anaŋgayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomïp, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

159 626 754 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm going to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 602 574 All that time my mother and father were living at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was making tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used [231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 754 756 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old, Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 756 789 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a Chumash) whom wĭšimlĭt married could make rain; he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 756 789 674 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow, one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He could stop the rain, too. A man living up at yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wĭšimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 249 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom Cook's place that time they were working the tobacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick; he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody 159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there," 249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he 763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and 764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried there. They put away his feather headdress in the coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always danced at fiestas.

159 765 [763] I took my mother over to my house at yĭtiyamup in the evening after we had buried my father. My mother lived with me for a long time after that; my husband used to work all the time, on ranches, or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too, when he got big. After awhile my mother went over to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals); she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some calico for washing her face. Finally my mother went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived with her brother and his daughter and a grandson [285 438] of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to sell to a peddler who came around.

159 763 Then one day in July that grandson came down to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead. There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada when it began to rain. She had some tobacco drying down below in the canyon, and she got up and went down to take it in. Her brother and his daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them. The water came down the canyon awfully quickly: it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 764 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horseback, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda; we looked all over in that canyon, but we never found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in the sand. The others were looking for the body, too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots of them every time she went down to the Jesus ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my cousin where it was, but she didn't know where she kept it either. My mother must have had money, because she sold baskets all the time when the peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it buried good, some place.

159 591 After we had searched for my mother's body, the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed there all the time then. Legora used to work for white people on the ranches over here, over there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

159 764 765 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't because Pete had children and the horses belonged to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or parents took away the man's possessions instead of letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 765 My husband was killed in November and I didn't eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for [777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine [572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 626 522 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a long time afterward Legora heard that man tell somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 591 585 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old then. We lived up at yĭtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 578 278 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River reservation man living up here. They got into a quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

159 682 761 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 163 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yÍtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 493 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 764 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us. They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 765 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 591 602 Then my mother's brother told me to come and live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

159 591 602 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; [487] Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake [221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 159 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling
484 around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
591 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left;
[245] he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money
484 over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

159 ing over; everybody here stopped going. The last
484 time we went to Visalia we left Annie and Irene up at Onyx and then they went to Riverside, to school down there.

159 I was feeling good all that time. We always
221 used to go live at Canebrake in the summer, and
753 then we'd come down to the Mack ranch in winter, so that Esther and Johnnie could go to school at Weldon. At the Mack ranch though I began to dream bad again; I'd see one woman whom I don't know, holding my head. That's why my ear hurts now; I have been sick like that for 4 yrs.

159 Then we had to leave our house at the Mack ranch. A white man wanted to live in that house. We moved up to Rafael Chico's place; they kept asking us at the Onyx rancheria, "Why don't you move up here, to Rafael's?" But there were too many drunken men around up there; they would come and fight inside the houses. We didn't like that. And those witches live too close to Rafael's. I was sick all the time up there. We lived there 2 months; I coughed, coughed all the time. So 2 yrs. ago last April we moved down here (near Weldon) from there. When we moved down here I got well. But last summer I got this cough again, only not so bad as I have it now. I can't do much now; I can't make tobacco this year, because I'm too sick. We got lots last year; enough to last this year too, I think. I got some chia seeds last year too, over by the little hill in Charley Andress' meadow. But it's too hot to go cut the tobacco this year, and kneeling hurts me. I'd like to go to that Indian doctor they have over at Bishop; there's a good one over there. Maybe Legora and I will go over this fall. If I could see that doctor I think I'd be all right again.

Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut.
February 20, 1936.

[p. 80(b)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. There, it is said, I was born; it is (where) I am living (now); my father says (this); and there, also, my older brother, it is said, all (of us siblings) were born. 2. Then, it is said, I grew up already; it is said I wandered about already. 3. Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me. 4. Then, it is said, I am crying. 5. Then, it is said, my mother is sick. 6. Then, it is said, I am crying very much when I am hungry. 7. Then, it is said, I took from there to here a little blanket. "Here, sit down, mother," I say, it is said; "No," she says. 8. Then, it is said, I eat food.

9. From there I grew up already. 10. Then I am learning already. 11. Then my father made my bow. 12. Then I am hunting. 13. Then I am killing wood-rats; (I) used to eat those birds, everything. 14. I used to bring to my own father (whatever I shot). 15. Then, "Good," says my father. 16. (I) used to kill everything, rabbits, cottontails, and also quail, and also pigeon. 17. Then I bring that to my own father. 18. And also I used to cause fish to swallow (bait). 19. I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip). 20. Then my mother boils those (fish); we used to eat them all the time.

21. Then father used to teach us. 22. "Wander about well(-behaved); steal nothing and also do not be nasty to the old men when you see (them); if you believe (my words), then you will get old." 23. "Good," we say, "then we are wandering about well(-behaved) all the time." 24. "Surely I got old already because I believe the talk of my own father." 25. Then he used to tell us myths in the evening when it was winter, (about) Coyote, (about) everything. 26. "Then go ye and bathe in the morning, when the Morning Star comes out; twice ye will dive in." 27. Then he says, "Good." 28. "Nothing will prick you; but if you will not bathe, then wood will prick you." 29. Surely, we used to bathe in the dark (before dawn); the water is very cold; we break the ice when we bathe; then (it is) good. 30. We do everything good all the time.

31. Then from there one Mexican came and arrived. 32. Then he says, "Would that your offspring would go watch over my pets (goats)." 33. "Good," says my father. 34. Then he took us; there we went and arrived at his house; and his pets (are) many. 35. Then we look after (them) every day and also we gather firewood in the evening when we arrive (at camp). 36. Then we used to run away when we were tired out; we come back toward our own house. 37. Then when we arrived, father used to scold us. 38. "Why did you come back?" he says. "(Because) we were tired." 40. Then he goes and puts us back again. 41. Presently we are coming back in the same way. 42. Then we do not go for a long time. 43. Then after a while the Mexican came and arrived. 44. "I already sold those, my own pets," he says; "and I left some," he says, "my present to your offspring," he says, "and ye come get (them)," he says. 45. "Good," says my father. 46. Then we went from there to go get (them). 47. Then we took (them) from there to here. 48. We brought (them) there (where) I used to look after (them). 49. Then from there we sold them.

50. Then from there I went to school. 51. Then I did not know the language of that teacher. 52. Then (there is) one Mexican; when I do not understand the language, then the Mexican tells me. 53. Then from there we went; then from school we went in the evening toward Weldon. 54. Then one man went and caught up to us there. 55. He is coming on horseback. 56. Then he talked to us, "Cold," he says. 57. Then we all say, "Cold!" too. 58. We do not understand what that means. 59. Then the man looks at us. 60. From there we came back in the evening toward our own house. 61. Then from there we are coming to school. 62. I went to school one year. 63. Then that teacher whipped me because I do not hear (i.e., understand) what she means. 64. She whipped me. 65. Then I got mad. 66. Then I tore my own book. 67. From there I went toward my own house. 68. Then from there I worked; I never went to school again.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

69. Then we went in the home of Peterson to cut posts. 70. There we made camp at the bottom of the mountain. 71. Then that next day my father cut juniper posts. 72. Then I used to make bread at noon and also in the evening. 73. When he arrives in the evening, he is eating that bread and also rabbit. 74. We cut many (posts). 75. We win a unit of money (ten cents) for one post. 76. Then I carry the posts on my own back. 77. I piled (them) there on the level place. 78. He (father) stayed there all summer in order to cut (posts). 79. Then in the evening I went to get water. 80. The water is there far away. 81. When it got dark already, then I came back, fetching water from there to here. 82. Then I got lost, coming back. 83. I took the downward way. 84. From there I got lost; there I yelled; then nobody (answered). 85. Then I cried. 86. Then I ran; I am dangling my own pail when crossing (the canyon). 87. Then my father talked there. 88. "Where are you going?" 89. "I got lost," I am saying, "the water which I got ran out." 90. "Come," (father) is saying, "let's go fetch water," he is saying. 91. From there we came back in order to fetch water from there toward our own camp. 92. We stayed there all summer. 93. Then we finished. 94. Then we came back in our own house. 95. Then when winter comes, we go back again in order to go and cut firewood. 96. Then we went away from everything. 97. Then there we cut (wood) all winter. 98. (There is) only much juniper firewood. 99. We finished there. 100. Then we came back toward our own house. 101. Then we arrived in our own house. 102. Then we are just living. 103. (There is) no work.

104. Then we used to play. 105. We are playing tag in the bull-pine trees; we are climbing (the trees); we are chasing each other. 106. Then we make one boy "it." 107. And we are not playing on the ground (but) in the bull-pine trees. 108. That one (who is "it") chases us. 109. Then to catch us he touches someone. 110. Then that one stays "it" next. 111. Then we are running away up (in the trees). 112. We are jumping in different places in the branches of the bull-pine tree. 113. Then some are falling down (and) are running away from the branches of the bull pines. 114. Some are hanging on the branches of the bull pines. 115. We are playing during the day.

116. And then again we are playing different games after that. 117. We are playing quoits; with the shoots of the bull pine, we are making the quoit; with it we play quoits. 118. Then we are cutting sticks; having finished making the quoit. 119. We are fixing the target. 120. We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins. 121. Five or six boys gamble with those quoits. 122. Some (are) proficient. 123. Then one is shooting first. 124. Each one (has) three quoits. 125. Then one is shooting first at that target. 126. Then he is shooting close. 127. Then next another one is shooting. 128. Then he is shooting on top of that quoit. 129. Then from there again another one is shooting. 130. Then he throws that quoit this way. 131. From there again another one is shooting. 132. Then he pushes aside those (which had been placed by the other boys). 133. Then there he is holding that target (i.e., he is closest to it); he is winning. 134. We are playing during the day.

135. Then, when we want to practice shooting at a target, we are going and gathering canes. 136. We are making many canes into arrows. 137. We are making arrows well. 138. We are putting feathers on them. 139. Then, having finished (the arrows), we are making the target. 140. We are tying the brush (for a target). 141. We are practicing shooting at that. 142. Then whoever is hitting it, then that hitter is hiding that target (which he hit) under the ground. 143. Then, "Shoot," (one of the boys) is saying to you. 144. Then you are shooting (at the target now concealed in the ground). 145. Right there you are leaving your own arrow (having shot it in the ground at the concealed arrow). 146. Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next. 147. Then he is hitting that target because he knows his own hiding place (better than the other who only knows the general spot in which he placed the target). 148. Then he pulls out that (hidden target) with his own arrow (which is firmly shot into the concealed target). 149. Then from there again he hides for him (another player) that one, that target under the ground. 150. "Now shoot," he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting. 151. "Leave your arrow right here," he is saying.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their own houses without their own arrows, when losing.

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It lasts a long time.

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunting and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them) every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted. 197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us, perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place (a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigating it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game (will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying.

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out.

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there.

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying.

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman.

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her.

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking.

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter.

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. 515. Then my wife is angry all the time.

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

people came to see me, and also that doctor. 530. Then, it is said, "Let me sew him up," (that doctor) is saying, it is said (referring to my head). 531. Then, it is said, they brought me inside the house. 532. There, it is said, he sewed me up. 533. Then after four days I knew it. 534. I am lying in bed. 535. Then I saw one woman; she is the one who nurses me. 536. She is feeding me. 537. "Are you being very sick?" she is saying to me. 538. "No," I am saying. 539. Then, "Good," she is saying. 540. Then she is bathing me. 541. I stayed there one month. 542. Then she took me to my house.

543. I lived there a long time in my own (Bishop) house. 544. After five months I am sick yet. 545. "I shall go to my own (Kern River) house," I am saying to my own wife. 546. "Good," she is saying. 547. "And I shall take Mickey," I am saying. 548. Then, "Good," she is saying, "and you care for him well," she is saying. 549. Then from there I went to the house of the agent. 550. "I go back pretty soon," I am saying, "to my own house," I am saying, "and I shall take Mickey," I am saying to that chief (the Indian agent). 551. "Good," he is saying, "you care for him well," he is saying. 552. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

553. From there we came. 554. We stayed here. 555. Then I am living here. 556. Then Chogil arrived here. 557. Then he came and arrived at my house. 558. Then he took me in his hand (shook hands). 559. "Hello," he is saying. 560. I saw him for the first time. 561. Then, "I am glad to see you," he is saying. 562. "I (am) too," I am saying when he is speaking. 563. Then from there, "(This) is my wife," he is saying. 564. Then from there I took her hand. 565. "Hello," she is saying. 566. "Hello yourself," I am saying. 567. Then from there Chogil spoke to me, "I am writing the language of Indians," he is saying, "and can you not teach me?" Chogil is saying; "and one dollar I am paying," he is saying, "for half of the day," he is saying, "you will teach me half of the day," he is saying; "and also another one, a woman, is living there," he is saying, "that one will teach me half the day," he is saying. 568. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 569. Then they camped there; we are working from there, half the day. 570. Then from there in the afternoon Chogil is coming to the house of Ambashupim. 571. Coming to work, he is coming there. 572. Then from there in the evening he is going back again; it is the same (as this) every day. 573. Then from there the wife of Chogil is asking Old Man too. 574. She is getting everything. 575. She is asking (about) every flower. 576. "What is its name?" she is saying. 577. She is asking that (about) everything. 578. She is doing that every day. 579. Then we are working with Chogil. 580. He is getting every myth. 581. Chogil is writing all that down.

582. Then my friend wrote to me there. 583. "I (am) arrested," he is saying, "and you tell my sister in future," he is saying, "and also my younger brother," he is saying; "you come see me in future," he is saying; "the wife jailed me," he is saying. 584. Then I told his sister and also his younger brother. 585. Then, "Good," she is saying, "we shall go to see him," she is saying. 586. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking. 587. "And you might talk to your own friend," she is saying, "to that Chogil," she is saying, "you say in future, 'Take us in future,' " she is saying, " 'toward Bishop,' " she is saying.

588. Then from there I talked to Chogil. 589. "It is said that you might take us," I am saying to Chogil. 590. Then, "Good," he is saying, "well, we will go tomorrow," he is saying. 591. Then from there the next day I talked to that one who wants to go (the younger brother): "We are on the point of going already," I am saying. 592. "I cannot go," he is saying, "but you wait a while, (about) four days," he is saying, "then I will get money (for finishing irrigation work)," he is saying. 593. Then I spoke to Chogil. "The money of that one, of the one who wants to go, is said (to be) nothing," I am saying. " 'And you might wait four days,' he is saying to me, 'then I will get money,' he is saying," thus I spoke to Chogil. 594. "That (is just as) well, our going (alone, without him)," he is saying, "we (must go) today," he is saying. 595. Then from there I spoke to that man (the younger brother), "It is said that we take leave," I am saying. 596. "Well, good," he is saying, "when you go and arrive, you say in future to my older brother, 'When you get out, come (to Kern River) in future.' " 597. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

598. From there we took leave. 599. We went and arrived there at Independence (where the man was jailed). 600. Then from there we asked that sheriff. 601. "Is it rightly said that the prisoner is living here?" we are saying. 602. Then that sheriff is saying, "Yes." 603. Then Chogil spoke, "We are wanting to talk to him," he is saying. 604. Then, "Good," he is saying. 605. Then we went inside. 606. We saw that prisoner there. 607. "Hello, hello," he is saying to Yukaya, "and who is this?" he is saying. 608. "It is my friend," I am saying. 609. "Good," he is saying. 610. "We are coming to see (you)," I am saying. 611. "But I am already judged," he is saying, "I am given six months," he is saying. 612. Then I told Chogil. 613. Then Chogil spoke, "Good," he is saying, "let me ask this sheriff." 614. Then Chogil asked. 615. Then the sheriff spoke, "He can't get out now," he is saying, "he is given six months," that sheriff is saying. 616. Then Chogil is saying, "Good." 539 X 159 ●

617. Then we took leave from there. 618. We went and arrived there at Bishop, there at the house of my friend. 619. Then, "Hello," my friend is saying when (we) are arriving, "and who is (this)?" he is saying to Chogil. 620. "It is my friend," I am saying. 621. "And is (this) his wife?" he is saying. 622. "Yes," I am saying when he is speaking. 623. Then that man took Chogil and also his wife in his hand. 624. "You come in," he is saying to us. 625. We stayed there at his house for two days.

626. From there we came back again. 627. We came and arrived here, back again. 628. Then also, when arriving here, we worked again. 629. Then from there Chogil spoke, "Pretty soon I go back to my own house," he is saying. 630. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 631. Then from there he takes leave. 632. Chogil (and his wife), they go back toward their own house. 633. Then Chogil spoke when taking leave, "I shall come again," he is saying, "in another summer," he is saying, "then also we shall work," he is saying. 634. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 635. Then from there they took leave.

636. Then when Chogil had finished taking leave, I cut firewood all winter. 637. Then from there I finished my own cutting. 638. Then one man wrote to us. 639. Then, "You come to the dance," he is saying, "we shall make a dance," he is saying, "at Christmas." 640. Then when writing to him, "Good," we are saying. 641. Then from there we took leave. 642. We went and arrived there at Tejon; (it was) already very late. 643. (There are) many people when we arrived, many girls. 644. Right away we danced all night. 645. We came from there in the morning. 646. Then our machine became bad. 647. Then we approached the river (at the bottom of Kern Canyon). 648. Then we are coming and ascending the steep place. 649. Then our machine stopped. 650. Then from there it ran backward. 651. Then it hit the rock there. 652. Then it turned over. 653. Then I jumped out on the ground. 654. Then, while jumping, I lifted Mickey out. 655. Then those two men, our partners, they came and fell down. 656. Our machine is lying there. 657. Then from there we put it up back again. 658. Then (it is) well; nothing (is) bad; pretty soon that windshield broke apart. 659. Then it ran again. 660. From there, also, we came. 661. Then we arrived at our own houses. 662. Then we stayed at home. 539 X 159 [313]

663. Then from there we went toward Walker pass to gather pine nuts when they got ripe. 664. We are gathering pine nuts there. 665. Many people came and arrived there. 666. Then, sure enough, my wife came and arrived there. 667. "So, you are gathering pine nuts here?" she is saying. 668. "Yes," I am saying when she is speaking. 669. Then she stayed there with me. 670. From there we are all gathering pine nuts. 671. Then, having finished gathering pine nuts, we came from there toward my house. 672. We stayed there a while. 539 X 159 222

673. From there we went toward Tule. 674. "Let us go sell pine nuts." 675. Then we took leave. 676. We took six bags, and also tobacco. 677. Then we went and arrived there at Tule. 678. Then we saw many people. 679. Then they are saying to us, "What are you bringing?" 680. "Pine nuts," we are saying. 681. "That is good food," they are saying, "but our money (is) nothing," they are saying. 682. Then they bought a little. 683. "The money (is) gone," they are saying. 684. Then from there we went toward Visalia. 685. We 539 X 159 432

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539 X
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went and arrived there in the evening. 686. Then from there the next day we went toward the living-place of the Indians; it is the same—their money is gone. 687. (There are) many girls. 688. Then I presented them some pine nuts. 689. "Good, good," they are saying. 690. They are laughing. 691. "You (are) a good man," (they) are saying. 692. From there also we went toward Fresno. 693. We went and arrived there. 694. From there, also, we went in the morning toward the Indians. 695. (There are) many Indians. 696. There also we sold a little bit. 697. Then one old woman bought tobacco. 698. From there we went toward Northfork (a northern affluent of the San Joaquin River) far away in the mountains. 699. We went there in the big mountains. 700. The very steep road has meanness. 701. Then my father is afraid. 702. There we went and arrived at Northfork. 703. We slept there. 704. Then from there we went the next day toward the house. 705. The money (is) gone. 706. Then they bought a little. 707. We stayed there three days. 708. Then, coming to buy pine nuts, those people are arriving. 709. Many women are coming, coming to buy pine nuts. 710. Then, "You go later on in future, many people will come later on," (the women) are saying. 711. "No," we are saying, "we shall go (now)." 712. "No," those women are saying, "stay a while longer," they are saying.

713. Then from there the next day we came back again toward our own house. 714. We had already been gone a long time. 715. We arrived at our own house. 716. Then from there my wife went toward her own house. 717. Then after that I stayed at home; we stayed at home (i.e., Mickey and Yukaya, who are inseparable).

D-Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 50d] Tubatulabal NS22

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Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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[122]See Voegelin, Tubatulabal Ethnography, 19.

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[123]Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[124]Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

59 member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when P.M. was about ten years old. P.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. P.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. P.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[125]This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i.e. Frank Manuel. - Analyst

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T Y [P. 5/9] Tubatulabal NS29

159 father and is older than P.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When P.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

P.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena''wa in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, 'n^wao, was east of Čena^wa. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above P.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which P.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's:ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight

T Y [354] mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'w:l ti''i; that

T Y 343 covered with tule, pumuk ti''i.[128]

The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. P.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

POPULATION AND ETHNOGEOGRAPHY

●161 Population estimates.- Population figures and estimates, 1770-1932, are:

Year	Tüb.	Pal.	Tüb.+Pal.	Banka-lachi	Author-ity
(1) 1770			1000		Kroeber, Handbook, 608, 883
(2) 1854			100(100?)	50?	Henley, 511, 515
(3) 1855-60	228	65	293		Village site estimate, 1932
(4) 1863			220		Massacre estimates
(5) 1910			105		Ind.Pop. U.S., Alaska, 18
(6) 1932	145	0	145		Field census

161 (1) Kroeber's estimate admittedly a guess;
114 probably too high.

(2) Henley, 1854, reports 100 "Kern River Indians"; his assistant mentions "Joaquin's band of 20 men from Kern River" which had been sent away from Sebastian Military reserve in 1854 previous to Henley's visit to Kern r. If Joaquin's band was not at Kern r. when Henley was there, we should add 100 persons, assuming each man represented 5 individuals, to Henley's figures. Henley's mention of small group to W of Kern r. may refer to Bankalachi.

(3) Village site estimate derived from SM's list of 12 Tübatulabal, 3 Palagewan hamlet sites (p. 41); SM's estimated hamlet populations totaled 475 Tübatulabal plus 110 Palagewan; these totals reduced by 50 per cent because person-by-person listing of inhabitants of hamlet No. 5, in which SM lived as a boy, totaled 14 persons; SM had previously estimated population of 30 for this site.

(4) In massacre 1863, 39 adult Tübatulabal and Palagewan men killed (SM); military reports say 35 (Chalfant, 146). Five adult males survived (SM, PN); these, together with males killed, comprised all adult males of 2 bands. Taking 44 as number of adult males prior to massacre, assuming each represented 5 persons, total population of 2 bands is 220.

[162] (6) Population 1932 distributed as follows: within home area full, 3/4 bloods 65, 1/2 bloods 21, 1/4 bloods 10, total 96; outside home area full, 1/2 bloods 40, 1/4 bloods 9, total 49. Males, 74, females 71; grand total 145.

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161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). PN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, PN).

[p. 39(6)]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made. The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

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595 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as
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In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born,
● 163 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died be-
165 fore they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

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165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

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482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy
857

159 And all the people were married there; Sumukat
585 married wIsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
591 were married; my people were living up there, making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yItiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
● [163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yItiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yitiyamp; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
● [164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). PN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on s. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, PN).

[p. 39(4)]

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511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
● 167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
511 forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
222 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
224 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
226 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rabbits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills; [512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.

32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.

33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.

34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.

35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Bull Run creek.

36. tunabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.

37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.

38. i·wakanum, Long valley.

39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.

40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.

41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always
[173] lived in the region where they are found today,
[171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence
[173] of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

[p. 1(b)]

105 This economic adaptation of the Tübatulabal to the resources of their area is peculiarly interesting. Lacking all knowledge of agriculture, the Tübatulabal used as staple vegetable foods the natural products of two, rather than one, culture areas--the acorns of California and the piñons of the Great Basin. Similarly, their flesh foods were a combination of two varieties of wild game--the deer of California and the rabbits of the Great Basin, together with an appreciable use of fish that is more characteristic of California than of the Basin. Taken by and large, as far as the food quest was concerned the Tübatulabal might have been transplanted either over the crest of the Sierras eastward a few miles into the Great Basin desert area, or an equally short distance westward into the Great Valley of south-central California, and they could have adapted themselves with a minimum adjustment in food-gathering techniques to the resources of either of these natural areas. But there were also many varieties of plants available to the Tübatulabal within their region, of which they made no use; a few of these are listed in the following monograph. Such a list illustrates, in concrete fashion, the negative response of Tübatulabal culture to part of the floral environment and indicates selective processes at work, even in this simple culture, which materially affected the responses that the environment elicited.

In obtaining some of their foods, the Tübatulabal displayed an ingenuity that is only fully revealed when all the details of the techniques are considered. Few botanists perhaps realize that the honey dew deposited by aphids on the stalks of the common cane is capable of being collected in sufficient quantity to be made into sugary cakes, and that this was regularly done among such groups as the Tübatulabal, the Surprise Valley Paiute,[3] the Owens Valley Paiute,[4] and the more distant Yavapai and Papago groups.[5] Or that the minute saline crystals which dry weather brings out on the stems and leaves of salt grass can also be obtained in quantity, by using a technique similar to that employed for beating the honey dew off canes. Yet the Tübatulabal have been treating salt grass thus for generations, and have not yet lost their taste for this pungent plant product. Nor have they ceased to appreciate other of their "luxury" plant manufactures, including a native chewing gum, which is

● [17]

[3]Kelly, 103.

[4]Steward, 1933, 245.

[5]Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence).

[p. 1 (c)]

105 462 coiled baskets that she used as implements and food containers, and to fashion the few pots used in cooking. Her basketry work was often as fine and well-executed as her pottery was coarse and crude. Some women even went so far as to play with their technique in basketry making, and fashioned coiled jars out of long strands of strung piñons, while camping at the piñon grounds. These "piñon jars" were made in a coil technique, and were similar in shape to the small-mouthed, round-shouldered display type of jar that the Tübatulabal used to keep their clamshell disk currency in. After being made, a piñon jar was filled with loose nuts and brought home from the piñon grounds; eventually it and its contents were shelled and eaten.

105 That the Tübatulabal, in common with a few Yokuts groups, the Western Mono, and the Owens Valley Paiute, had pottery at all is somewhat of an anomaly; as a usual thing people engaged in a seminomadic, hunting-gathering type of culture lack pottery, or if they make it, have obviously borrowed the trait from near-by groups having a more complex culture. Concerning the crude gray-black unpainted ware made by Tübatulabal women, one guess about its origin might be that pottery making was a trait borrowed by the Tübatulabal from certain southern Californian groups with which the Tübatulabal have had trade contacts since early historic times at least. This facile explanation with its "common-sense" basis falls wide of the mark, however; investigation of the problem analytically soon establishes the fact that Tübatulabal pottery differs markedly from that of southern California. That the pottery-making complex as practiced by the Tübatulabal probably derived ultimately from the Southwest was suggested several years ago by Dr. Gayton;[7] a recent study of the distribution of the practice of molding and baking clay artifacts in western North America made by Heizer offers convincing evidence in support of Dr. Gayton's assumption. From northern Arizona to central California there is an almost unbroken line of continuous distribution of true pottery ware;[7a] this shows whence Tübatulabal pottery derived.

[171]

The trips the Tübatulabal made beyond the borders of their own area led them, in early historic times at least, to points a hundred miles or more west and southwestward, and somewhat shorter distances north and eastward. Men and women went on such trips, afoot, in couples or in small groups, to trade and obtain certain natural resources they had need of, that their own area lacked. Being mainly at peace with their immediate neighbors, the Tübatulabal were able to pass through alien territory with a minimum of risk from sudden attacks. By a system of silent trade they exchanged the piñons, balls of prepared tobacco, and other commodities they had brought with them, for lengths of white clamshell disks which passed as currency among all

[7] Gayton, 1929, 250. [7a] Heizer, 44.

105 and encompassed a variety of social activities. Dances were held during the nights of the fiesta, gambling games played night and day, and shamans held competitive "shooting" contests. Before daylight on the last night of the ceremony a tule image of the deceased, and all of his more prized possessions that had not been burned or destroyed immediately after his death, were cast into the flames of a large fire around which the people milled, wailing and crying. The widow or some other relative of the deceased threw shell currency and packets of piñon seeds and other goods into the crowd, and there was a lively scuffle on the part of the visitors to obtain as much of this largesse as possible. After the fire had died down the "big fiesta" was at an end, and the visitors soon left for home.

The souls of the dead lived in a land which lay toward the west; there is a "true story" which the Tübatulabal tell, of a man who once visited this region in search of his dead wife. The wide distribution of this myth, which resembles the Old World tale of Orpheus and Eurydice, over all of North America has recently been pointed out by Dr. A. H. Gayton.[8]

Sometimes, however, ghosts travel about on earth inside whirlwinds; occasionally they appear to vision seekers, and are held in high esteem by persons so fortunate as to obtain them for their guardians; sometimes they are sent by witches to sicken people. A variety of other spirits lived in the springs, streams, caves, and mountains of the region; most of these were conceived of as human in form, often dwarflike; they were not especially feared, but the Tübatulabal either tried to conciliate them, or fled from their presence when they encountered them. A concept of a supreme deity was lacking, but in the beliefs concerning jimsonweed there is an echo of the dying-god concept found in more pronounced form in southern California.

105 On the whole, Tübatulabal culture was of the
171 borderline variety, showing affiliations in its material, social, and religious aspects with the Great Basin, (South) Central California, and Southern California cultures. Some of the traits which the Tübatulabal share with tribes in these three areas may be briefly indicated; among traits shared with Basin tribes are the use of piñons, a Great Basin staple, the pitched water bottle, use of honey dew for sugar, the wooden frame cradle, the carrying net, the eagle-down dance skirt, the lack of clans, moieties, or totemism, the classification of cross and parallel cousins with brothers and sisters, the walnut-shell dice game, the round dance, the ceremonial brush enclosure, a belief that the milky way is dove's fire, the belief in water spirits, and so forth. As Dr. A. H. Gayton has recently shown, Tübatulabal mythology is predominantly of Great Basin caste (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595). Our

[8]Gayton, 1935b, 266.

[p. 6(a)]

105 171 knowledge of the Basin cultures is as yet incomplete, so that the foregoing list of traits cannot be taken as a basis for the relative weighting of Basin influences, as against California ones, on Tübatulabal culture. Also, several of the above-mentioned traits, such as the ceremonial enclosure, the wooden frame cradle, walnut-shell dice games, are also found among South Central and Southern California tribes, but, because they probably have had their provenience in the Basin (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, 540, 655), they are included in the foregoing list.

Some of the (South) Central California traits noted for the Tübatulabal are the rejection of all reptiles as food, looped stirrer for acorn mush, chewing of tobacco with lime, shell lime, leaching buckeye nuts, the bottleneck type of basket, bride purchase, clamshell money, unit of measure of such, and name for unit, mourning ceremony, clown, meat taboo with reciprocal washing and payments, swallowing of ants wrapped in eagle down, etc. This list could be appreciably extended, but has not been because of the lack of comparable material from the Basin.

Among the Southern California traits interwoven into the fabric of Tübatulabal culture are the use of asphalt, the coiled basketry cap, presence of steatite objects in area, the dying-god concept connected with the taking of jimsonweed, the application of lighted balls of furze to cure rheumatism, and, in historic times, the introduction of the horse. Direct contact with the Southern California Chumash is known to have occurred after the founding of San Buenaventura mission; whether there was much contact between the Tübatulabal and the Chumash before that time is questionable and seems, judging by some of the traits enumerated above, improbable.

[177] From their contacts with tribes in the three areas mentioned above, the Tübatulabal borrowed, altered, and reshaped cultural traits, and gradually built up their own unique culture, the outlines of which as it existed at the beginning of the historic period have been only too imperfectly sketched in the following pages.

Turning now from the consideration of cultural elements shared by the Tübatulabal and their ethnic neighbors, the question arises whether there are any traits peculiar to the Tübatulabal alone, which can be assumed to have been formed within the group. Here our conclusions are always subject to revision by the addition of new data, but three traits deserve at this time specific mention. They are: the obtaining of lime from natural deposits, for chewing with tobacco; the manufacture of bottleneck-shaped jars from strung piñons; and the myth accounting for the sexual division of labor. None of these traits has been reported as occurring among tribes of the surrounding areas. But if we consider each of the three, we find that the claim of each to absolute uniqueness among the Tübatulabal is not free from doubt. The more usual way in which to obtain lime

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for chewing with tobacco, among California tribes, was to pound up calcined shells. This method was known to the Tübatulabal and practiced by them. There is a good probability that the method of obtaining lime from natural deposits began before the whites actually settled in the Tübatulabal area, but that it was learned by the Tübatulabal from the Koso, some of whom settled, in early historic times, in the area in which the Tübatulabal procured lime from the ground. The Koso could have learned this method from white prospectors who penetrated their area to the east of the Tübatulabal at a comparatively early date. Furthermore, when we consider that slaking the burned lime with water was also claimed by the Tübatulabal to have been an aboriginal process, our suspicions concerning the trait mount. The question, then, must remain an open one at present.

The second trait, that of making jars from strung piñons, seems to have more in its favor in a claim to aboriginality. But another factor merits consideration; the jars are said to have been made in the same shape as the Tulare bottlenecks, so that what we are dealing with here is the transfer of part of a technique into another medium, rather than a totally new trait. If the jars had had a distinctive shape of their own, that, plus the fact they were made with non-basketry materials, would have strengthened their claim to originality, despite the consideration that the idea is obviously a readaptation of the coiled basketry technique. But as it stands, the only novel feature of the piñon jars is that they were made with materials which differed markedly from those generally used in basketry.

In regard to the myth, there is little need to conjecture. It bears too definitely the stamp of aboriginal Basin mythology, details concerning which we know as yet very little, to be the product from beginning to end of a single people,

105 and to be restricted solely to that group. No
171 myth collection taken from any primitive group can hope to be all-inclusive for the mythology of the entire group, and this myth has by accident doubtless been previously overlooked, both by native raconteurs and by ethnologists when they have been engaged in myth taking. The approximate distribution of the myth, when known, will be of interest, and if it is found in only one or two other tribes, with its recording will go the last unclouded claim that could be put forward for the unique character of any trait in Tübatulabal culture.

METHOD OF STUDY

101 The following ethnographic study of the Tübatulabal, a Shoshonean-speaking people of the southern Sierra Nevada foothill region of California (fig. 1), is based on field work done
[2a] near Weldon, Kern county, in the summers of 1931-
115 33 on funds provided in part by the Board of Research of the University of California. My chief

115 informants were Steban Miranda, aged 86 (father 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Palagewan; mother Tübatulabal) and Frances Philips, 68 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso). Mrs. Estefana Miranda Salazar, 40 (father Tübatulabal, mother Yokuts), interpreted for her father, and Mrs. Legora Tungate, 45 (father Tübatulabal, mother 1/2 Tübatulabal, 1/2 Koso), for her mother, Mrs. Philips. Other informants and interpreters were Petra Nichols, 89 (father Tübatulabal, mother Palagewan); Mike Miranda, 45, Steban Miranda's son and full brother to Mrs. Salazar; Frank Chico, 30 (father Tübatulabal, mother Koso); Fernando Miranda, 47 (father Mexican, mother Tübatulabal); Rosie Pablo, 45 (father Yokuts, mother Tübatulabal); Susie Williams Nieto, 48 (father Kawaiisu, mother Tübatulabal).

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, FP). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hol.)
• [171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tĭba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šĭmĭnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapĭl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ĭ·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapĭ·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ĭihyĭmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apĭ·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu··lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ɣayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellow-hammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gĭnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awĭ·t) and other worms, grubs, in-
[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawĭt) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten
[177] (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

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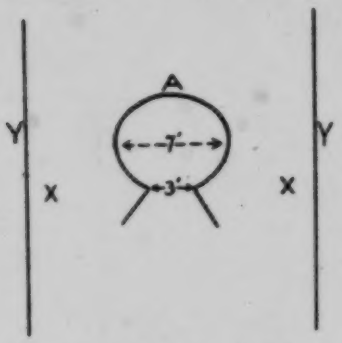

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, [171] thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 411 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes. [251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

824 137 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punžil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maŋi·l) from blue oak (maŋi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin., utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July, August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped
258 on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice in-
• 171 side the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

● 171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
137 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal
824 depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[415] had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753] them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
[774 might throw something in the food that would make
609] a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could PN give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·ɬawYt) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that TÜbatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
[773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
● [171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

291 of tanned buckskin with lacing like that on skirts at top of shoulders and from armholes down sides, and with 10 to 12-in. laced slit in front from neck downward, worn against cold (FP).

Bearskin robes with hair left on may have been worn occasionally, but were "too heavy" (SM). Feather, squirrelskin capes never made; sea-otter [439] capes not obtained in trade though SM had seen them worn by Chumash at Ventura.

292 Shamans engaged in curing, competitive con-
171 tests, and dancers wore skirts (wi·la·t) made same style as Owens Valley Paiute, Koso skirts (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7d; Kroeber, Handbook, 508, pl. 42a). Some dancers also wore bands of yellowhammer feathers around waist (FP).

292 Men when hunting in winter kept fingers warm, limber by putting them inside wildcatskin quiver, which had hair left on inside and was worn slung across chest.

291 Headgear and footwear.- Men went hatless; women wore coiled basketry cap (poŋgat) when using pack strap for carrying loads, but not habitually; these caps round at top, came down nearly to eyebrows. Hair nets not used. Men rarely seen now outdoors without hat; women wear them less frequently; FP habitually wore black cloth stocking cap resembling basket cap in shape. Some 60 years ago FP's aunt (Koso) made coiled hats of same material used for basketry cap, but patterned hats like "store hats"; sold these to several Tübatulabal men who wore them "all the time" (FP, SM).

292 Shamans and dancers wore feather headdress
301 consisting of fillet (še·mapun) of eagle down,
171 and crown (anambul) of magpie (?) feathers, similar to Owens Valley Paiute dancer's headdress (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7a, b).

291 Moccasins (wahcibΥ·l), made from tanned buck-
281 skin taken from neck region of deer "where the hide is thick" (SM); made to extend well above ankle (fig. 3). FP in cutting out model in cloth

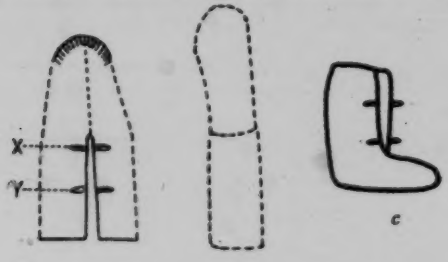

Fig. 3. Moccasin. a, side strips, puckered at toe ends; thongs at x and y; seams occur along dotted lines. b (upper half), sole, (lower half), back strip. c, completed moccasin.

(Mus. cat. no. 1-28226) first cut out sole, then sewed straight piece of cloth 6 in. long, 3 1/2 in. wide onto back section of sole and then 2 straight pieces 12 in. long, 4 in. wide on sides and front of sole, puckering 2 pieces at toe end.

[p. 22 (b)]

SHELTER

342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohošt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yIhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; TÜbatulabal houses had no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork [[71]] Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set [221] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [841] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 Most of TÜbatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular
[22] gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

178 342 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 342 More elaborate type of summer shelter, referred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept [221] under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 361 Camps.- At piñon grounds TÜbatulabal often camped in large group, within circular corral-like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (tĭngi·l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

Women pounding meal, etc., at pit mortars on hot days piled up scrub oak or willows to height of 4-6 ft. around mortar bed, in order to have shade while working.

343 171 515 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu·šaht) resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tübatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 515 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft. deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 515 372 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders (po·'anapĭ'l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, [171] although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using ~~flat~~-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

482 415 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (poŋgon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 372 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 415 Carrying net.- Men used carrying net (tambahal) exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 482 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men, women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 854 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

Between ages of 5 months and year, child "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work to do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in Tübatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

[71]

411
324

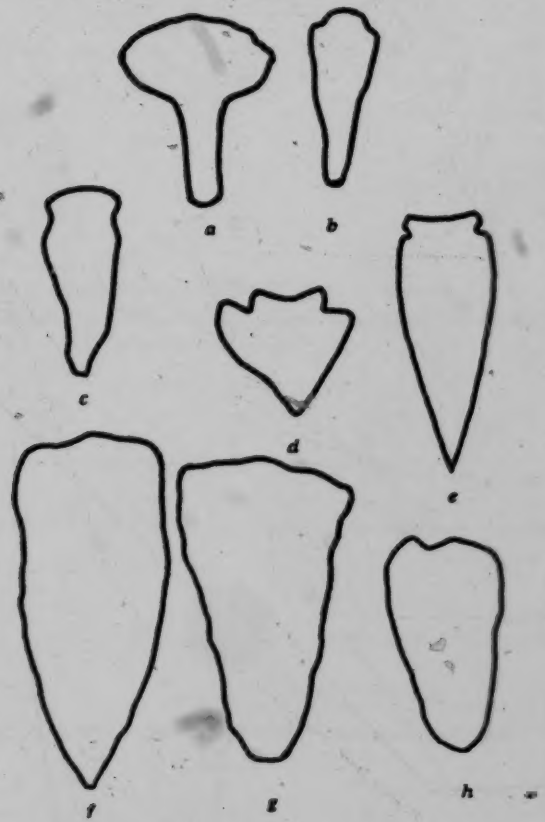

Fig. 7. Flaked artifacts from Andress collection. a, white quartz strike-a-light, 1 5/8 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; b, c, obsidian arrowheads, 1¼ in. long, 5/8-in. wide at shoulders; d, red flint arrowhead, 1 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; e, arrowhead from Nichols peak (see text); f, g, h, red flint artifacts, lengths respectively, 3¼ in., 2 3/4 in., 1 7/8 in., widths at top, respectively, 1¼ in., 1¼ in., 1 in., either spearheads (FP), unfinished arrowheads (SM), or knife blades (?).

411 wooden foreshaft used; for waterfowl, cane arrows had sinew wrapped thickly around joint where foreshaft entered cane mainshaft, so as to produce bulge which made arrow skip over water in flight, similar to Owens Valley Paiute arrows for ducks (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3d). Specimen 1-19909 consists in part of 2 unfeathered arrows with cane mainshafts 46 in. long, foreshafts 4 1/2 in. and 2 in. long; such arrows might have been used by boys or else are simply, as collector has noted, very poor specimens.

415 Quiver.- Sacklike quiver (ma·šat, also term for sack), made from whole untanned antelope, coyote, or wildcatskin with hair left on; men going hunting carried quiver in carrying net,

[p. 28(b)]

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

411 Arrow release.- Man shot either standing or kneeling; if kneeling, weight rested on left knee, which touched ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz; 18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to
● [171] Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term), used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc., consisted of flaked obsidian blade about 5 in. long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens
[171 Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j),
317] except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted knives aboriginal (SM).

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades,
[171] an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber, Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped
[317] with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buck-
[462] skin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right hand; this awl essentially man's tool.
Women used smaller awl (wĭŋabĭt), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kĭčeapĭl) surmounted with small lump of asphalt when making coiled baskets.

[p. 29(a)]

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener
[171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near
324 Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[71] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[71] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from
177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

317 and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

285 Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it [171] appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed by shamans in shooting contests.

[462] [756]

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 18a, b).

[171]

285 824 Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wInapI·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šI·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šI·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

285 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for
824 various types twined ware made from whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots, roots of tree yucca, outer bark of willow. Tules used considerably for baskets, mats; there are few tules in either Kern or South Fork valleys now, but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

292 Coiled baskets included:

●1.71 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled
285 Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 (b) Sifter (wa·t) or small tray; slightly
285 concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

(c) Parching tray (ša·gišt); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers.
[525] This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

(d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in.
[252] wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
[237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at
● [171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tïbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
[482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Lug basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on upcurve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to win-
[252] now piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
[222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

415 285 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 2 willow rods (pi·mun) sewn around top for reinforcement; 2 cloth lugs attached to rim on opposite sides. Seeds, berries collected in this basket as they were knocked off bush with seed beater.

415 285 482 (b) Burden basket (wa·niht); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket, about 29 in. deep, 26 in. in diameter at top. Warp and weft of peeled willow shoots; basket banded with oak rod attached to rim with split willow shoots. Two pieces of willow, 3 in. long, sewn on inside of basket horizontally 9 in. below rim and 6 in. apart; lengths of twine attached to these pieces of willow to make 2 loops (pu·niwa·n) 6 in. long, which came through basket and hung down on outside; pack strap attached to these 2 loops. On some baskets 3 willow bands encircled basket on outside as reinforcement, being put on at top, 1/3 and 2/3 of way down. Specimen 1-19815, small burden basket made by PN, is 20 in. deep, 23 in. in diameter at top; has 2 willow rods around top, with top rod left bare except at intervals where it is stitched to rod underneath it. Rod sewn on inside basket for attaching twine loops. Uses have been mentioned (ante).

● [171] (c) Water bottle (iwat); resembled that of Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55e), but had flat base (all informants). Made in 2-ply diagonal twining with warp of whole peeled willow shoots, weft of split willow shoots; 2 loops attached to side as on burden basket, with long string which passed over carrier's forehead, fastened to loops. Bottle pitched inside and out (see section on Glue, Pitch, Asphalt); stoppered with roll of grass (pa·niŝwa·n). Small girls packed little water bottles "like the one in the picture" (Handbook, ibid.); adults larger ones, some 16 in. tall, on trips into dry country. Large bottles, often 17 in. in diameter, used to store water in at dry piñon camps and as water containers at hamlets.

[171] Tule baskets and traps were all of 2-ply diagonal twining; soft tule baskets such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50c) not manufactured among Tübatulabal.

Tule objects included:

227 285 (a) Conical trap; some 4 ft. deep, 3 1/2 ft. wide at top, made similar to burden basket; this trap set below fall in river, secured between 2 sticks as among Owens Valley Paiute [171] (Steward, 1933, 251); set in evening and left overnight.

[171] (b) Tubular trap (wa·mat); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), but made from tules; this staked down in smooth water; "when a big fish got inside, it couldn't turn around to get out" (SM).

[171] (c) Conical scoop (či·dišt); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33b), but lacking inner cone and made from tules; used to scoop up stupefied fish from pools.

285 415 (d) Tule tray (ši'i·bɨ·l u·ži·l); shaped something like seed beater but with broader

285 415 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

[492] (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules. In contrast to twined ware, all of which was plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had designs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

531 Either informants had forgotten them, or else few designs had names; when shown some 26 designs taken from Tübatulabal basketry collections, SM recognized 3 (fig. 9) which had descriptive names, king snake design (pokpo·go´no·lo·wun),

a b c

Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wun), rattlesnake design (cĭmĭndĭŋlo·wun), "a hard pattern" (ES). [532] Human figure design aboriginal (SM); pictographs of human figures in territory tend to confirm this, although Kroeber holds human figures on baskets result of American influence (Kroeber, ●[171] Handbook, 541). ES recognized several Yokuts designs (Kroeber, Handbook, 533, fig. 47, nos. 1, 8, 15, 16) which she had seen on Tübatulabal baskets, but did not know names for them.

285 Mats.- Mats (paht) were made from whole dried trimmed tules, which were soaked before being woven; mats 3-5 ft. wide, of varying lengths, made in plain twined weave with each series of tule weft elements spaced about 3 in. apart. Top, bottom edges finished with tule braid (ta·ža·bil). Specimen 1-21064, large tule mat used for house covering, has braid edge, as has fragment of mat 1-28574; specimen 1-28575, also fragment, has wrap edge. Large mats used to cover walls, floors of living houses, to sit on while working outside, to sleep on. Small tule mats bordered with tule braid, but lacking weft bandings, used on both types baby cradles; hood for baby's second cradle also of tules.

281 286 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihnibĭ·l) made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

[p. 33(a)]

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.

a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (poŋgon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winiš̌t) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

283 it was wrapped around left wrist. Made by men, women; used extensively for nets, fish lines, bridles, forehead band on pack strap, loops on pack basket, on water bottles, as warp for rabbitskin blankets, bowstring for rabbit bows, foundation for eagle dance skirts, to tie babies on cradles, tie newborn child's umbilical cord, as thread to sew up sacks, etc.

Rope (tu·mayu·t) made from outer bark of Fremontia californica Torrey (u·pul); long branches, trunk of shrub peeled, fresh bark softened between hands and 3 strands braided into rope which was used to lash bundles of tules together for raft, to tie up crook on piñon staves, to bundle firewood into load, for 2 ends of pack strap, etc.

LEATHERWORK

281 Tanning.- Tanning done chiefly by men, although women sometimes dehaired skins. Green hides (tu·šu·but) hung up to dry, doubled over line with skin side out, for 6-8 days. If not to be tanned immediately they were folded up, stored in house. When tanned, hide soaked in cold water 3 days (SM); MM said soaked for week, being taken out at intervals and as much hair as possible [412] pulled out with fingers. After thorough soaking, ●171] hair and fat, if any, scraped off with deer-bone scraper as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 118). Hide put in warm water to which deer brains had been added, and soaked overnight. Next morning hide dried, then returned to brain solution, [401] soaked again for 24 hours. Hide then rinsed out in clear water, looped around post and wrung out using short stick as lever (Kelly, pl. 21a, b). Lever, with hide still tightly twisted into coil around it, stuck between pole on which hide was looped and another pole 1 ft. away and hide left thus, tightly twisted, for about 30 minutes; after this hide slipped off lever, flattened out, stretched, rolled, and rubbed between hands. After fibers thus partly softened, hide draped over horizontal bar set into forks of 2 upright posts 3 ft. high, 3 ft. apart; hide pulled back and forth over bar, man often working with hide thus at intermittent intervals for 2-3 days. Tanned hides (takta·šat) not smoked; sometimes whitened; negative 15-6273 shows Tübatulabal man softening clay-whitened deerskin.

Skins to be tanned with hair on, as wildcat skins used for wrapping up infants, were scraped clean on skin side, skin wet, and deer brains, which had been soaked in small amount water, rubbed into hide with hands. Hide then allowed to dry and pulled, rubbed between hands until soft. Bear hides also tanned with hair left on, brains being worked in with scraper.

237 Fresh deer brains could be used for tanning hide, but usually dried brains used, prepared as follows. Deer skull cracked open with rock, brains scooped out, smeared over both sides cir-

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

● [171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 [462] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP); no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·gul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

T 323 [171] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

T 415 Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes T [532] being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM). 171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); PN denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 T yrs. ago. FM could give no further details. 756 Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with 177 bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in [321] possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

756 177 latter possessed similar objects, used for rain making in early days, but that such "were buried with owner when he died."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Musical instruments few, simple; 3 varieties rattles used; drum (tamburin, Sp.) lacking; SM had made one at Tejon and brought it home, but "Tübatulabal didn't use them." Musical rasp also lacking.

Rattles.- Split-stick rattle (ka·ba·ba·yništ) made from peeled stalk dry elderberry (ku·hupïl), Sambucus velutina D. & H., foothill floral area, split down center; split ends both same length; total length of specimen made by SM 18 in., length of split section 14 in., handle 4 in. Made by men; used at dances to accompany dance songs (SM).

●[171] Cocoon rattle (pa·ʒo·alginišt) similar to Maidu rattle (Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37b); consisted of slender stick about 12 in. long with 4-6 cocoons (či·ko·lolondiŋ hani·n, butterfly's house) tied on upper end. Slit made in cocoon at one end, 2-3 small pieces rock put in, slit end tied with twine and cocoon attached with twine to stick. Old men used cocoon rattles to accompany songs they sang softly to themselves at night after going to bed (SM).

Dewclaw rattle (ša·lišt) consisted of 8 dewclaws (ša·lu·n) threaded through short buckskin thongs knotted at one end and tied to stick about 5 in. long. When rattle shaken, end of stick to which dewclaws attached held downward. This rattle used by rain doctor.

Whistle.- Quill whistle made "from a big feather cut like a [cane] pipe," mentioned by FP; her father had used such (see p. 73). PN agreed quill whistle used, but neither informant could remember name for this whistle or give further details; SM knew nothing about it.

Boys and girls made whistles from short hollow sections of Eriogonum nudum Dougl., foothill floral area (šiko·nišpu·l).

Flute.- Flute (lu·lu'išt) made of peeled elderberry stalk from which pith had been poked out with stick; about 26 in. long; had 6 holes, first of which was 8 in. below mouth end, other 5 spaced at 1 1/2-in. intervals beyond it toward distal end; end blown. Man played flute to himself, for own amusement during daytime; did not take it into sweat house to play; young men sometimes played it when courting (SM).

Musical bow.- Musical bow (pi·bi·wi·ništ, also name for jew's-harp) used occasionally, "not very much"; man plucked bowstring of hunting bow with index finger as he held one end of bow in mouth (SM).

[p. 35(6)]

276 small mortar, and powdery substance stuffed into
887 tubular pipe (wo·ša·giništ) made from 4- to 10-in. length of hollow cane (paha·bul), Phragmites communis Trin. Old men smoked once or twice daily while in sweat house or after morning, evening meals, "not all the time, like people do now" (MM). Smoker held pipe horizontally; took long slow puff from it, inhaling deeply, then removed pipe from mouth and closed lips; exhaled smoke slowly through nostrils. "The smoke went up from the smoker's lungs right to the top of his head, because that smoke was so strong" (MM). From 2-3 such long puffs, no more, taken at one smoking; tobacco so strong it soon caused smoker to tremble violently as though intoxicated. After indulging thus, smoker extinguished pipe by rubbing it in palm of hand, then set it aside for future use. When tobacco in
[323] pipe consumed, cane tossed away. Pottery pipe not used; steatite pipes used by rain makers.

●171 Distributional discussion.- In general discussions of the use of tobacco in North America
276 the trait of chewing tobacco with lime is mentioned as having a continuous distribution from the North Pacific Coast tribes S through the greater part of Calif. (Linton, 2; Wissler, 26, fig. 6; Sayce, 200; West, 99-100). Dixon, how-

Tribe	Tobacco species	Native names
C.,S. Miwok	N. bigelovii	ka´sü; kaku; hū´tla
W. Mono		pamu; cokx
O. V. Paiute	N. attenuata	pämüpi; pähmü; sägö
Koso		sohon, shogun
Tübatulabal	N. bigelovii; N. attenuata	šo'ogonht
Kawaiisu	N. attenuata; N. trigonophylla	soóda; koópi
Yokuts		sɔhɔw, personal name of plant; sɔ́.Gɔn, tobacco, tobacco plant; ba'um, tobacco smoke, cigarette
Costanoan		
Salinan		
Chumash	N. species	
Kitanemuk	N. species	tsiwut
Alliklik	N. species	
Gabrielino	N. species	shuki
Cahuilla	N. attenuata	pivat

171
276

ever, has shown that it was not tobacco, but some unknown masticatory, which was chewed with lime by the Tlingit and Haida (Dixon, 146-150). For Washington, Oregon, and n. Calif. tribes I have found no references to the chewing of tobacco, or any other plant substance, with lime; for the Quinault (Olson), Klamath (Spier, 1930, 87), Karok (Harrington, 10), and Wishram (Spier and Sapir, 269) the trait is denied. It is only when the Miwok of central Calif. are reached that chewing of tobacco with lime is reported; from the Miwok S the trait has a continuous distribution among a compact group of c. and s. Calif. tribes, as is shown in the tabulation below.

Tobacco chewing is not mentioned for any other S Calif. tribes; among Kamia (Gifford, 1931, 25; 1932 a, 25), Southeastern Yavapai (Gifford, 1932 a, 213), Akwa'ala (Gifford and Lowie, 342) absence of trait noted.

In regard to the use of tobacco and lime outside of California, MacLeod has pointed out the interesting fact that green leaves mixed with lime and tobacco mixed with the ashes of burned insects were used in Valley of Mexico; he also refers to a mention of the chewing of tobacco in the origin myth of the Chitimacha, and to the swallowing of a tobacco composition in the form of a pill, among the Natchez (MacLeod, 418-419).

Uses	Source
Eaten with lime by men, women, to induce vomiting.	Barrett and Gifford, 193, 195
Smoked; eaten with lime (?).	Gifford, 1932 b, 23; Kroeber, 1907, 77, 94; Tüb. informant (SM)
Smoked by men, doctors; chewed with lime by women only.	Steward, 1933, 319-320
Chewed (?).	Kroeber, Handbook, 627
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked by men, doctors.	
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked.	McCown, MS.
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked by doctors.	Newman; Kroeber, Handbook, 516, 538, 617
Chewed with lime; smoked.	Kroeber, Handbook, 469, 826
Chewed with lime; emetic; smoked	Kroeber, Handbook, 548; J. A. Mason, 165
Chewed with lime.	Garcés, 277
Chewed with lime; emetic.	Kroeber, Handbook, 613, 628
Chewed (?).	Kroeber, Handbook, 538
Eaten with lime, medicinally.	Kroeber, Handbook, 627, 628
Chewed; smoked.	Barrows, 74

[p. 38(b)]

e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.; est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

House I

Tübat.♂ (1)	Willy Miranda (3)	Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2)	=Tübat.♀ (4)	Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4)	♀ (9)	Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8)	♂ (10)	plus =Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
	♀ (11)	
	♂ (12)	

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral unnamed group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

CYCLE OF LIFE

843 Birth.- Woman knew she was pregnant when menstrual periods stopped; during her pregnancy she "worked hard, climbed mts.; if she stayed in the house she'd get fat and the baby wouldn't [262] move" (FP). During last month of pregnancy woman ate no meat, very little salt; if she ate meat then, her husband would fail to see deer when hunting (SM). Some husbands did not kill any animal or eat meat when wife pregnant; others did so. One man "killed a fox by smashing its head, while his wife was pregnant; the baby was [845] born without any eyes or nose. Another time that same man killed a king snake when his wife was carrying a baby; the baby was born with a king-snake mark across its chest" (FP). Husband could have intercourse with wife during period of pregnancy. Sudden fright during pregnancy caused miscarriages; FP, LT said some babies born at 8th month, but expressed surprise when 7-months babies mentioned.

844 Older woman, usually a relative, attended woman in labor; husband often assisted, sometimes attended wife if no woman relative available. Husband or attendant dug shallow trench about 3 ft. long, either inside or outside living house, depending on weather; fire built in bottom of trench, slabs of stone laid on top of fire, then layers of earth, tule mats on top of stones. Woman in labor lay on top of this trench (to-nist); during childbirth knelt, grasping [171] vertical stick; attendant pushed baby down onto mat on ground as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 158). Woman stuffed her hair in her mouth to prevent vomiting as baby emerged. To prevent breech presentation, if this expected, woman held suspended head downward; baby righted itself inside womb and would be born head first (FP). In [789] protracted labor person possessing amulet containing supernatural power might be called on to rub amulet over parturient's body (see Autobiography of FP).

Mother of baby pulled out afterbirth, cut cord and tied it about 3 in. from navel, with native twine; cord usually dropped off after 3 days; was saved by mother and kept wrapped in buckskin. Newborn baby washed in plain warm water by attendant and wrapped in soft deerskin, wildcatskin blanket. Maternal grandmother of infant buried afterbirth outside house.

846 After birth mother and infant lay on mat over [853] hot trench for 6 days. First 2 days baby fed thin gruel made of water, acorn or piñon meal, from mother's fingers; mother milked out colostrum for ca. 2 days, baby nursed on third day. If mother had no milk she rubbed her breasts with soaproot brush dipped in warm water to induce flow. For one month she drank only warm water, [262] "else her blood would get thick and she'd die" [illegible]; ate no meat, salt or grease as these foods would get into her milk and make baby sick (FP); if she ate meat husband would not be able to see deer (SM).

[p. 45(a)]

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. [552] Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater [171] extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, as-
[702] sembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his
[728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief him-
[754 self did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sick-
627] ness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among
● [171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to
578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely
576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his
[525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; "he would send somebody over to a person's house
[574] if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported
462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community
158 who deliberately set fire to others' property; insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be
[753] watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
[624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[17] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while [537] narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation.

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, TÜbatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1/v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

[778]

531 Symbolism apparently entirely lacking; informants could give no explanations for feather wand, woodpecker bands, other paraphernalia carried at mourning ceremonies (see Rituals); one item common among Great Basin, California tribes, that of decorating baby cradles according to sex of child (Kelly, 134; Steward, 1933, 273; Kroeber, Handbook, 536) consistently denied among Tübatulabal. A few basket patterns had descriptive names (ante).

[171]

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance; not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

773 Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earthquakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

773 Directional terms obsolescent; wi·naŋ, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht.
He said he was going to turn into a plant and if
any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
[754] and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
something" (SM). Mention has already been made of
belief that witches are not powerful enough to
destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from
addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging
roots, there seems never to have been any form
of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM,
FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called
jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[771] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
776 said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
[823] "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her
sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father ad-
ministered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle,
so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on
the other side of the world could hear him" (see
Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remem-
ber names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have
existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so
far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal
properties and its use in obtaining supernatural
power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had
also spoken to the people, but that no formula
was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[771] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personi-
fied, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture
hero he causes earth to be remade after flood
(Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire
for people, regulates division of labor (ante),
causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid).
He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207)
during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays
usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209,
211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's
character, mentioned how puzzling they found his
dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good,
smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as
well, but differences of opinion expressed on
whether it applied to inanimate objects such as
rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted
rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks,
streams seem not so much supernatural in them-
selves, but to serve as dwelling places for super-
natural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal
lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

774 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village
776 site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe mĭgĭtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·num; also name for
775 heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by
[828] evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu··lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

773 Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gay-
[171] ton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

Chumash NS7 Yokuts NS29

C walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far
754 as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be
789 back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat
791 down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear. and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T
754 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes
776 obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who
791 had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T
754 SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but
825 denied persons with this pet could cure snake
177 bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches";
776 one of animals witch could send out to accomplish
791 evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake step-
[171] ping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T
Y
786 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning cere-
789 mony, or little fiesta for face washing (below),
791 shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

T 788 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

765 572 Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that " in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [789] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y ● 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wišt) tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totshoid[u] dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elaborate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (PN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of
[177] Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

K
601

nekomwhoni [illegible]sband (w. s.), husband's brother. Reciprocal: nebiwhoni (w[illegible]ter; brother's wife, m. s.). Nekumrepuni. Sister's husband (following death of speaker's sister, w. s.), husband's brother (following death of speaker's husband).

wüsimbiani. Husband's sister, brother's wife (w. s.). Reciprocal: wüsimbiani. Wüsibirepuni. Husband's sister (following death of speaker's husband), brother's wife (following death of speaker's brother, w. s.).

teeni. Child's spouse's parent. Reciprocal: teeni. Teerepuni. Child's spouse's parent (following death of speaker's child or speaker's child's spouse).

K
601
128

An analysis of the Kawaiisu terms is presented in the opposite table (p. 233). As in the case of the analysis of Tübatulabal terms on page 225, it is based on the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[13] It is to be noted that the category "Generation" is expressed in all of the terms, a feature which is in sharp contrast with the subordination of "Generation" in the Miwok kinship system, in which it is expressed in only slightly more than one-third of the terms.[14]

The cross used in the opposite table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

COMPARISON

Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu

T
K
601
171

Forty terms of relationship were obtained among the Tübatulabal as against forty-three among the Kawaiisu. The following table exhibits numerically the application of the terms in the two languages:

Relationship	*Number of Terms* Tübatulabal	Kawaiisu
Parent	4	4
Child	1	2
Stepchild	2	—
Brother, sister, first cousin	4	4
Aunt, uncle	6*	6*
Niece, nephew	3†	8‡
Grandparent, grandchild	9	8
Great-grandparent, great-grandchild	2	4
Relation by marriage‖	12	11

* Two of the terms for aunt and uncle are also the terms for mother and father following the death of one or more of their children.

† One of the terms (tumu) for niece or nephew is also applied to one's own child.

‡ Two of the terms for niece and nephew are also applied to son and daughter.

‖ This does not include aunts, uncles, grandparents, or grandchildren by marriage, nor does it include any of the step-relations.

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[13] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

[14] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
J71

The Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu classifications of parents are identical. In both languages there is a special term for father and a special term for mother. These terms are used for no other relationships. Their use, however, for the parents is subject to a restriction, for they are used only as long as all of their children are alive. Upon the death of a child, the surviving children henceforth call the parent by a different term. The new term in the case of the father is that applied to the father's older brother. The new term in the case of the mother is that applied to the mother's older sister. In both languages four terms are used for the parent relationship (see the preceding table). The terms are:

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Father before death of child	ana	muwuni
Father after death of child	kumu	kuguni
Mother before death of child	abu	piyüni
Mother after death of child	ümü	mawüüni

For son and daughter the Tübatulabal have but one term, there being no distinction made as to sex of children. The Kawaiisu, on the other hand, distinguish between male and female offspring.

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Son	tumu	tuwüni
Daughter	tumu	pedüni

T
601

Only Tübatulabal data are at hand in the matter of stepchildren. It appears that the Tübatulabal are far more exact in designating stepchildren than own children. There are separate terms for stepson and stepdaughter, whereas son and daughter are united in one term, there being no distinction as to sex. Aiyawutawa is the designation for stepson, anociwan for stepdaughter. The reciprocals of these terms are not father (ana) and mother (abu), but are instead the terms for father's older brother (kumu) and mother's younger sister (yugu). This identification of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt is one-sided, for the terms aiyawutawa and anociwan are not the terms of the reciprocal nepotic relationship. The nepotic relationship is designated by the term tumu (offspring). On the one hand, the classing of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt and the uniting of own children with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) suggests the levirate. On the other hand, the

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS23

T 601

lack of identification of the stepchildren with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) would indicate absence of the levirate. In other words, from this point of view, the Tübatulabal evidence is equivocal.

T K 601 171

As shown in the table on page 232, the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu both use six terms for uncles and aunts, as follows:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother	kumu	kuguni
Father's younger brother	tôhan	heeni
Father's sister	pauwan	pahani
Mother's brother	kali	cinũni
Mother's older sister	ümü	mawüüni
Mother's younger sister	yugu	nupbieni

It is to be noted that the specialization as to age is on the side of the "parallel" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the same sex. There is an absence of age specialization in the nomenclature of the "cross" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the opposite sex. Both the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu nomenclatures are identical in their treatment of aunts and uncles by consanguinity.

Next we must consider the aunts and uncles by affinity, in other words, the spouses of those listed just above:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother's wife	——	mawüüni
Father's brother's wife older than mother	ümü	——
Father's younger brother's wife	——	nupbieni
Father's brother's wife younger than mother	yugu	——
Father's sister's husband	kali	kuguni
Mother's brother's wife	pauwan	pahani
Mother's older sister's husband	——	kuguni
Mother's sister's husband older than father	kumu	——
Mother's younger sister's husband	——	heeni
Mother's sister's husband younger than father	tôhan	——

Here we find some decided differences between the two systems. The Tübatulabal use six terms, the Kawaiisu only five. The former classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the age of a spouse in relation to the mother or the father of the speaker. The Kawaiisu classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the relative ages of the uncles and aunts, and not according to the age of the spouse. The Tübatulabal scheme suggests double marriage, that is, the marriage of two brothers to two sisters. Noth-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal-NS22
Kawaiisu US13

T
K
601
.I71

ing, however, is known of the marriage customs of either people, so that it is idle to dwell too much upon the possible forms of marriage suggested by the terminology. A curious feature of the Kawaiisu nomenclature is the identification of father's sister's husband with the father's older brother, the term kuguni being used where one would expect to find cinŭni. To an ardent supporter of the theory of the reflection of forms of marriage in kinship nomenclature this would prove brother-sister marriage, which is of course an absurdity. The identification of father's sister's husband with mother's brother in Tübatulabal is not so unusual. It might result from the marriage of two pairs consisting each of a brother and a sister. A common example of this type of marriage is found in the custom of cross-cousin marriage. Here again genealogies and the statements of informants as to such a form of marriage among either people are lacking.

The reciprocals for aunts and uncles by affinity are the same as for aunts and uncles by consanguinity. All of the terms of consanguinity (except Kawaiisu cinŭni, mother's brother) are also terms of affinity; hence one list answers for both.

Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
Term	Reciprocal	Term	Reciprocal
kumu	tumu	kuguni	kuutcini tuwŭni pedüni
tôhan	tumu	heeni	heetcini tuwŭni pedüni
pauwan	amust	pahani	pahatcini
kali	kalibin	cinŭni	cinŭtcini
ümü	tumu	mawüüni	mawüütcini tuwŭni pedüni
yugu	tumu	nupbieni	nupbieteini tuwŭni pedüni

The preceding list shows that "parallel" nieces and nephews (brother's children, m. s., and sister's children, w. s.) are classed solely as offspring by the Tübatulabal, a condition favoring the existence of the levirate. Among the Kawaiisu the classification is paradoxical, for "parallel" nieces and nephews are not only classified as offspring (son and daughter), but also by a strictly nepotic term which is an identical-reciprocal of the term for aunt or uncle. The classification as offspring seems to be secondary, and taken alone suggests the levi-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

rate. The use of the identical-reciprocal for the nepotic relationship, however, is rather against the presence of that institution. It is possible that the classification of nieces and nephews as offspring is due to Tübatulabal influence. The Tübatulabal resemble their Shoshonean neighbors on the north in their classification of "parallel" nephews and nieces; at least this is true if we may judge from a relationship system collected at North Fork, Madera County.

The following table presents the grouping of brothers, sisters, and first cousins:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Older brother, older male cousin	patei	pavini
Younger brother, younger male cousin	nalawi	saks.ini
Older sister, older female cousin	kutei	pateini
Younger sister, younger female cousin	nalawi	nama.ini
Brother (w. s.), male cousin (w. s.)	impaiyis	——
Sister (m. s.), female cousin (m. s.)	impaiyis	——

The feature common to both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu, as exhibited in the above table, is that cousins are classified as sisters and brothers, a feature found also among the Shoshonean Mono of North Fork. The points of difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu are very clear. The former unite younger brother and younger sister in one term. This is analogous to another usage of the Tübatulabal, who unite son and daughter in one term. The Kawaiisu, however, have distinct terms for younger brother and younger sister. The Tübatulabal grouping of brothers, sisters, and cousins exhibits another feature, which is not found among the Kawaiisu but which is present among the North Fork Mono; namely, a single term for brother or male cousin (w. s.) and for sister or female cousin (m. s.).

Grandparents and grandchildren are grouped in the same manner in both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. These terms are discussed a few pages below in connection with identical-reciprocals and diminutives. The Tübatulabal possess nine terms for the grandparent-grandchild relation; the Kawaiisu possess eight. The ninth term in Tübatulabal is hôki, which is used by either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative.

The Tübatulabal have but one term for great-grandparent and but one for great-grandchild, again paralleling the single term for offspring. The Kawaiisu have two for each of these relationships, as they distinguish sex.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

A comparison of the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in the two languages would be futile, owing to the uncertainty with regard to some of the Tübatulabal terms.

A radical difference in the classification of the grandchild's spouse and the spouse's grandparent is to be noticed. The Tübatulabal classify these relatives as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (see No. 26 on p. 228). The Kawaiisu classify the grandchild's spouse and spouse's grandparent as grandchild and grandparent, respectively. The Tübatulabal classification is similar to the Miwok.[15]

As stated earlier, diminutive suffixes are used by both the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu. At least among the latter people the diminutive suffix is also an endearment, as in piwhatcini (piwha[tci]ni), dear wife. It is also used in connection with the term for child's spouse's parent, teetcini (tee[tci]ni). Informants stated that the use in this case was for the sake of politeness. In the same way a person uses this endearment for the mother-in-law or father-in-law, yehetcini (yehe[tci]ni).

Information obtained from the Tübatulabal as to the use of the diminutive suffix -bin or -vin as a term of endearment requires substantiation. Otherwise the use of the diminutive among the Tübatulabal corresponded to its use among the Kawaiisu, except that it was employed less extensively. The following list exhibits clearly the agreements and disagreements in the use of the diminutives in the two languages. Every term is followed by its reciprocal.

Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Mother's brother	cinūni	kali
Sister's child (m. s.)	cinūteini	kalibin
Father's younger brother	heeni	tôhan,
Older brother's child (m. s.)	heetcini	tumu
Father's mother	huteini	apa
Son's child (w. s.)	huteitcini	apavin
Mother's mother	kaguni	utsu
Daughter's child (w. s.)	kaguteini	utsubin
Father's older brother	kuguni	kumu
Younger brother's child (m. s.)	kuuteini	tumu
Father's father	kunoni	aka
Son's child (m. s.)	kunoteini	akabin
Mother's older sister	mawüüni	ümü
Younger sister's child (w. s.)	mawüüteini	tumu

[15] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. See apasti, kawu, kolina, olo, wokli.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Great-grandmother	nama.iteini	saka
Great-grandson	pavateini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	pateiteini	sakabin
Mother's younger sister	nupbieni	yugu
Older sister's child (w. s.)	nupbieteini	tumu
Father's sister	pahani	pauwan
Brother's child (w. s.)	pahateini	amust
Great-grandfather	saka.iteini	saka
Great-grandson	pavateini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	pateiteini	sakabin
Mother's father	tôgoni	agist
Daughter's child (m. s.)	tôgoteini	agistbin

A glance at the preceding table betrays the fact that the Tübatulabal use the diminutive form for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren and for the sister's child (m. s.). These terms are identical-reciprocals of the terms for grandparents, great-grandparent, and mother's brother, plus the diminutive endings. This condition is matched exactly in the case of Kawaiisu terms, except in the matter of the great-grandparents and great-grandchildren; there, to be sure, the diminutive suffix is used, but a single stem is not used for the two terms of the reciprocal relation, as in Tübatulabal. In Kawaiisu there are six terms for aunts and uncles with reciprocals which are identical except for the addition of the diminutive suffix. With the exception of the case of mother's brother and reciprocal mentioned just above, these are all lacking in Tübatulabal. The difference is perhaps not so great as it appears, however, for in Kawaiisu, as already mentioned, the reciprocals of heeni, kuguni, mawüüni, and nupbieni (which are the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles) may be also the terms for son and daughter (see pp. 229-230) as well as the terms listed above. In Tübatulabal the term used for son or daughter is also used as the reciprocal of the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles (ümü, yugu, kumu, tôhan). This reduces the constant differences between the two systems, in regard to the use of diminutives, to two. The Tübatulabal use pauwan for father's sister and amust for brother's child, w. s.; in other words, two terms with different stems and without the diminutive suffix. The Kawaiisu use pahani and pahateini for the same relationships; in other words, two terms with the same stem and with the diminutive suffix. The Tübatulabal use of sakan and sakabin for the great-grandparent and reciprocal is analogous to the Kawaiisu use of pahani and pahateini.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

TK
601
.171

The Kawaiisu use of nama.itcini and saka.itcini for the great-grandparents and pavateini and pateiteini for the great-grandchildren is different still, for the diminutive suffix is used with both of a pair of reciprocal terms having different stems.

The use of identical-reciprocal terms, plus a diminutive for the younger generation of the pair, seems to be more developed among the Kawaiisu than among the Tübatulabal. The former consistently apply them to the six groups of aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren. The latter consistently apply them to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren and to the single group great-grandparent and great-grandchild. In the classification of aunts and uncles they are inconsistent, identical-reciprocals being used in only one out of the six groups. Informants among the Tübatulabal said that frequently the terms for grandchildren, which are here listed with diminutive suffixes, were used without them. Among the Mono,[16] the northern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, terms for grandchildren and grandparents are also identical, but no diminutive suffix is employed. Viewed from the standpoint of number of uses of identical-reciprocals and diminutives, the Tübatulabal are intermediate between their northern and southern neighbors.

The Tübatulabal terms hôki (grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative), impaiyis (brother or male cousin, w. s.; sister or female cousin, m. s.), nawasu (child's spouse's parent), and wo.ict (co-wife, co-husband) have identical-reciprocals, but never employ the diminutive suffix. Analogous terms among the Kawaiisu are atamwoni (wife's brother; sister's husband, m. s.), teeni (child's spouse's parent), wohoni (co-wife, co-husband), and wüsimbiani (husband's sister; brother's wife, w. s.). The explanation of the non-use of the suffix is to be found in the fact that the terms, with the exception of hôki, apply to individuals of only one generation.

Identical-reciprocal terms are of two types, distinguishable by their meanings. One type, exemplified by Tübatulabal nawasu and wo.ict and by Kawaiisu teeni and wohoni, has identical meanings; for example, the meaning of nawasu and teeni is child's spouse's parent; the reciprocal of each of these terms is also child's spouse's parent. The meanings of identical-reciprocal terms of the second type are distinctly unlike; in fact, the two meanings are the antitheses, one of

[16] Only the Mono of North Fork, Madera County, California, have been visited by the writer.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T K 601 171

the other; for example, the Tübatulabal term aka means father's father; the reciprocal aka or aka[bin] means son's child (m. s.). A Kawaiisu example is the term atamwoni, meaning wife's brother and sister's husband, m. s.

Certain lexical similarities between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms are obvious. The most striking resemblances are best shown by a table. In the case of the Tübatulabal term saka, together with its

Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
kuñan (husband)	kupmani (husband)
patei (older brother)	patcini (older sister)
pauwan (father's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
saka (great-grandparent)	saka.ini (younger brother)
	saka.itcini (great-grandfather)

reciprocal sakabin (great-grandchild), we seem to have an example of out-and-out borrowing, the Tübatulabal using the Kawaiisu term for great-grandfather, which is merely the Kawaiisu term for younger brother plus the diminutive suffix. The reverse hypothesis is possibly the correct one, namely, that the Kawaiisu borrowed the Tübatulabal term for great-grandparent and applied it to the younger brother and then to the great-grandfather. This hypothesis, however, seems an unlikely one.

The following table summarizes the categorical analyses of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms presented in detail on pages 225 and 233. The columns headed "Number" give the number of terms in which each category is expressed. The columns headed "Percentage" express the number of occurrences of a category in percentages of the total number of terms.

	Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Terms	40	....	43	....
Generation	36	90	43	100
Blood or marriage	31	78	23	53
Lineal or collateral	10	25	12	28
Sex of relative	25	63	30	70
Sex of connecting relative	17	43	16	37
Sex of speaker	11	28	16	37
Age in generation	7	18	8	19
Condition of connecting relative	11	28	12	28

The category "Generation" is expressed in all of the Kawaiisu terms as presented in this paper. Inquiry on a genealogical basis

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
●171

might break down this complete expression of the category. In Tübatulabal four out of forty terms fail to express this category; one of these four is the term hôki, which is applied to either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. The remaining three are the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which are applied also to spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, a very different classification from the Kawaiisu which has already been discussed.

The difference in the expression of the category "Blood or marriage" in the two languages is largely due to the difference, just mentioned, in the classification of spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, which among the Kawaiisu are classed as grandparent and grandchild. This difference alone takes eight Kawaiisu terms out of this category. The corresponding Tübatulabal terms for grandparent and grandchild naturally fall under this category, as they all definitely express consanguinity without expressing affinity also.

The other categories are expressed quite similarly by the relationship systems of the two languages, with the exception of the categories "Sex of relative" and "Sex of speaker." The difference in the first instance is the result of the Tübatulabal uniting of great-grandson and great-granddaughter on the one hand and great-grandfather and great-grandmother on the other hand, while the Kawaiisu distinguish two great-grandchildren and two great-grandparents. In the second instance, "Sex of speaker," the difference is due to the use of identical-reciprocals for nepotic relatives by the Kawaiisu and to their non-use, except in one case (kali-kalibin), by the Tübatulabal.

Like the last table, the following table presents a categorical comparison, also in percentages of the number of terms, of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu kinship systems and those presented by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in his paper on the "Classificatory Systems of Relationship."[17] For Dr. Kroeber's Miwok figures those of the writer[18] have been substituted. It is clear that in at least one category, "Lineal or collateral," the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu hold a unique position and have no near approach in any of the other systems here presented, except the Miwok.[19]

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601
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[17] Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79. 1909.

[18] Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

[19] The comparisons in the three succeeding tables must be used with reservation, as a factor of uncertainty has been introduced by differences in the collecting of the data. For Miwok the material is far more detailed than for the other groups.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13
T
K
601
171

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washa*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Number of terms	24	27	28	34	28	40	43	34	35
Generation	100	78	96	38	79	90	100	88	74
Blood or marriage	100	100	100	76	100	78	53	94	97
Lineal or collateral	100	78	100	18	93	25	28	100	80
Sex of relative	67	78	71	85	61	63	70	53	63
Sex of connecting relative	54	48	50	44	50	43	37	56	60
Sex of speaker	13	11	36	26	43	28	37	29	40
Age in generation	13	15	14	15	14	18	19	35	23
Condition of connecting relative	0	0	0	0	*	28	28	0	3

* This category is expressed in terms denoting relatives by marriage, but the number of such terms is not given. See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote, 1909.

The purpose of the two following tables is to indicate by figures the actual differences between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems and each of the other systems presented in the foregoing table. The figures in these tables are the differences between the percentages in the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu columns of the preceding table and the percentages in each of the other columns of the preceding table. The total at the foot of each column in the succeeding tables is the sum of the percentage differences, that is, the differences in percentages for each category as expressed in Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu and each of the other languages. These totals are the basis of comparison of the systems as wholes. The first table is for the Tübatulabal system, the second for the Kawaiisu. It is to be seen at a glance that the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems resemble each other far more closely than any of the other Californian systems resemble either of these. In fact, the gap between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems on the one hand and the remaining Californian systems on the other hand may be said to be very conspicuous. Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu differ from each other by a total of sixty-one percentage differences, while the nearest approach to this is found between Tübatulabal and Miwok, the total of percentage differences being one hundred and seventeen, nearly twice as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. It will be noted that the Tübatulabal system is not so far removed from the other Californian systems as is the Kawaiisu. The greatest difference between the Tübatulabal and any of the other Californian systems is one hundred and seventy percentage differences, occurring between Tübatulabal and Yuki. The greatest difference

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
.171

between Kawaiisu and any other system is two hundred and thirteen percentage differences, occurring between Kawaiisu and Luiseño, both Shoshonean groups. The least difference is between Kawaiisu and Miwok, amounting to one hundred and fifty percentage differences. This least difference, however, is nearly two and one-half times as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu.

TÜBATULABAL

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	10	12	6	52	11	10	2	16
Blood or marriage	22	22	22	2	22	25	16	19
Lineal or collateral	75	53	75	7	68	3	75	55
Sex of relative	4	15	8	22	2	7	10	0
Sex of connecting relative	11	5	7	1	7	6	13	17
Sex of speaker	15	17	8	2	15	9	1	12
Age in generation	5	3	4	3	4	1	17	5
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	170	155	158	117	157*	61	162	149

KAWAIISU

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	0	22	4	62	21	10	12	26
Blood or marriage	47	47	47	23	47	25	41	44
Lineal or collateral	72	50	72	10	65	3	72	52
Sex of relative	3	8	1	5	9	7	17	7
Sex of connecting relative	17	11	13	7	13	6	19	23
Sex of speaker	24	26	1	11	6	9	8	3
Age in generation	6	4	5	4	5	1	16	4
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	197	196	171	150	194*	61	213	184

* "Terms denoting relatives by marriage undergo a vocalic change to indicate the death of the connecting relative." See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote, 1909. Dr. Kroeber does not indicate the number of terms so altered, hence the figures in the Yokuts column of the table for the category "Condition of connecting relative" are too large. Likewise the totals of percentage differences between Tübatulabal and Yokuts and between Kawaiisu and Yokuts are too large.

KAWAIISU, KAIBAB PAIUTE, AND UINTAH UTE

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601
171

A comparison of the Kawaiisu terms with those of the Uintah Ute of northern Utah and Kaibab Paiute of southwestern Utah and north-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
KAWAIISU NS13

K
601
171
T
601
171

western Arizona obtained by Dr. Edward Sapir[20] shows a very close similarity in sound and spelling, even to the matter of the diminutive suffix. Similarity of the three groups might be expected because of the community of language, for all speak Ute-Chemehuevi dialects. The Tübatulabal, however, do not speak Ute-Chemehuevi, and, furthermore, belong to another of the four primary divisions of the Shoshonean stock;[21] hence their terms of relationship could not be expected to exhibit as strong a degree of resemblance to the Kawaiisu terms as Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms exhibit.

The thirty-two Kaibab Paiute terms secured by Dr. Sapir are listed below. Twelve of these, although very similar in sound and spelling to certain of the Kawaiisu terms, are applied in a quite different manner. (Consult in the following list numbers 4, 10–17, 22–25.)

	Kaibab Paiute	*Kawaiisu*
1.	moan'ᵘ (father)	muwuni (father)
2.	piyan'ᵘ (mother)	piyūni (mother)
3.	tuwatsin'ᵘ (son)	tuwūni (son)
4.	pătein'ᵘ (daughter)	pedūni (daughter)
5.	păvi(tsi)n'ᵘ (older brother)	pavini (older brother) pavateini (great-grandson)
6.	te'ᵃᵃqa.itein'ᵘ (younger brother)	saka.ini (younger brother) saka.iteini (great-grandfather)
7.	pătsitsin'ᵘ (older sister)	pateini (older sister) pateiteini (great-granddaughter)
8.	yûp'ian'ᵘ (younger sister)	nama.ini (younger sister)
9.	namintsin'ᵘ (younger sister)	nama.iteini (great-grandmother)
10.	toxon'ᵘ (grandfather)	tôgoni (mother's father)
11.	toxotsin'ᵘ (grandchild, m. s.)	tôgoteini (daughter's child, m. s.)
12.	qăxun'ᵘ (grandmother)	kaguni (mother's mother)
13.	qăxutsin'ᵘ (grandchild, w. s.)	kaguteini (daughter's child, w. s.)
14.	qunun'ᵘ (great-grandfather, great-grandfather's brother)	kunoni (father's father)
15.	qunutsin'ᵘ (great-grandchild, m. s.; brother's great-grandchild, m. s.)	kunoteini (son's child, m. s.)
16.	ᵗʷᵘtsin'ᵘ (great-grandmother, great-grandfather's sister)	huteini (father's mother)
17.	ᵗʷᵘtsitsin'ᵘ (great-grandchild, w. s.; brother's great-grandchild, w .s.)	huteiteini (son's child, w. s.)
18.	ain'ᵘ (father's brother)	heeni (father's younger brother)
19.	aitsin'ᵘ (brother's child, m. s.)	heeteini (older brother's child, m. s.)
20.	păan'ᵘ (father's sister, probably also mother's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
21.	păatsin'ᵘ (brother's child, w. s.; probably also sister's child, w. s.)	pahateini (brother's child, w. s.)

[20] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv, 132–138, 1913; also Dr. Sapir's unpublished data, which are presented in the succeeding lists of terms.

[21] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., iv, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

K
601
171

1. nebiwhoni (brother's wife, m. s.; wife's sister)
2. nekomwhoni (sister's husband, w. s.; husband's brother)
3. wüsimbiani (brother's wife, w. s.; husband's sister)

The uniting in Ute of the relationships expressed in 1 and 2 is in line with and a natural consequence of the combining of husband and wife in one term (number 33).

T
K
601
171

By way of summary, we find that the Uintah Ute nomenclature exhibits six peculiarities of application which are lacking in Kawaiisu; the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature exhibits twelve; and the Tübatulabal list (although the speech is quite distinct from the preceding three groups), exhibits only ten peculiarities. It seems as though contiguity of territory is responsible for the small number of discrepancies between the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu nomenclatures, just as it doubtless accounts for the features they have in common, such as the terms and suffixes denoting the condition of the connecting relative. On the other hand, community of language doubtless accounts for the similar phenomena among the Uintah Ute and the Kawaiisu. Certainly contiguity of territory does not account for them, for the two groups, at least at the present time, are far removed from each other. But if community of language explains the Uintah Ute nomenclature, what can be said of the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature, which is in a dialect very similar to both Uintah Ute and Kawaiisu? Kaibab Paiute shows more peculiarities when compared to its congener Kawaiisu than does even the extraneous Tübatulabal. Clearly the position of Kaibab Paiute is anomalous. Although linguistically close to both Kawaiisu and Uintah Ute, and geographically intermediate, it displays more than twice as many peculiarities when compared with Kawaiisu as does Uintah Ute. Dr. Sapir remarks with regard to Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms of relationship: "Here, as so often, a cultural dividing line runs clear across a homogeneous linguistic group."[27] The writer would go a step farther and remark that, if our evidence is correct, the northeastern extremity (Uintah Ute) of the group is in closer agreement with the southwestern extremity (Kawaiisu) than either one is with the middle (Kaibab Paiute). Hence the homogeneous linguistic group may be spoken of as trisected rather than bisected.

[27] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv. 137, 1913.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts N529

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made. The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

174/131 Four or five generations ago--it need have been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131/177 Today white men's ranches dot this same valley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121/123 During three successive summers it was my privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174/[173]/[171]/[173] The Tübatulabal say that they have always lived in the region where they are found today, but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 [171] History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of 174 their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605). [101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was 177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading [797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43). In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan [721] territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this [621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of [241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP); [657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

[p. 9(a)]

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:

"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and they danced around a fire in a big circle for a long time. A few singers who knew the war songs stood between the fire and the circle of dancers; they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for dances at a burning. During the night of a war dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly, principally to the men. The next morning the men would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyī

533 773 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were 532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hī'lwal) who ●173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM). [776] Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

Y
756 in red and white stripes (see section on Dress
789 and Adornment). Then they came back to a level
[415] place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind
791 a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T
V
756 Although most of informants said this was
789 doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only sha-
791 mans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

T
● 173 One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon;
756 in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that
789 game; the white man saw when they shot each other.
791 "Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

788 765 768 764 person's things, the ghost would return every night, looking for his things, and frighten the relatives when they went outside after dark. But if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 765 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usually given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made for him; if his relations didn't make one, they buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anaŋgat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

[768]

788 765 173 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil, Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife, described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 765 173 "After that Kawičina showed the people where to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and

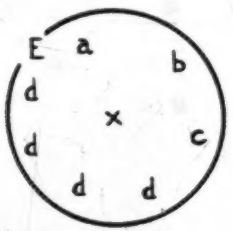

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

[p. 69(a)]

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
788 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
765 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
173 and went around the fire inside the enclosure,
535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupÏl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
765 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feath-
768 ers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pÏl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
●173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

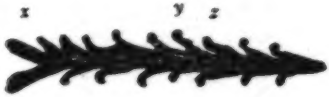

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

159 The following autobiography was taken in English from FP, her daughter LT interpreting, in 1933. FP gave the autobiography within a space of 2 weeks; a day or so after our last session together she went to Bakersfield for shamanistic treatment; on the return trip she was run over by a car and killed.

When first asked to tell the story of her life, FP demurred, saying she "had never been anywhere, just stayed in the South Fork valley all her life." The autobiography she gave is little more than an outline, which she was beginning to fill in with increasing amounts of detail, however, during the last few days I worked with her.

For the sake of clarity I have arranged the material in chronological order; parts of it were not so dictated. A photograph of FP is given in pl. 1b.

An autobiography of MM, FP's husband's brother's son, the Mike Miranda of the following pages, was obtained in text by Dr. C. F. Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

I was born about 2 yrs. after the soldiers killed all those Indians over at Kernville (1863); my older brother was still being kept in a cradle then and I was born about 2 yrs. later.

159 My mother used to tell me about the massacre;
173 Jose Chico pulled my father out from those men and the soldiers didn't kill him; he ran away. There was one man who was shot in the eye, but he had power and recovered. Lots of men were killed. The fight started over the Indians' killing other people's cattle; Jose Chico interpreted for the white men and the Indians; he was the man who took my father out. There were 3 men saved when the soldiers shot at the Indians.

159 One man had an amulet, a bearclaw with beads
173 on it. He was running and he got out of breath
751 and dropped that claw; then he was killed. The people found it afterward. If he hadn't lost his power he would have escaped all right. Another man had rattlesnake for his pet. He was badly hurt; his insides were all cut up; when the people saw him after the massacre there was a rattlesnake lying on top of him, and that snake made that man get all right. Rattlesnake was his pet and took care of him. That man's name was hi·ay·ši·l; he was a Monilabal (Yokuts). He got all right again; my father saw him when he was helping bury those dead Indians; he saw that rattlesnake come and help him. PN has a rattlesnake for her pet, too; perhaps she got it from dreaming. She never took jimsonweed, I know.

159 I was born at omomĭp (no. 6, fig. 11). My
163 mother had 8 children; most of them died before
165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

159 When I was a little girl I used to go with my
482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her
857 chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do, they just moved all around; they'd camp under
173 some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

The Tübatulabal.

Origin and movements.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

197 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatu-
174 labal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history
131 is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

●173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

[p. 605]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 648 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

131 101 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water's fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have been no farther removed in point of time--a 131 traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val- 177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my 123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always [173] lived in the region where they are found today, [171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence [173] of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
●174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

[p. 9(a)]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

The Tübatulabal.

ORIGIN AND MOVEMENTS.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

197 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatu-
●174 labal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history
131 is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

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[65] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

133 river as it flows through gorge, but from e. mouth of gorge for 60 mi. downstream there is drop of 50 ft. per mi. in river's course. There are 2 periods of high water in Kern r.; one during winter rain-flood from Jan.-March, second during summer snow-flood, from May-July; lowest water occurs in October (Gifford and Schenck, 17). Minimum flow of Kern in dry season 2700-3000 cu. ft. per second, in season greatest capacity over 19000 cu. ft. per second (Pen Pictures, 248).

133 Three valleys lie at 2500-3000 ft. elevation.
132 They are in a climatic province which is semi-arid, with mesothermal temperature and summer deficiency of rainfall (Thornthwaite, pl. 3). Temperatures from 110-115° F. not uncommon in July-August; winters not severe, but generally some snow falls in valleys, more on foothills, and there are always heavy snows in mts. Precipitation records for Kernville, in Kern valley, are:

Year	Rainfall (in inches)	No rainfall
1924	6.48	May-September (inclusive)
1925	7.43	September
1926	11.66	June-September (inclusive)
1927	10.37	May-September (inclusive)
1928	6.47	June-September (inclusive)
1929	5.04	July, Aug., Oct.-Dec.
1930	6.97 plus 19 in. snow	June-October (inclusive)
1931	9.92	May, September
1932	7.34	July-November (inclusive)

[312] Previous to white settlement and diversion of water for agriculture, South Fork valley contained 2 large lakes, W of Onyx, NW of Weldon on
• [175] Jesus ranch (SM). In 1776 Garcés, writing of unaugmented Kern near Kernville, says, "On this *famous river, which I named Rio de San Felipe*, there are abundant pastures, famous woods, and much irrigated ground (tierra de regadio)" (Garcés, 282). In foothills which enclose valleys are numerous hot and cold springs and intermittently flowing streams.

137 Vegetation of 3 valleys and lower foothill regions mixed; Shantz and Zon include valleys in chaparral area; my botanical collections from valley-foothill region contain specimens from desert, foothill, and Great Basin floral areas. This mixed vegetation area extends in E-W line across s. base of Tübatulabal territory. N of it are several different forest belts extending in N-S line; on w. edge of area along Greenhorn mts., is spruce-fir strip; E of this along canyon of unaugmented Kern strip of yellow pine-sugar pine forest; E of this another spruce-fir strip and finally on e. edge of Tübatulabal territory strip of piñon-juniper forest (Shantz and Zon). In extreme n. part of Tübatulabal area, on w. slope of Sierras, is found subalpine forest and, at higher altitudes, alpine communities (Klyver, 8). In terms of Merriam's life zones, using tree indicators of Grinnell and Storer (Grinnell and

411 bow was 68 in., width at grip 1 3/4 in., at tips 3/4-in. SM denied that Tübatulabal formerly ever
●[176] bowed in grip; FC very probably had introduced this feature.

Boys used small plain willow bows and willow
[462] arrows "before they began regular hunting" (SM). Bows, arrows made by men only.

Arrows.- War arrows (pa·hal) were 34-36 in. long, with wooden foreshaft (wawpit), some 8 in. long, made from hard wood set into cane mainshaft made from stalks of cane (paha·bĭ·l), same variety as that from which women obtained sweets (p. 19). Mainshafts also sometimes made from wood. Cane mainshaft (u·gat) straightened by being gently rolled at joints in round groove and over shallow incisions of heated stone arrow straightener (u·gišt). Mainshaft notched at upper end for insertion of bowstring; foreshaft split at end for insertion of arrowhead. War arrows had 3 vanes, square-trimmed, 1 in. wide, set on spirally and attached at each end with sinew; "if only 2 feathers were put on, the arrow didn't shoot straight, it went sideways" (SM). FC's arrows nevertheless had 2 vanes, set on spirally. Feathers from eagles, crows, owls, 3 varieties of hawks among those used. Arrow-
[324] heads (kĭyi·l) were flaked from obsidian (tu·gu··pĭl tĭnt, black rock), obtained near Mt. Whitney (SM); from bluish gray rock procured in mts. (SM), at Koso (FP); from a red rock (flint?) obtained near Tejon or on Mohave desert. Stone "cooked" first in fire, then broken into small
[412] pieces (FP). Deer-bone awl used to flake arrowheads; palm of left hand protected with piece of buckskin. Heads varishaped (fig. 7), "because some men liked this kind, some that" (ES), but all heads shouldered. Beautifully shaped head (fig. 7), 3 1/4 in. long, 1 in. wide at top, found by FC on old battlefield on Nichols peak, in s. border of Tübatulabal area; SM said this
[317] probably head for war arrow, as heads for such often 6 in. long(!). Asphalt (tu·šanat) used to set heads into foreshaft; no mention made of sinew lashings. Poison (pohil), source of which was unknown to informants, said to have been used on both war, hunting arrowheads (MM); only on hunting arrowheads (SM).

Hunting arrows (šu·mu·na·l), for use on large game, similar to war arrows save that they were 48 in. long, with 9-in. wooden foreshaft and were often tipped with smaller, black obsidian heads which were inserted rather loosely into foreshaft so that shaft fell out after animal was shot, leaving head firmly embedded; or if shaft did not fall out, it could be pulled out easily, head then cut out with stone knife.

Arrows of foregoing type used with sinew-backed bow; with willow bow cane arrows (šu·mu··na·l), 40 in. long, 2-3-vaned, tipped with wooden foreshaft, point of which had been sharpened by rubbing on rough rock, used to shoot rabbits, etc. For birds, shorter cane arrows with pointed

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always
[173] lived in the region where they are found today,
[171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence
[173] of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

[p. 1(b)]

105 knowledge of the Basin cultures is as yet incom-
171 plete, so that the foregoing list of traits cannot be taken as a basis for the relative weighting of Basin influences, as against California ones, on Tübatulabal culture. Also, several of the above-mentioned traits, such as the ceremonial enclosure, the wooden frame cradle, walnut-shell dice games, are also found among South Central and Southern California tribes, but, because they probably have had their provenience in the Basin (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, 540, 655), they are included in the foregoing list.

Some of the (South) Central California traits noted for the Tübatulabal are the rejection of all reptiles as food, looped stirrer for acorn mush, chewing of tobacco with lime, shell lime, leaching buckeye nuts, the bottleneck type of basket, bride purchase, clamshell money, unit of measure of such, and name for unit, mourning ceremony, clown, meat taboo with reciprocal washing and payments, swallowing of ants wrapped in eagle down, etc. This list could be appreciably extended, but has not been because of the lack of comparable material from the Basin.

Among the Southern California traits interwoven into the fabric of Tübatulabal culture are the use of asphalt, the coiled basketry cap, presence of steatite objects in area, the dying-god concept connected with the taking of jimsonweed, the application of lighted balls of furze to cure rheumatism, and, in historic times, the introduction of the horse. Direct contact with the Southern California Chumash is known to have occurred after the founding of San Buenaventura mission; whether there was much contact between the Tübatulabal and the Chumash before that time is questionable and seems, judging by some of the traits enumerated above, improbable.

●[177] From their contacts with tribes in the three areas mentioned above, the Tübatulabal borrowed, altered, and reshaped cultural traits, and gradually built up their own unique culture, the outlines of which as it existed at the beginning of the historic period have been only too imperfectly sketched in the following pages.

Turning now from the consideration of cultural elements shared by the Tübatulabal and their ethnic neighbors, the question arises whether there are any traits peculiar to the Tübatulabal alone, which can be assumed to have been formed within the group. Here our conclusions are always subject to revision by the addition of new data, but three traits deserve at this time specific mention. They are: the obtaining of lime from natural deposits, for chewing with tobacco; the manufacture of bottleneck-shaped jars from strung piñons; and the myth accounting for the sexual division of labor. None of these traits has been reported as occurring among tribes of the surrounding areas. But if we consider each of the three, we find that the claim of each to absolute uniqueness among the Tübatulabal is not free from doubt. The more usual way in which to obtain lime

128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dž	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ʒ
c	sibilant	š

HABITAT

101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

[77]

197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tibatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

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[65] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, 241 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, 511 beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cow- [463] boys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of [462 garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, 231] geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the [222] nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, ● 177 cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
younger women to leave area and seek education,
●177 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield;
167 young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
511 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
(all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
222 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rab-
224 bits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal
226 plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hel.)
[171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tïba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šïmïnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapïl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ï·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapï·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ïihyïmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apï·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu··lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ṣayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellowhammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gïnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awï·t) and other worms, grubs, in-
[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawït) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t)
● [177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot
[373] them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground [illegible] and bottom lined with flat rocks heated [illegible] fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, p[illegible] pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit s[illegible] with sand or earth. Pit
•[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

252 Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone
412 used in preparing different types plant food.
Mortars (pahal) included pit mortars, which were depressions 2-10 in. deep, 3-5 in. wide in level or gently sloping granite outcrops (Kroeber, [773] Handbook, 524, pl. 45). Manufacture of pit mortars attributed to Coyote, but fact recognized that mortar holes enlarged with use until at depth of 10 in. they became unusable.

412 Portable stone mortars (ku·pahal) from 6-35 in.
322 in total diameter; made by pecking out depression
324 in round soft gray stone with harder, pointed rock (SM). Small stone mortars readily transportable; taken on piñon expeditions. Large wooden portable mortars (ku·pahal) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45) made from hard wood, oak (SM), juniper (FP); bowl burnt out and interior smoothed with rough rock. These latter "easier to make than stone mortars" and commonly used around home, but were too large to take on trips. Basketry hopper used. Pestles (poho'owal) for all types mortars were roughly cylindrical, granite or slate rocks, picked up in river beds, used as found; length of pestles varied from 5-20 in., width from 2 1/2-5 in., depending on size of mortar.

412 Grinding slab (mana·l) oval or roughly rec-
324 tangular piece of granite or black slate, from 14-20 in. long, 10-15 in. wide, and 2-4 in. thick; used on one side only; grinding surface flat or slightly concave. Suitable slabs fairly abundant in area, and woman always kept one such in house, leaning up against wall. With slab, either small ovoid rub stone (takibit) 3-4 in. long, about 3 1/2 in. wide, 2 in. thick, flat on top and bottom surfaces (Gifford and Schenck, 92, pl. 31), or larger stone of same shape (takin) used; these picked up in river beds. Long cylindrical mullers not used. When in use, grinding slab set up with flat rock, about 2 in. thick, placed under upper end of slab, so that slab slanted downward, away from operator. Lower end of slab rested on flat basketry tray.

412 All informants familiar with 3-legged metate
●177 and horned muller (Steward, 1933, 341, pl. 5g),
252 because one such introduced among them by former Jesus Miranda, Mexican who married Petra Miranda, Tübatulabal woman; this metate used primarily for grinding corn (FP). However, present-day Tübatulabal ordinarily pound parched corn or wheat into meal in pit mortars, following older pattern.

252 Cooking techniques included stone boiling, boiling in clay pots, parching with live coals on basketry tray, parching in fire, roasting on coals, in ashes, in pit ovens, on spits, in fire. General pattern of native cookery, which resulted in economy of effort, was to apply heat only once to any variety of food intended to be eaten in cooked state. Thus small seeds which had already been parched, and previously roasted piñons, after they were ground into meal, were merely mixed with cold water when made up into gruel (u'u·gil); neither seed nor piñon meal recooked by stone boiling (or any other method), parched foods being

251 sweets made from cane, wild grapes, etc. Acorns
262 and piñons on other hand required shorter drying periods than any of above-mentioned foods, and furthermore, after gathering them, drying could be postponed for few days, if necessary, without danger of their spoiling.

312 Control of water.- Tübatulabal controlled water to degree of making ponds (pacu'a·t) near sweat houses; these ponds large enough for person to jump into after taking sweat bath. Ponds dug out with stick (nahat, also used for cane); water run into them from near-by spring. Springs also dug out to obtain drinking water, but no boxing in of sides, as is done now (SM).

312 Patches of wild seeds never irrigated as among
●177 neighboring Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 247). An irrigation ditch, course of which is still traceable, formerly brought water from Canebrake canyon to former Indian settlement at mouth of Chimney canyon in arid e. end of South Fork valley. This ditch constructed by Koso Indian refugees who settled in Tübatulabal territory at this spot ca. 1863. At time of its construction white settlers had been ranching in South Fork valley nearly 20 years and ditch seems obviously native borrowing of white culture item.

231 Domesticated and captive animals.- Regarding
[262] possession of dogs (pungul, pet; pukubišt, specifically dog), and their use as food, PN, oldest informant, stated Tübatulabal had dogs and roasted them to eat, as Yokuts did (Kroeber, Handbook, 526), before whites entered region. She described native dogs as "small, white, short-haired"; denied they were procured from Mexicans or other outside sources.

231 SM, however, said Tübatulabal did not possess
262 dogs until whites brought them in. His statements
177 at different times on use of dog for food contradictory; once he said Tübatulabal roasted and ate dogs after latter introduced, but subsequently stated dogs never eaten. He knew of use of dogs by Yokuts, stating: "The Bakersfield Indians always had dogs and ate them; they'd buy dogs from each other for (the equivalent of) $2 apiece." FP said Tübatulabal "had dogs pretty early, but got them from whites; after they got dogs they did not eat them." These statements reconcilable because they probably reflect cultural divergency between Palagewan and Tübatulabal bands; Palagewan, situated nearest Yokuts, in all likelihood most affected by Yokuts customs. PN's mother member of Palagewan group; PN's second husband a Yokuts; in discussing dog PN probably had Palagewan in mind, although this point not specifically stated at time. Reason for SM's confused statements may also have been this cultural divergency, but in statement of FP, whose affiliations lay with Tübatulabal and Koso to E, we have clear-cut denial of trait.

000 Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

●177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to

[262] eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibi·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

302 [765] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. [824] [388] (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and [515] used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit [296] of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ïihabï·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for several days. At dances women put loose eagle [301] down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wïŋït) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native [413] string to form flat, narrow brush. This hairbrush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apïn) made from columnelia of giant clam (?), and in historic times [177] red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (naŋgawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed [342] tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no ●[177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round 527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en- 535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener
[171] (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from
324 soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802,4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from
177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibĭ·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·nun) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.

a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
●177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winiŝt) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

● [177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 [42] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·ʂul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

T 323 [171] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

T 415 Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso T [532] woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 8; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); FM denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details. 756 Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with ● 177 bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of [32] rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

756 latter possessed similar objects, used for rain
177 making in early days, but that such "were buried with owner when he died."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Musical instruments few, simple; 3 varieties rattles used; drum (tamburin, Sp.) lacking; SM had made one at Tejon and brought it home, but "Tübatulabal didn't use them." Musical rasp also lacking.

Rattles.- Split-stick rattle (ka·ba·ba·yništ) made from peeled stalk dry elderberry (ku·hupīl), Sambucus velutina D. & H., foothill floral area, split down center; split ends both same length; total length of specimen made by SM 18 in., length of split section 14 in., handle 4 in. Made by men; used at dances to accompany dance songs (SM).

[171] Cocoon rattle (pa·ɣo·alginišt) similar to Maidu rattle (Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37b); consisted of slender stick about 12 in. long with 4-6 cocoons (či·ko·lolondiŋ hani·n, butterfly's house) tied on upper end. Slit made in cocoon at one end, 2-3 small pieces rock put in, slit end tied with twine and cocoon attached with twine to stick. Old men used cocoon rattles to accompany songs they sang softly to themselves at night after going to bed (SM).

Dewclaw rattle (ša·lišt) consisted of 8 dewclaws (ša·lu·n) threaded through short buckskin thongs knotted at one end and tied to stick about 5 in. long. When rattle shaken, end of stick to which dewclaws attached held downward. This rattle used by rain doctor.

Whistle.- Quill whistle made "from a big feather cut like a [cane] pipe," mentioned by FP; her father had used such (see p. 73). PN agreed quill whistle used, but neither informant could remember name for this whistle or give further details; SM knew nothing about it.

Boys and girls made whistles from short hollow sections of Eriogonum nudum Dougl., foothill floral area (šiko·nišpu·l).

Flute.- Flute (lu·lu'išt) made of peeled elderberry stalk from which pith had been poked out with stick; about 26 in. long; had 6 holes, first of which was 8 in. below mouth end, other 5 spaced at 1 1/2-in. intervals beyond it toward distal end; end blown. Man played flute to himself, for own amusement during daytime; did not take it into sweat house to play; young men sometimes played it when courting (SM).

Musical bow.- Musical bow (pi·bi·wi·ništ, also name for jew's-harp) used occasionally, "not very much"; man plucked bowstring of hunting bow with index finger as he held one end of bow in mouth (SM).

249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bottomless form, similar to those used in making
● [177] adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop
435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls
[438 and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; constituted, both in aboriginal times and to some ex-
439] tent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.

32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.

33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.

34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.

35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Bull Run creek.

36. tumabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.

37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.

38. i·wakanum, Long valley.

39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.

40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.

41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MM).

587 583 Man marrying second time did not buy second wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

582 835 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'iin, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'iin,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575), fragment of tule matting with braided edge
• [177] (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi-mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bïšt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unaugmented Kern, koŝunye-he-hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kwni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing [838 from father to son; women, transvestites never 462] clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the-big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ka·dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all
756 deaths except those incurred during war believed
627 to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief [579 might take initiative, order such persons killed. 177] Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

THERAPEUTICAL PRACTICES

757 General good health induced by sweat bathing, observing pregnancy, menstrual taboos, bathing in hot springs, taking some simple herb medicines, as salt-grass crystals in warm water every morning for laxative purposes, to clean out stomach. In sicknesses, before taking patient to shaman for treatment which partook of nature of religious ceremony herb medicines (ti·bo·hišt) might be administered by old man, woman. Such persons often doctored ailing members of family, without any singing ceremony; "anyone who knew the right medicine for an ailment would do this; 759 sometimes a herbalist would be sent for to treat 757 a sick person; in that event he'd be paid. People learned about the medicines from their parents or grandparents, or a man would know about a medicine and other people would pay him to tell them. • [177] They learned a lot about medicines from the Mexicans, too. Now the witches have spoiled all the plant medicines except jimsonweed; they can't spoil that because it's too strong" (SM). In situations where shamans failed to effect cure, herb medicines might be administered after shamanistic treatment.

757 Ants also used as medicine; charms sometimes applied to body to relieve pain.

Plant, insect remedies.- Following plant, insect remedies, unless initialed otherwise, given by SM.

757 Piece jimsonweed root (mo·mo·ht), Datura
824 meteloides HBK., weed, about 12 in. long, dug,
278 washed, macerated, set to soak for day in 2 qts. cold water; in evening water strained, given to patient, who had abstained from food, drink for 3 days and had cleaned out stomach every morning during fast with bitter drink made from roots of reise blanco. After taking dose patient fell into stupor which lasted 12-24 hrs.; during this time he was turned from one side to other; if he lay on his back or stomach he would fail to revive. FP's father blew whistle when giving her jimsonweed (see Autobiography of FP). While under influence drug patient might walk around, but was watched carefully; sometimes had visions (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215); SM imagined row of fence posts were dancers in feather costumes when he took drug; MM one time saw man who told him to take jimsonweed again in week; next time MM took it he saw white lizard drop from his shoulder, black one from his knee; when he awoke his rheumatism had disappeared. Sometimes patients, upon advice of person seen in stupor, drank jimsonweed 3 times before they were cured.

Before digging root plant addressed briefly; drink could not be administered in summer as "the roots are all right then, but when it's hot you want water; if you drink water and then drink jimsonweed, you get bloated right away" (SM). If drug taken without fasting at least 3 days, dose immediately vomited.

"people didn't Know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[[71]] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
773 over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
[754] something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[[71]] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
[823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[[71]] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (muśmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shanans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over patient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
●177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear. and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 ●177 776 791 [[71]] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet. Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life "would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
● [177] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured;
[178] often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

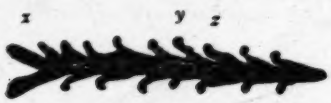

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (PN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of
[177] Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the
other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots
of them, at a spring. He made a little brush
house and sat inside that house; when the doves
came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't
see him inside the house and he shot them with
bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring
half a sackful to camp; those doves were good
and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people
camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I
was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone;
there was no one else with us. We traveled all
night on that desert; it was moonlight. There
are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots
of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe
they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and
we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When
we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring,
we wanted to drink that water there. So we
stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a
hill above the spring a little way off; we ran
the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
● [171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the
spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill
us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they
didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then,
lots of them; they chase women, right away when
they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the sum-
mit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a
little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested
a little, because we were tired. It was sunup
when we got to the summit. Then we came down to
Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid
and ran over on a little hill where we watched
them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people
living there. We were going home to omomïp from
there, but they told us my mother had left
omomïp to gather chia seeds and that nobody was
home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody
from omomïp was over at Scodie's mt., so that
same day we went over there. We were very tired,
but we couldn't stay over at omomïp all alone,
with nobody in the house. We found my mother all
right.

My grandmother came back from over on the
desert a week after we got back. That girl who
came home with me that time is still living; she
lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband
is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady.
She looks young yet; the Indians never used to
get old-looking for a long time in the old days;
these young people do now though because they eat
[262] everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used
to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wïšimlït (SM's

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

DREAMS

15. JIMSONWEED DREAM

1. Once I went from Bishop to Mammoth, going to work for one man. 2. I am opening up a ditch. 3. Then it rained on me; it rained very much. 4. The hail then (was the size of) chicken's eggs. 5. So I ran away from there toward the house. 6. Then (after the shower) I went back to my own work. 7. Then I came to my own house in the evening. 8. Then, when I finished eating, I slept. 539x

9. Then I dreamed. 10. I saw a windmill; I saw it. 11. Then one man is telling me: "It (the windmill) may be used as an instrument for flooding the houses," he says, "when the world is worn out," he says. 12. Then from there I see God and also angels. 13. Then there the man says to me, "Look you at that," he says; "jimsonweed," he says, "you ought to drink it," he says. 14. "Good," I say. [276]

15. Then from there the very next day I went toward my own home, toward Bishop. 16. Then, when I arrive at my own home, I tell my own wife: "I dreamed that." 17. Then: "Go to your own house, to your own father; he can give you jimsonweed," she says. 18. I did not come. 19. Then I got hurt myself after three months. 20. There, the one who told me in vain, the man is there. 21. It is the end.

16. BEAR DREAM

1. Once I came from Bishop long ago. 2. So I am coming on the road. 3. Then I arrived at Indian Wells. 4. From there I came toward the summit. 5. Then, while I was wanting to arrive at the summit, I saw a bear while he was running away from the mountain. 6. He is coming running. 7. Then I, contrary to will, am coming very fast (in a Ford). 8. Already very close the bear appeared to come. 9. I left him there and went away. 10. Then I, while appearing to go away from there, looked back. 11. No bear. 12. This direction I (am) on the steep place. [177]

13. Then I woke up suddenly. 14. (It was) the first time I dreamt of the bear from Bishop. 15. Then I from there came away from Bishop, having finished dreaming (of) that bear. 16. Then I came and arrived here to my own father. 17. Then I lived here two or three months. 18. Then I dream again (of) that bear, my own past dream.

19. There on the summit I see him when dreaming. 20. He followed me. 21. Then I passed that bear; then I woke up. 22. Then, two weeks after my own dream, I took leave toward Bishop. 23. Then I, on the summit, went and arrived. 24. Then I remembered my own past dream (of) the bear. 25. I did not stand for a moment on the summit. 26. Straightway I went. 27. I became very frightened. 28. From there I took leave.

17. REQUESTED DREAM

1. I dreamed because you said to me, "You will dream." 2. Then I dream that at night we are sitting in the house. 3. A big white house and another house are standing in the neighborhood. 4. Then we are sitting there next to the house. 5. We are eating our own lunch. 6. Then your wife is sitting on this side. 7. Then from there she yells to you: "Come, run," she is saying. 8. Then you go to that side. 9. Then your wife is holding the little girl. 10. The little girl died momentaneously. 11. Then I saw above. 12. Then I see it; (there are) two men and one woman. 13. Then one man sits next to me. 14. Then he says, "Do not look," he says, "it is bad," he says. 15. Then Old Man is sitting on this side. 16. Then I say, "Let me call him."

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

17. Then I, already wanting to go, woke up with a start. 18. Then I got up at four o'clock. 19. Then I went out far away; when I arrived, I prayed (and) I blew (to get rid of the impurity of the dream). 20. I dreamed a bad one. 21. I blew (the bad dream away). 22. "Nothing, nothing (bad remains)," I say, "everything (is) good; to us nothing (bad) will happen." 23. It is the end. 539x

18. BULL DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along the valley. 2. Then I see cattle. 3. I go and hold my own gun. 4. Then I see the bull. 5. There is not a bull (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me. 6. Then from there I go down toward the canyon, I am going to the canyon. 7. Then I see the bull in front (of me). 8. Then, when he sees me, he runs away from me because I am holding my own gun. 9. Then I woke up. [177 411 756]

19. DEER DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along. 2. I cross the deep canyon. 3. On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains. 4. Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks. 5. Then I went and found many deer. 6. Then they jump about in every direction. 7. Then a big one stands still. 8. Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead. 9. Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart. 10. Then I woke up with a start. 11. It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say. [787]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. There, it is said, I was born; it is (where) I am living (now); my father says (this); and there, also, my older brother, it is said, all (of us siblings) were born. 2. Then, it is said, I grew up already; it is said I wandered about already. 3. Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me. 4. Then, it is said, I am crying. 5. Then, it is said, my mother is sick. 6. Then, it is said, I am crying very much when I am hungry. 7. Then, it is said, I took from there to here a little blanket. "Here, sit down, mother," I say, it is said; "No," she says. 8. Then, it is said, I eat food.

9. From there I grew up already. 10. Then I am learning already. 11. Then my father made my bow. 12. Then I am hunting. 13. Then I am killing wood-rats; (I) used to eat those birds, everything. 14. I used to bring to my own father (whatever I shot). 15. Then, "Good," says my father. 16. (I) used to kill everything, rabbits, cottontails, and also quail, and also pigeon. 17. Then I bring that to my own father. 18. And also I used to cause fish to swallow (bait). 19. I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip). 20. Then my mother boils those (fish); we used to eat them all the time.

21. Then father used to teach us. 22. "Wander about well(-behaved); steal nothing and also do not be nasty to the old men when you see (them); if you believe (my words), then you will get old." 23. "Good," we say, "then we are wandering about well(-behaved) all the time." 24. "Surely I got old already because I believe the talk of my own father." 25. Then he used to tell us myths in the evening when it was winter, (about) Coyote, (about) everything. 26. "Then go ye and bathe in the morning, when the Morning Star comes out; twice ye will dive in." 27. Then he says, "Good." 28. "Nothing will prick you; but if you will not bathe, then wood will prick you." 29. Surely, we used to bathe in the dark (before dawn); the water is very cold; we break the ice when we bathe; then (it is) good. 30. We do everything good all the time.

31. Then from there one Mexican came and arrived. 32. Then he says, "Would that your offspring would go watch over my pets (goats)." 33. "Good," says my father. 34. Then he took us; there we went and arrived at his house; and his pets (are) many. 35. Then we look after (them) every day and also we gather firewood in the evening when we arrive (at camp). 36. Then we used to run away when we were tired out; we come back toward our own house. 37. Then when we arrived, father used to scold us. 38. "Why did you come back?" he says. "(Because) we were tired." 40. Then he goes and puts us back again. 41. Presently we are coming back in the same way. 42. Then we do not go for a long time. 43. Then after a while the Mexican came and arrived. 44. "I already sold those, my own pets," he says; "and I left some," he says, "my present to your offspring," he says, "and ye come get (them)," he says. 45. "Good," says my father. 46. Then we went from there to go get (them). 47. Then we took (them) from there to here. 48. We brought (them) there (where) I used to look after (them). 49. Then from there we sold them.

50. Then from there I went to school. 51. Then I did not know the language of that teacher. 52. Then (there is) one Mexican; when I do not understand the language, then the Mexican tells me. 53. Then from there we went; then from school we went in the evening toward Weldon. 54. Then one man went and caught up to us there. 55. He is coming on horseback. 56. Then he talked to us, "Cold," he says. 57. Then we all say, "Cold!" too. 58. We do not understand what that means. 59. Then the man looks at us. 60. From there we came back in the evening toward our own house. 61. Then from there we are coming to school. 62. I went to school one year. 63. Then that teacher whipped me because I do not hear (i.e., understand) what she means. 64. She whipped me. 65. Then I got mad. 66. Then I tore my own book. 67. From there I went toward my own house. 68. Then from there I worked; I never went to school again.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

people came to see me, and also that doctor. 530. Then, it is said, "Let me sew him up," (that doctor) is saying, it is said (referring to my head). 531. Then, it is said, they brought me inside the house. 532. There, it is said, he sewed me up. 533. Then after four days I knew it. 534. I am lying in bed. 535. Then I saw one woman; she is the one who nurses me. 536. She is feeding me. 537. "Are you being very sick?" she is saying to me. 538. "No," I am saying. 539. Then, "Good," she is saying. 540. Then she is bathing me. 541. I stayed there one month. 542. Then she took me to my house. 539X 159

543. I lived there a long time in my own (Bishop) house. 544. After five months I am sick yet. 545. "I shall go to my own (Kern River) house," I am saying to my own wife. 546. "Good," she is saying. 547. "And I shall take Mickey," I am saying. 548. Then, "Good," she is saying, "and you care for him well," she is saying. 549. Then from there I went to the house of the agent. 550. "I go back pretty soon," I am saying, "to my own house," I am saying, "and I shall take Mickey," I am saying to that chief (the Indian agent). 551. "Good," he is saying, "you care for him well," he is saying. 552. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

553. From there we came. 554. We stayed here. 555. Then I am living here. 556. Then Chogil arrived here. 557. Then he came and arrived at my house. 558. Then he took me in his hand (shook hands). 559. "Hello," he is saying. 560. I saw him for the first time. 561. Then, "I am glad to see you," he is saying. 562. "I (am) too," I am saying when he is speaking. 563. Then from there, "(This) is my wife," he is saying. 564. Then from there I took her hand. 565. "Hello," she is saying. 566. "Hello yourself," I am saying. 567. Then from there Chogil spoke to me, "I am writing the language of Indians," he is saying, "and can you not teach me?" Chogil is saying; "and one dollar I am paying," he is saying, "for half of the day," he is saying, "you will teach me half of the day," he is saying; "and also another one, a woman, is living there," he is saying, "that one will teach me half the day," he is saying. 568. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 569. Then they camped there; we are working from there, half the day. 570. Then from there in the afternoon Chogil is coming to the house of Ambashupim. 571. Coming to work, he is coming there. 572. Then from there in the evening he is going back again; it is the same (as this) every day. 573. Then from there the wife of Chogil is asking Old Man too. 574. She is getting everything. 575. She is asking (about) every flower. 576. "What is its name?" she is saying. 577. She is asking that (about) everything. 578. She is doing that every day. 579. Then we are working with Chogil. 580. He is getting every myth. 581. Chogil is writing all that down. 539X 159 177

582. Then my friend wrote to me there. 583. "I (am) arrested," he is saying, "and you tell my sister in future," he is saying, "and also my younger brother," he is saying; "you come see me in future," he is saying; "the wife jailed me," he is saying. 584. Then I told his sister and also his younger brother. 585. Then, "Good," she is saying, "we shall go to see him," she is saying. 586. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking. 587. "And you might talk to your own friend," she is saying, "to that Chogil," she is saying, "you say in future, 'Take us in future,' " she is saying, " 'toward Bishop,' " she is saying. 539X 159

588. Then from there I talked to Chogil. 589. "It is said that you might take us," I am saying to Chogil. 590. Then, "Good," he is saying, "well, we will go tomorrow," he is saying. 591. Then from there the next day I talked to that one who wants to go (the younger brother): "We are on the point of going already," I am saying. 592. "I cannot go," he is saying, "but you wait a while, (about) four days," he is saying, "then I will get money (for finishing irrigation work)," he is saying. 593. Then I spoke to Chogil. "The money of that one, of the one who wants to go, is said (to be) nothing," I am saying. " 'And you might wait four days,' he is saying to me, 'then I will get money,' he is saying," thus I spoke to Chogil. 594. "That (is just as) well, our going (alone, without him)," he is saying, "we (must go) today," he is saying. 595. Then from there I spoke to that man (the younger brother), "It is said that we take leave," I am saying. 596. "Well, good," he is saying, "when you go and arrive, you say in future to my older brother, 'When you get out, come (to Kern River) in future.' " 597. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 131 197 177 563 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

SHELTER

342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohošt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yIhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; Tübatulabal houses had no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork [[71] Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set [221] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [841] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

● 178 Most of Tübatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
[22] about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

178 342 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 342 More elaborate type of summer shelter, referred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept [221] under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 361 Camps.- At piñon grounds Tübatulabal often camped in large group, within circular corral-like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her
● [178] son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

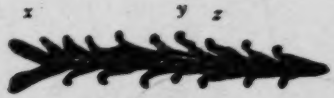

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community
158 who deliberately set fire to others' property;
[753] insane persons (tohoyi·wut) "just had to be watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
[624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

● 181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[171] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

and not merely the ordinary term plus a suffix as in the case of relatives by affinity. The terms applied to five such relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relatives were obtained. The suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added in these cases, apparently with some such meaning as "used to be;" for this is the meaning given for the analogous Kawaiisu suffix -puni or -repuni. Doubtless the suffix is added to other Tübatulabal terms of affinity besides the five mentioned, but examples were not obtained. It is not unlikely also that the term nawasu (child's spouse's parent) is changed upon the death of one of the connecting relatives, just as the corresponding Kawaiisu term teeni is changed (see p. 232). The Tübatulabal term kali (father's sister's husband) and its identical-reciprocal take the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ (see p. 222). On this account it is suspected that all other analogous terms for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews by affinity likewise take this suffix. However, information on this point was not obtained.

In the following list m. s. and w. s. stand respectively for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

TÜBATULABAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS[1]

ana. Father (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare kumu (father), abu (mother), and ümü (mother).

kumu. Father (after death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father, stepfather. Reciprocals: tumu (son; daughter; brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather, while yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother.

abu. Mother (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare ümü (mother), ana (father), and kumu (father).

ümü. Mother (after the death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother. Reciprocal: tumu (son; daughter; sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child).

[1] The terms anociwan, kuñan, pauwan, soiyin, tohan, wüñin, and yuguan were always given with the terminal -n, which means "my" (see A. L. Kroeber, Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 262, 1909). The terms agist, amust, hümübic, impaiyis, wasumbis, wo.ict, and ya.ubic were never given with the terminal -n. The remaining terms were given both with and without it, and are here listed without it. In reference, and sometimes in address, the suffix -nuñ, also with the meaning "my," is added to the term as in wasumbisnuñ, tôhanuñ, and kutcinuñ.

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman. 539x 159

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her. 837

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking. 539x 159 578 [195]

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter. 539x 159

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. 515. Then my wife is angry all the time. [845 768] [592]

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many 539x 159 [273]

128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dl	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ǰ
c	sibilant	š

HABITAT

101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal [177] band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

●197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tIbatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
● [197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were re-
[241] moved with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

The Tübatulabal.

Origin and movements.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübâtulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

•197 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatu-
174 labal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the
131 Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

[P. 605]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had
131 crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts
197 foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and
177 Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that
563 of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

● 201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, ~~720~~); MN, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while [537] narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation.

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, TÜbatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MN's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

7 v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 Showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[24] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
511 forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
222 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
224 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
226 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rabbits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

●221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills; [512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

[317
484]

262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM).

[276]

[p. 11(b)]

251 343 sional use such as pack baskets, baby cradles, fishing gear, sacks, etc.

251 Fresh meat dried in sun by being cut into thin strips, 6 x 12 in. or smaller, hung up, either salted or unsalted, on branches of tree or on line made from native twine strung between 2 trees; drying generally took from 6-7 days. Fish split, cleaned, salt rubbed over them; hung up on willow branches to dry in sun during summer months. Neither meat nor fish smoked or dried over fire; dried fish "would last a long time" (FP, SM). Wild grapes spread out in sun to dry "like raisins" then stored for winter use; box-thorn berries dried whole or in cakes; rush roots sun-dried, stored; small seeds stored, either parched or unparched, in skin sacks or baskets, in storage house.

● 221 262 Staples; yearly consumption of food.- As food calendar shows (p. 11), during spring and summer seasons Tübatulabal had relatively varied vegetable diet, but by fall their plant foods decreased in variety and during winter they "just ate acorns, piñons, and meat of any sort they could get, and dried and fresh fish" (SM). Of 2 vegetable foods eaten during winter, acorns figured as staple; "more acorns were eaten than piñons; old-timers ate acorn mush with deermeat, like bread. We just get acorns now once in awhile, because now we have white flour" (SM). That piñons were, however, also important in Tübatulabal diet, is shown by amount stored during good piñon yrs. However, abundant crops occur at best only every second yr., whereas acorns, of which Tübatulabal had 6 varieties to draw upon, could be procured in one locality or another annually.

Regarding proportion of animal, vegetable food eaten, my meager data on subject indicate meats, including birds and fish, may have comprised 40 per cent of food consumed throughout [146] yr., acorns, piñons (if crop good) 40 per cent, small seeds, stalks, raw foods, etc., 20 per cent. As to amount of food consumed by family throughout year, data lacking for flesh foods, but for acorns SM said family 2 adults, 3 children needed one acorn granary (of dimensions given above), full, to have sufficient acorns for year. "If they had a larger family, they made a bigger granary" (SM). To this amount of acorns should be added contents of smaller acorn granary family might have near home. Piñon supplies varied, but in yrs. of good crop family of 5 stored cache such as described above, full of piñons, besides bringing several sackfuls home at end of piñon-gathering period.

251 262 Since all foodstuffs in order to be kept properly had to be sun-dried before being stored, weather which prevailed at season when wild foodstuffs were available for gathering and storing often regulated to a degree amount of food stored from yr. to yr. This consideration applies especially to storage of fish and some of minor plant foodstuffs, such as salt from salt grass,

SHELTER

342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohoŝt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yĪhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; TÜbatulabal houses had [171] no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In win- [221] ter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [841] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 Most of TÜbatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
[22] about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

178 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of
342 tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 More elaborate type of summer shelter, re-
342 ferred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in
[221] same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 Camps.- At piñon grounds Tübatulabal often
361 camped in large group, within circular corral-like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

[p. 25(a)]

352 deer sinew (tohi·lɪ̈ŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bɪ̈·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
● [221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with PN's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener
[171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central
324 groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with
462 simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from
177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

•17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
•221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
[171] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted
592 of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

592

House I

Tübat.♂ (1) | Willy Miranda (3) | Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2) | =Tübat.♀ (4) | Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4) | ♀ (9) | Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8) | ♂ (10) | plus =Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
♀ (11)
♂ (12)

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
[343] a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet
[361] no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

428 was, however, mainly burnt, destroyed, or given
768 away at owner's death or at burning later. Quantity of property destroyed at burnings varied; in event all not destroyed, some of man's property might find its way into his brother's or sons' hands, some of woman's into her sister's or daughter's keeping; husband did not inherit any property from wife or vice versa. FP complained that after her husband's death, SM, her husband's brother, tried to get some of his brother's property; "that was the way they used to do; they'd take everything away from the widow."

428 If man left 3 sackfuls shell money at his death,
556 son "might save out 2 of them from his father's
768 burning and keep them" to help establish himself as a rich man; this was all right, "because that relation (deceased) would know the son was going to burn that money again later on" (i.e., when son himself died). Man's bow, arrows usually not burnt because "they were hard to make"; deceased woman's mortars, metate, mullers, sometimes necklace, some of her baskets might also be saved by her relatives.

●221 Movements and trade.- From Feb. through middle
484 of Aug., food-gathering activities kept Tübatulabal shifting about in family groups in lower altitudes (2000-4000 ft.), chiefly in lower and upper Sonoran life zones, in valleys, foothills, river canyons. From Aug. to middle of Nov., groups moved into higher altitudes (5000-6000 ft.), first E to piñon grounds on w. slopes of Sierra Nevadas in Transition zone, then W to acorn grounds in Greenhorn mts. in upper Sonoran zone; family groups or individuals might also go on trading trips after piñon harvest. During short winter season from middle of Nov. to Feb., family groups returned to valley-foothill region in lower and upper Sonoran zones and men did some hunting, fishing, and procured salt from desert, but at this season people "mainly stayed home, not doing anything" (SM) and lived in small hamlets (fig. 11).

487 Adults, in couples or small groups, also trav-
484 eled quite a bit outside home area (SM); Powers, 1875, met a Palagewan at Tule R. reservation who had visited Hopi (Powers, 394). Desire to trade, to hunt, fish, or gather food in certain areas, to play games, obtain services of shaman among reasons mentioned for taking trips. To E, Tübatulabal went as far as Randsburg on Mohave desert; to S, SW to Tejon in Tehachapi mts. and to Chumash villages near Ventura on Pacific coast; to W as far as Tulare lake, in central San Joaquin valley. As girl FP had camped on desert (see Autobiography of FP); SM as boy of 9 had been to Tejon ranch and Ventura with his father; in going to Chumash villages near Ventura, route lay through Walker's basin to Caliente, thence to Yokuts village, Lapau, then to Tejon, thence via Comanche creek to 2 Chumash villages, makakak and alko·laupal, near Ventura. Trip took 2 days on foot to Tejon, 2 more days from Tejon to Ventura (SM). MM's narrative of trip from Tejon to Caliente confirms former part of this

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so
[487] every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake
[221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

159 ing over; everybody here stopped going. The last
484 time we went to Visalia we left Annie and Irene
up at Onyx and then they went to Riverside, to
school down there.

159 I was feeling good all that time. We always
●221 used to go live at Canebrake in the summer, and
753 then we'd come down to the Mack ranch in winter,
so that Esther and Johnnie could go to school at
Weldon. At the Mack ranch though I began to
dream bad again; I'd see one woman whom I don't
know, holding my head. That's why my ear hurts
now; I have been sick like that for 4 yrs.

159 Then we had to leave our house at the Mack
ranch. A white man wanted to live in that house.
We moved up to Rafael Chico's place; they kept
asking us at the Onyx rancheria, "Why don't you
move up here, to Rafael's?" But there were too
many drunken men around up there; they would come
and fight inside the houses. We didn't like that.
And those witches live too close to Rafael's. I
was sick all the time up there. We lived there 2
months; I coughed, coughed all the time. So 2
yrs. ago last April we moved down here (near
Weldon) from there. When we moved down here I
got well. But last summer I got this cough again,
only not so bad as I have it now. I can't do
much now; I can't make tobacco this year, because
I'm too sick. We got lots last year; enough to
last this year too, I think. I got some chia seeds
last year too, over by the little hill in Charley
Andress' meadow. But it's too hot to go cut the
tobacco this year, and kneeling hurts me. I'd
like to go to that Indian doctor they have over
at Bishop; there's a good one over there. Maybe
Legora and I will go over this fall. If I could
see that doctor I think I'd be all right again.

Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut.
February 20, 1936.

[p. 80(b)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

69. Then we went in the home of Peterson to cut posts. 70. There we made camp at the bottom of the mountain. 71. Then that next day my father cut juniper posts. 72. Then I used to make bread at noon and also in the evening. 73. When he arrives in the evening, he is eating that bread and also rabbit. 74. We cut many (posts). 75. We win a unit of money (ten cents) for one post. 76. Then I carry the posts on my own back. 77. I piled (them) there on the level place. 78. He (father) stayed there all summer in order to cut (posts). 79. Then in the evening I went to get water. 80. The water is there far away. 81. When it got dark already, then I came back, fetching water from there to here. 82. Then I got lost, coming back. 83. I took the downward way. 84. From there I got lost; there I yelled; then nobody (answered). 85. Then I cried. 86. Then I ran; I am dangling my own pail when crossing (the canyon). 87. Then my father talked there. 88. "Where are you going?" 89. "I got lost," I am saying, "the water which I got ran out." 90. "Come," (father) is saying, "let's go fetch water," he is saying. 91. From there we came back in order to fetch water from there toward our own camp. 92. We stayed there all summer. 93. Then we finished. 94. Then we came back in our own house. 95. Then when winter comes, we go back again in order to go and cut firewood. 96. Then we went away from everything. 97. Then there we cut (wood) all winter. 98. (There is) only much juniper firewood. 99. We finished there. 100. Then we came back toward our own house. 101. Then we arrived in our own house. 102. Then we are just living. 103. (There is) no work.

104. Then we used to play. 105. We are playing tag in the bull-pine trees; we are climbing (the trees); we are chasing each other. 106. Then we make one boy "it." 107. And we are not playing on the ground (but) in the bull-pine trees. 108. That one (who is "it") chases us. 109. Then to catch us he touches someone. 110. Then that one stays "it" next. 111. Then we are running away up (in the trees). 112. We are jumping in different places in the branches of the bull-pine tree. 113. Then some are falling down (and) are running away from the branches of the bull pines. 114. Some are hanging on the branches of the bull pines. 115. We are playing during the day.

116. And then again we are playing different games after that. 117. We are playing quoits; with the shoots of the bull pine, we are making the quoit; with it we play quoits. 118. Then we are cutting sticks; having finished making the quoit. 119. We are fixing the target. 120. We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins. 121. Five or six boys gamble with those quoits. 122. Some (are) proficient. 123. Then one is shooting first. 124. Each one (has) three quoits. 125. Then one is shooting first at that target. 126. Then he is shooting close. 127. Then next another one is shooting. 128. Then he is shooting on top of that quoit. 129. Then from there again another one is shooting. 130. Then he throws that quoit this way. 131. From there again another one is shooting. 132. Then he pushes aside those (which had been placed by the other boys). 133. Then there he is holding that target (i.e., he is closest to it); he is winning. 134. We are playing during the day.

135. Then, when we want to practice shooting at a target, we are going and gathering canes. 136. We are making many canes into arrows. 137. We are making arrows well. 138. We are putting feathers on them. 139. Then, having finished (the arrows), we are making the target. 140. We are tying the brush (for a target). 141. We are practicing shooting at that. 142. Then whoever is hitting it, then that hitter is hiding that target (which he hit) under the ground. 143. Then, "Shoot," (one of the boys) is saying to you. 144. Then you are shooting (at the target now concealed in the ground). 145. Right there you are leaving your own arrow (having shot it in the ground at the concealed arrow). 146. Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next. 147. Then he is hitting that target because he knows his own hiding place (better than the other who only knows the general spot in which he placed the target). 148. Then he pulls out that (hidden target) with his own arrow (which is firmly shot into the concealed target). 149. Then from there again he hides for him (another player) that one, that target under the ground. 150. "Now shoot," he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting. 151. "Leave your arrow right here," he is saying.

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal NS29

159 father and is older than P.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When P.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

P.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena'wa in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, i'n^wao, was east of Čena'wa. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above P.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which P.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's:ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'w:l ti''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi''i.[128]

T Y [354] T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. P.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in TÜbatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species TÜbatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into TÜbatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of TÜbatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by TÜbatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). TÜbatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in TÜbatulabal area.

311 241 511 [463] [462 231] ● [222] 177 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of TÜbatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
511 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
●222 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rab-
224 bits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal
226 plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
224 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals.
226 Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
●222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E [317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable
824 foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 Niceties in matter of diet extended to prepara-
824 tion of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger [276] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM).

[p. 11(b)]

824 (Gray) Greene; Lycum cooperi Gray; Marrubium
137 vulgare L.; Malacothrix californica DC.; Melilotus indica All.; Mimulus gluttatus D.C., M. cardinalis Dougl.; Mirabilis laevis (Benth.) Curran; Montia perfoliata (Donn) Howell; Nama demissum Gray; Oenothera alyssoides and O. alyssoides T. & G. var. decorticans Jepson, O. bistorta Nutt., O. caespitosa Nutt., O. contorta Dougl., O. pallida Lindl., O. palmeri Watson, O. scapoidea T. & G.; Pallaea and romedaefolia Fee; Penstemon laetus Gray, P. palmeri Gray, P. breviflorus Lindl.; Phacelia tanecilifolia Benth., P. hispica Gray var. cicutaria McB.; Platystemon californicum Benth.; Polygonum persicaria L.; Ranunculus aquatilis L.R. var. cymbalaria Pursh.; Rumex crispus L., R. hymenosepalus Torrey; Senecio douglasii DC.; Sidalcea malvaeflora Gray; Sisymbrium incisum Engelm.; Sphaeralcea (Malvastrum) exile (Gray) Jepson; Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC.) Rydb.; Stephanomeria exigua Nutt. var. pentachaeta Hall, S. virgata Benth.; Tropidocarpum gracile Hook.; Vaccaria vulgaris Host.

This list probably represents only small fraction of indigenous plants available to Tübatulabal, of which they made no use; it serves to illustrate, in concrete fashion, selective processes at work, among people of hunting-gathering culture, in their utilization of their floral environment, and negative rôle which part of that environment played in their culture.

Plants put to other ethnobotanical uses, for curing, house building, etc., referred to in discussions of these subjects.

●222 Gathering of plant food.- When acorns ripe,
[462] "all the people except very old persons and young children went together to get them" (SM); women chiefly collected them while men hunted, trapped.
251 Acorns gathered from ground in small conical baskets, transferred when baskets full to large basket, in which they were brought back to camp and spread out on deerskins, tule mats for 3-4 days to dry, this preventing acorns from sweating when cached; then stored at acorn grounds, in elevated caches. Acorns gathered near home packed back to hamlets, cached near houses.

222 When berries ripe on shrub (opo·bol), Rhamnus
824 californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, which grows in foothill floral area, "the people knew piñons were ready to be gathered in the mts. So some men went out first to see where the piñons were good; just any men went; they decided, and then everybody went to the places where these men said the nuts were plentiful" (SM). All inhabitants of
[887] hamlet or of several hamlets went together; sometimes very old persons might not stay at piñon camp when weather became too cold, but return to hamlet alone. Piñons gathered when cones reached maturity, but before they had opened; men, boys knocked cones off trees with staves or pulled down branches with "shepherd's crook" staff; men, women picked up cones, put them in conical lug baskets which were emptied into larger conical

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
●222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time
824 to determine whether heat from burning brush had
222 caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on
264] stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which berries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 8 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

●222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin.,
258 utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July, August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice inside the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey
171 dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
[237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in.wide at
[171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tÿbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
[482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Lug basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on upcurve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to win-
[252] now piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
● [222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
591 were married; my people were living up there, making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
● 222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

857
152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539 X
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 X
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are 159
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 524
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 857
lasts a long time.

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 X
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is 159
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 526
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 857
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 X
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 224
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). [251]
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are 226
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from [464]
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

. 187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 X
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt- 159
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 222●
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 857
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there [225]
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the 624
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

598. From there we took leave. 599. We went and arrived there at Independence (where the man was jailed). 600. Then from there we asked that sheriff. 601. "Is it rightly said that the prisoner is living here?" we are saying. 602. Then that sheriff is saying, "Yes." 603. Then Chogil spoke, "We are wanting to talk to him," he is saying. 604. Then, "Good," he is saying. 605. Then we went inside. 606. We saw that prisoner there. 607. "Hello, hello," he is saying to Yukaya, "and who is this?" he is saying. 608. "It is my friend," I am saying. 609. "Good," he is saying. 610. "We are coming to see (you)," I am saying. 611. "But I an already judged," he is saying, "I am given six months," he is saying. 612. Then I told Chogil. 613. Then Chogil spoke, "Good," he is saying, "let me ask this sheriff." 614. Then Chogil asked. 615. Then the sheriff spoke, "He can't get out now," he is saying, "he is given six months," that sheriff is saying. 616. Then Chogil is saying, "Good." 539 X 159

617. Then we took leave from there. 618. We went and arrived there at Bishop, there at the house of my friend. 619. Then, "Hello," my friend is saying when (we) are arriving, "and who is (this)?" he is saying to Chogil. 620. "It is my friend," I am saying. 621. "And is (this) his wife?" he is saying. 622. "Yes," I am saying when he is speaking. 623. Then that man took Chogil and also his wife in his hand. 624. "You come in," he is saying to us. 625. We stayed there at his house for two days.

626. From there we came back again. 627. We came and arrived here, back again. 628. Then also, when arriving here, we worked again. 629. Then from there Chogil spoke, "Pretty soon I go back to my own house," he is saying. 630. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 631. Then from there he takes leave. 632. Chogil (and his wife), they go back toward their own house. 633. Then Chogil spoke when taking leave, "I shall come again," he is saying, "in another summer," he is saying, "then also we shall work," he is saying. 634. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 635. Then from there they took leave.

636. Then when Chogil had finished taking leave, I cut firewood all winter. 637. Then from there I finished my own cutting. 638. Then one man wrote to us. 639. Then, "You come to the dance," he is saying, "we shall make a dance," he is saying, "at Christmas." 640. Then when writing to him, "Good," we are saying. 641. Then from there we took leave. 642. We went and arrived there at Tejon; (it was) already very late. 643. (There are) many people when we arrived, many girls. 644. Right away we danced all night. 645. We came from there in the morning. 646. Then our machine became bad. 647. Then we approached the river (at the bottom of Kern Canyon). 648. Then we are coming and ascending the steep place. 649. Then our machine stopped. 650. Then from there it ran backward. 651. Then it hit the rock there. 652. Then it turned over. 653. Then I jumped out on the ground. 654. Then, while jumping, I lifted Mickey out. 655. Then those two men, our partners, they came and fell down. 656. Our machine is lying there. 657. Then from there we put it up back again. 658. Then (it is) well; nothing (is) bad; pretty soon that windshield broke apart. 659. Then it ran again. 660. From there, also, we came. 661. Then we arrived at our own houses. 662. Then we stayed at home. 539 X 159 [313]

663. Then from there we went toward Walker pass to gather pine nuts when they got ripe. 664. We are gathering pine nuts there. 665. Many people came and arrived there. 666. Then, sure enough, my wife came and arrived there. 667. "So, you are gathering pine nuts here?" she is saying. 668. "Yes," I am saying when she is speaking. 669. Then she stayed there with me. 670. From there we are all gathering pine nuts. 671. Then, having finished gathering pine nuts, we came from there toward my house. 672. We stayed there a while. 539 X 159 222

673. From there we went toward Tule. 674. "Let us go sell pine nuts." 675. Then we took leave. 676. We took six bags, and also tobacco. 677. Then we went and arrived there at Tule. 678. Then we saw many people. 679. Then they are saying to us, "What are you bringing?" 680. "Pine nuts," we are saying. 681. "That is good food," they are saying, "but our money (is) nothing," they are saying. 682. Then they bought a little. 683. "The money (is) gone," they are saying. 684. Then from there we went toward Visalia. 685. We 539 X 159 432

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

●223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens
[373] when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could FN give additional information.

●223 Young golden eaglets (a·šawYt) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying
237 net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that Tübatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
[773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
[171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots of them, at a spring. He made a little brush house and sat inside that house; when the doves came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't see him inside the house and he shot them with bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring half a sackful to camp; those doves were good and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone; there was no one else with us. We traveled all night on that desert; it was moonlight. There are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring, we wanted to drink that water there. So we stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a hill above the spring a little way off; we ran the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
[171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then, lots of them; they chase women, right away when they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the summit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested a little, because we were tired. It was sunup when we got to the summit. Then we came down to Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid and ran over on a little hill where we watched them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people living there. We were going home to omomïp from there, but they told us my mother had left omomïp to gather chia seeds and that nobody was home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody from omomïp was over at Scodie's mt., so that same day we went over there. We were very tired, but we couldn't stay over at omomïp all alone, with nobody in the house. We found my mother all right.

My grandmother came back from over on the desert a week after we got back. That girl who came home with me that time is still living; she lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady. She looks young yet; the Indians never used to get old-looking for a long time in the old days; these young people do now though because they eat
[262] everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wïšimlït (SM's

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

7. YIHAWAL STEALS GIRL

1. (This is) not a myth. People, the pioneers, (had already) come here. 2. Once a man and also his wife are living, and also her child, a little girl, and also her mother-in-law. 3. Then the man goes and hunts, and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns. 4. Then her child is crying all the time when her mother goes pounding.

5. Then also in the evening the little girl cries. 6. Then her mother left her. "Right here take her and go away, Yihawal," (the mother) says. 7. From there her mother went toward the house. 8. She went and arrived at her own house. 9. Then her mother-in-law asks, "Where is the little girl?" 10. Then from there her mother went and ran back again.

11. The little girl is not there. 12. Yihawal took her here and went away. 13. Back again (the mother) came and ran toward the house. "Nothing there," she says. 14. From there, then, they both went. 15. There they met the man. 16. "What is it you are looking for?" (he asks). 17. "I left the little girl here," her mother says; "perhaps Yihawal has already taken her here and gone away."

18. Yihawal took her to his own house. 19. Then Yihawal hunts every day. 20. He brings many mountain quail in the evening. 21. Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits, and also he stirs chia seed in the cooking-basket. 22. Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket. 23. That woman eats (the contents of the cooking-basket). 24. He fixes her blankets for her. 25. He blankets that (woman). 26. His blankets (are) good ones. 27. He strung (them of) the skin of the mountain quail.

28. Then Yihawal said, "Already your relatives begin to make fiesta. Better let me take you there." 29. Then from there he took her. 30. He put her there, close to the house. 31. "Don't you tell (how you were brought up)," he says, "for three days," he says. 32. Then, "Good," says the woman.

33. From there he went to his own house. 34. Then she went and arrived outside her own house. 35. She hears the crying (of the fiesta). 36. Then her mother came out there outside (the house) (and) saw there that woman while she stands there. 37. Then (the mother) went toward her. 38. "Who are you?" she says. 39. "I stand (here), your child. You left me and went away to your pounding."

40. Then her mother took her inside the house. 41. Then her mother became silent. 42. Then all the people came, when they came to see her. 43. They are talking to her. 44. "Where (were) you, you who have traveled?" (they ask). 45. She does not tell. 46. Then they also (more people) are coming; they are coming and asking her.

47. Then after a while, she told. 48. "I (am) the one who lived there," she says, "in the home of Yihawal." 49. Then from there she went and fell dead when she had finished saying it. 50. Then there her child runs away. 51. He went, he went, so they say. 52. There it got ended.

8. END OF THE MYTHICAL AGE

1. Many people are living. 2. Then Coyote says to Eagle, "Pretty soon we get scattered. Different people will come," he says. 3. "Good," they (the people) say when he says (this). 4. Coyote (is) chief. 5. "Where will you live?" he says to Eagle. 6. "On Lelet" (a mountain peak south of Weldon). 7. "And you?" Coyote says to Bat. 8. "Indeed, I shall wander at night." 9. "And you?" Coyote says to Lizard. 10. "Indeed, I shall live on rocks." 11. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Grasshopper. 12. "Indeed, I shall wander in the valley." 13. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Fish. 14. "Indeed, I shall live in the water," Fish says. 15. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Sage Hen. 16. "Indeed, I shall live in the sagebrush."

17. Eagle (asks) Coyote, "Where will you live?" 18. "Indeed, I shall live in the valley; I will eat beetles and also grasshoppers." 19. There it is ended.

known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

Hunting.---P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

Tobacco.---Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´was) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131]Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobomuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132]Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
511 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
222 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
224 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rab-
226 bits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
●224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E [317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable
824 foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 Niceties in matter of diet extended to prepara-
824 tion of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger [276] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM).

[p. 11(b)]

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
136 cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yĭta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwĭt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cĭmil), gray squirrel (cawanĭnt), blue squirrel (šĭ'ĭgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bĭ·l), bluejay (a·gayibišt).

●224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
[533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might
224 also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space
[237] cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
276 beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and
301 when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (panhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large game; deer, antelope never corralled and killed; [231] large game never chased over cliffs; dogs not used for hunting (SM). Antelope chased by one hunter toward second man concealed behind bush or [349] pile rocks; Waterman has picture of pass where trail leads from South Fork valley to Kern valley, showing loose rocks which "are remains of small structure and pit, where lurking hunters shot antelope, which were run through the pass by beaters" (Mus. cat. no. 15-6258).

476 Once a yr. in July Tübatulabal joined with
224 Kawaiisu, Tejon, Ventura Indians, Yokuts for antelope drive (Kroeber, Handbook, 528) in Yokuts territory on plains near Bakersfield. As many as 500 men took part; in drive men stood in circle, 6 ft. apart; circle was from 2-4 mi. in diameter at beginning of drive; men walked inward, driving antelope before them; when circle had shrunk to a few hundred feet in diameter, 10 men (Kroeber, Handbook, 529, says 2 men from each tribe) stepped [411] inside, shot antelope with flint-tipped arrows. No antelope drives held in Tübatulabal area.

224 Mt. sheep shot with bow and arrow; "easier than deer to kill"; often sighted on rocky promontories along n. edge of South Fork valley, W of Onyx. Grizzlies and brown bears shot in summer with bow and arrows; never attacked in caves or shot from trees, but SM had seen latter done at Tejon. Mt. lions shot while on ground; killed after being treed.

476 Rabbits obtained on valley floors by firing
224 dry brush; 20 or more men stood in circle outside burning brush; as rabbits fled men shot them with bow and arrows. Another method was to use nets (wa·na·l), propped up loosely on sticks on level ground; 15-20 men formed straight line parallel to net 1/4 mi. or so away from it and advanced beating sagebrush with sticks, driving rabbits before them. When rabbits encountered net, vertical props fell down; rabbits became entangled and were clubbed with straight sticks or shot with bow and arrows; crescentic rabbit sticks not used. Those rabbits in rear that succeeded in jumping over fallen net became entangled in second net placed short distance ahead of first one. No boss for drive; rabbits collected, evenly divided by throwing each participant a rabbit until pile exhausted. Rabbits also shot by young boys, men, singly or in small groups, with bow and arrows.

224 Woodrats, squirrels, small birds trapped with rock trap (tõgo·'i·nit) exactly like Havasupai rodent trap (Spier, 1928, 113, fig. 4). For Tübatulabal trap shallow hole 3-4 in. deep dug between upright post and base of rock; acorn impaled on lower stick as bait; when stone slab fell, bird or rodent caught in hole underneath flat rock surface, but not crushed. Men set out 15-20 such traps, especially at piñon grounds during harvest; visited them every 2 days (SM).

224 Small willow blinds like Yokuts model (Kroeber,
349 Handbook, 524, pl. 45), but lacking stone platform, large enough to admit 2 men, built near

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
●224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens
[373] when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Ha[illegible]pai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kana·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlīt's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians; but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

PERSONAL ANECDOTES

23. JOURNEY FROM TEJON

1. Once we came from Tejon to South Fork. 2. Already we (began to) come at six o'clock in the morning. 3. Straightway we came to the mountains. 4. "Don't you go there in the tall mountains, (there) are many bears," they say. 5. "Good," we say when it is being said. 6. I (am) with my wife. 7. We came on foot. 8. Then we came to the middle of the mountains. 9. At three o'clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty. 10. There we are standing; (there is) no water (of) our bringing. 11. Then from there we looked down the canyon. 12. Then I saw cottonwood trees in the canyon. 13. Then I said to my wife, "I don't know but that water is standing there," I say. 14. From there we went toward the canyon. 15. We arrived there by the cottonwood trees. 16. Nothing; the water is dried up. 17. From there we took leave. 18. We are already very thirsty. 19. (It was) far away (before) we went and arrived in the valley. 20. Already it is getting dark. 21. From there we came toward Caliente, (which was) far away yet. 22. From there we had to go about twenty miles. 23. Already we are getting tired. 24. In spite of this, we are coming. 25. Then we came and arrived at Caliente; at eleven o'clock at night we arrived. 26. There we slept.

539X 484

24. DEER HUNT

1. Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiyam in the big mountains. 2. Then I went and arrived on top of the mountain. 3. From there I tracked the deer. 4. He went far away; he crossed the ridge in the canyon. 5. I am going (after) his tracks standing (there). 6. Far away he came out on the summit. 7. I am coming (after) his tracks standing (there). 8. There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going. 9. Then I, in a sitting position, aimed at him right away. 10. Far away he went and sat down half a mile (away). 11. Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him. 12. He came and dropped down dead. 13. Then from there I went when I saw him. 14. There I skinned him. 15. Then I packed him. 16. From there I came toward home. 17. I (am) the one who packs the deer. 18. Then, "Good," says the old man, when he sees it, "pretty soon we get full," says the old man.

539X 224

25. FIESTA NEAR BISHOP

1. Once in Bishop I (am) the one who lived. 2. Then the fiesta got fixed. 3. Then I went from there; (there are) many people. 4. From every place people came. 5. Then they danced, and (there is) hand-game, and (there is) much gambling. 6. (There are) many people. 7. We are dancing every night. 8. (There are) many women; (there is) much copulation. Six days dancing occurred. 9. Then they quit their own dancing; from there they went and went, the people. 10. From there I went toward Bishop. 11. It is all.

539X 527

26. TRIP TO ISABELLA

1. Yesterday we went toward Isabella. 2. Then it is very hot; (there is) no wind. 3. Then we came back from there. 4. Then the wind blows on us when we return. 5. Then we arrived in our own house. 6. Then we ate when we arrived. 7. Then, having finished eating, I went from there toward Chogil's. 8. Then the wife of Chogil is cooking when we arrived. 9. Then Chogil fed us again. 10. Then from there we came back. 11. Then we ate again when we arrived. 12. Then we got very full. 13. Then I did not yield to my own sleep when I was full. 14. Then, when it was the middle of the night, I slept.

539X

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

857
152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539 X
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 X
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 159
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 524
lasts a long time. 857

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 X
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is 159
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 526
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 857
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 X
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 224
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). [251]
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are 226
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from [464]
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 X
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt- 159
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 222
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 857
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there [225]
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game 624
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

[P. 52a] Tubatulabal NS22

known. The clapper (tawa´tw:l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

Hunting.---P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

Tobacco.---Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´aka, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

[131]Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132]Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their own houses without their own arrows, when losing.

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156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It lasts a long time.

539 X
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161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does the same next.

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174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

539 X
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187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunting and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them) every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted. 197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us, perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place (a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigating it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

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511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[24] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
511 forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
222 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rab-
224 bits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal
●226 plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
224 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals.
226 Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
● 226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E
[317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger
[276] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP,ES,SM).

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens
[373] when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

●226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

●226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·št) 7-8 ft.
[227] long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks
[321] (wele·haništ) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrapping of native twine which was given coating of
[283] asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (tï·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers
476 done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt
417 upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to
[462] corral, beat water with long willow poles so that all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

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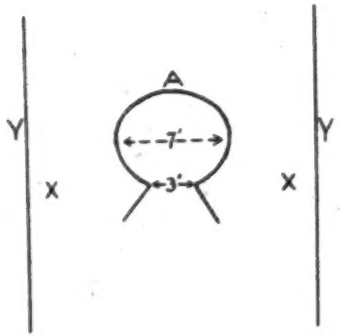

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

Another method of obtaining fish in large
226 quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

[171]

226 411 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiWošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes. Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

[251]

824 137 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punẓil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maṇi·l) from blue oak (maṇi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

[p. 14(6)]

352 deer sinew (t[illegible]·lĭŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
● 226 tules (ši'i·bĭ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
[221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with FP's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

3. Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there [225]
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the 624
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·šṭ) 7-8 ft.
● [227] long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks
[321] (wele·haniṣt) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrapping of native twine which was given coating of
[283] asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (tï·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers
476 done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt
417 upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to corral, beat water with long willow poles so that
[462] all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

[p. 14(a)]

415 285 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 2 willow rods (pi·mun) sewn around top for reinforcement; 2 cloth lugs attached to rim on opposite sides. Seeds, berries collected in this basket as they were knocked off bush with seed beater.

415 285 482 (b) Burden basket (wa·niht); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket, about 29 in. deep, 26 in. in diameter at top. Warp and weft of peeled willow shoots; basket banded with oak rod attached to rim with split willow shoots. Two pieces of willow, 3 in. long, sewn on inside of basket horizontally 9 in. below rim and 6 in. apart; lengths of twine attached to these pieces of willow to make 2 loops (pu·niwa·n) 6 in. long, which came through basket and hung down on outside; pack strap attached to these 2 loops. On some baskets 3 willow bands encircled basket on outside as reinforcement, being put on at top, 1/3 and 2/3 of way down. Specimen 1-19815, small burden basket made by PN, is 20 in. deep, 23 in. in diameter at top; has 2 willow rods around top, with top rod left bare except at intervals where it is stitched to rod underneath it. Rod sewn on inside basket for attaching twine loops. Uses have been mentioned (ante).

[171] (c) Water bottle (iwat); resembled that of Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55e), but had flat base (all informants). Made in 2-ply diagonal twining with warp of whole peeled willow shoots, weft of split willow shoots; 2 loops attached to side as on burden basket, with long string which passed over carrier's forehead, fastened to loops. Bottle pitched inside and out (see section on Glue, Pitch, Asphalt); stoppered with roll of grass (pa·niŝwa·n). Small girls packed little water bottles "like the one in the picture" (Handbook, ibid.); adults larger ones, some 16 in. tall, on trips into dry country. Large bottles, often 17 in. in diameter, used to store water in at dry piñon camps and as water containers at hamlets.

[171] Tule baskets and traps were all of 2-ply diagonal twining; soft tule baskets such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50c) not manufactured among Tübatulabal.

Tule objects included:

227 285 (a) Conical trap; some 4 ft. deep, 3 1/2 ft. wide at top, made similar to burden basket; this trap set below fall in river, secured between 2 sticks as among Owens Valley Paiute [171] (Steward, 1933, 251); set in evening and left overnight.

[171] (b) Tubular trap (wa·mat); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), but made from tules; this staked down in smooth water; "when a big fish got inside, it couldn't turn around to get out" (SM).

[171] (c) Conical scoop (či·dišt); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33b), but lacking inner cone and made from tules; used to scoop up stupefied fish from pools.

285 415 (d) Tule tray (ši'i·bĭ·l u·ži·l); shaped something like seed beater but with broader

[p. 32 (b)]

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, 241 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in 511 extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, 177 cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large game; deer, antelope never corralled and killed; [231] large game never chased over cliffs; dogs not used for hunting (SM). Antelope chased by one hunter toward second man concealed behind bush or [349] pile rocks; Waterman has picture of pass where trail leads from South Fork valley to Kern valley, showing loose rocks which "are remains of small structure and pit, where lurking hunters shot antelope, which were run through the pass by beaters" (Mus. cat. no. 15-6258).

476 224 Once a yr. in July Tübatulabal joined with Kawaiisu, Tejon, Ventura Indians, Yokuts for antelope drive (Kroeber, Handbook, 528) in Yokuts territory on plains near Bakersfield. As many as 500 men took part; in drive men stood in circle, 6 ft. apart; circle was from 2-4 mi. in diameter at beginning of drive; men walked inward, driving antelope before them; when circle had shrunk to a few hundred feet in diameter, 10 men (Kroeber, [411] Handbook, 529, says 2 men from each tribe) stepped inside, shot antelope with flint-tipped arrows. No antelope drives held in Tübatulabal area.

224 Mt. sheep shot with bow and arrow; "easier than deer to kill"; often sighted on rocky promontories along n. edge of South Fork valley, W of Onyx. Grizzlies and brown bears shot in summer with bow and arrows; never attacked in caves or shot from trees, but SM had seen latter done at Tejon. Mt. lions shot while on ground; killed after being treed.

476 224 Rabbits obtained on valley floors by firing dry brush; 20 or more men stood in circle outside burning brush; as rabbits fled men shot them with bow and arrows. Another method was to use nets (wa·na·l), propped up loosely on sticks on level ground; 15-20 men formed straight line parallel to net 1/4 mi. or so away from it and advanced beating sagebrush with sticks, driving rabbits before them. When rabbits encountered net, vertical props fell down; rabbits became entangled and were clubbed with straight sticks or shot with bow and arrows; crescentic rabbit sticks not used. Those rabbits in rear that succeeded in jumping over fallen net became entangled in second net placed short distance ahead of first one. No boss for drive; rabbits collected, evenly divided by throwing each participant a rabbit until pile exhausted. Rabbits also shot by young boys, men, singly or in small groups, with bow and arrows.

224 Woodrats, squirrels, small birds trapped with rock trap (togo·'i·nit) exactly like Havasupai rodent trap (Spier, 1928, 113, fig. 4). For Tübatulabal trap shallow hole 3-4 in. deep dug between upright post and base of rock; acorn impaled on lower stick as bait; when stone slab fell, bird or rodent caught in hole underneath flat rock surface, but not crushed. Men set out 15-20 such traps, especially at piñon grounds during harvest; visited them every 2 days (SM).

224 349 Small willow blinds like Yokuts model (Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45), but lacking stone platform, large enough to admit 2 men, built near

251 262 sweets made from cane, wild grapes, etc. Acorns and piñons on other hand required shorter drying periods than any of above-mentioned foods, and furthermore, after gathering them, drying could be postponed for few days, if necessary, without danger of their spoiling.

312 Control of water.- Tübatulabal controlled water to degree of making ponds (pacu'a·t) near sweat houses; these ponds large enough for person to jump into after taking sweat bath. Ponds dug out with stick (nahat, also used for cane); water run into them from near-by spring. Springs also dug out to obtain drinking water, but no boxing in of sides, as is done now (SM).

312 177 Patches of wild seeds never irrigated as among neighboring Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 247). An irrigation ditch, course of which is still traceable, formerly brought water from Canebrake canyon to former Indian settlement at mouth of Chimney canyon in arid e. end of South Fork valley. This ditch constructed by Koso Indian refugees who settled in Tübatulabal territory at this spot ca. 1863. At time of its construction white settlers had been ranching in South Fork valley nearly 20 years and ditch seems obviously native borrowing of white culture item.

231 [262] Domesticated and captive animals.- Regarding possession of dogs (pungul, pet; pukubišt, specifically dog), and their use as food, PN, oldest informant, stated Tübatulabal had dogs and roasted them to eat, as Yokuts did (Kroeber, Handbook, 526), before whites entered region. She described native dogs as "small, white, short-haired"; denied they were procured from Mexicans or other outside sources.

231 262 177 SM, however, said Tübatulabal did not possess dogs until whites brought them in. His statements at different times on use of dog for food contradictory; once he said Tübatulabal roasted and ate dogs after latter introduced, but subsequently stated dogs never eaten. He knew of use of dogs by Yokuts, stating: "The Bakersfield Indians always had dogs and ate them; they'd buy dogs from each other for (the equivalent of) $2 apiece." FP said Tübatulabal "had dogs pretty early, but got them from whites; after they got dogs they did not eat them." These statements reconcilable because they probably reflect cultural divergency between Palagewan and Tübatulabal bands; Palagewan, situated nearest Yokuts, in all likelihood most affected by Yokuts customs. PN's mother member of Palagewan group; PN's second husband a Yokuts; in discussing dog PN probably had Palagewan in mind, although this point not specifically stated at time. Reason for SM's confused statements may also have been this cultural divergency, but in statement of FP, whose affiliations lay with Tübatulabal and Koso to E, we have clear-cut denial of trait.

000 Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could PN give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·ŝawYt) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that Tübatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
[773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
[171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 [422 436] [262] Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM). Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back. [841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibɪ·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

baskets not used for ferrying; breast stroke used chiefly in swimming (SM).

Horses mounted on right side; bridles made of native twine, saddles of tules.

WEAPONS

Bow chief weapon; spears may have been used in warfare; clubs not used, "because men didn't get that near to each other when they fought" (SM); spear thrower, shield, armor not used; aboriginal use of slings denied.

Bow.- Both for war and hunting large game, used sinew-backed bow (a·lit tupani·l), made from juniper (wa·dul), Juniperus californica Carr., var. utahensis Engelm., foothill floral area; bows also occasionally made from tamarack (išwa'adul). Such bows were "hard to make," and "took a long time to shape" with flint knives; furthermore one could not "get a good piece of wood for a bow every day" (SM, ES). Method of manufacture was to select suitable piece of wood, cut it, peel bark off immediately and shave bow into shape with knife, then warm bow in hot ashes or hold it over fire and flatten 2 ends over knee. Next, cord tied taut from one end to other, over back of bow, thus bowing length of wood in arc opposite to that in which it would bow when used. Tied thus, bow left to season for 6-8 days; was then untied and 2 1/2-in.-wide strip of water-wetted sinew (tupani·l), from backbone of deer, glued on to back of bow and overlapping edges glued down on sides. At 2 ends of bow, ends of sinew backing wrapped around wood several times to form knobs which prevented bowstring from slipping; neither end of bow notched for stringing. After sinew had dried, bow wrapped at grip (po·ho·nil) with strip of buckskin. Bowstring (piho·lit) of sinew, 3-ply, rolled into cord on knee (SM). Sinew-backed bows were some 48 in. long, 2 in. wide, 1/2-3/4 in. thick at grip; back and under side flattened, edges rounded; ends about 1 in. wide, 1/4 in. thick and either slightly re-bowed, or straight.

For hunting small game plain bow (a·lit) with rounded edges, made either of willow or juniper, used. Bowstring for such made from native twine. SM said such bows were about 45 in. long, 2 in. wide at grip; specimen 1-19608, of willow, is 50 in. long. In 1932, FC had willow bow he had made, which MM said was similar to bows Tübatulabal used formerly for shooting rabbits; FC had made his from green willow, first shaping it with knife, then bowing it in at grip by laying length of willow on 2 flat rocks which were set some 16 in. apart, so when weight was put on top of central section of willow it bowed downward between the 2 rocks. Ends were rebowed by placing flat rocks beneath and on top of each tip and suspending rock from underneath unfinished bow at points 8 in. inward from ends. Thus weighted, bow was left to dry and season for 8 days. Length of this

Reference has already been made in section on Recreation to social setting in which narration of myths occurred.

SHAMANISM

756 Shaman (a·ɣowa·l, curing shaman, witch) either man, woman; male shamans both cured and witched; women shamans always malevolent, never cured (all [838] informants). Transvestites not shamans. Two brothers, Jose and Bill Viejo Chico, both dead, last male shamans among Tübatulabal; Jose Chico both cured, sickened persons; Bill Viejo, who had more power than Jose, mainly killed people (SM). In 1932 there were 2 women witches, whom everyone feared, living at Onyx rancheria.

Basis of shamanistic power.- Shamanistic power (po·nun) generally came unsought; "a person was born a doctor; when he was born he knew he was going to be one. He dreamt about getting the feather-tipped wand (see below); then he went far away and got it. If a man was not born a doctor, nothing could make him one. Some people were born bad doctors; they couldn't help it" (MM). "A doctor, when he was little, dreamt bad, then he became an a·ɣowa·l"(FP). Consensus of opinion was that drinking jimsonweed had nothing to do with acquiring shamanistic power; however, SM in 1932 stated that shamans drank jimsonweed after adolescence, "then they knew they were going to be doctors. The Kawaiisu doctors just dream; they don't take jimsonweed." As questing for supernatural power other than doctoring, by taking jimsonweed, well developed (see section on Rituals), perhaps drinking of jimsonweed had also become incorporated to some degree in pattern of acquiring shamanistic power, although statements of majority of informants point to conclusion that shaman's career foreordained, whereas acquirement of other types supernatural power depended on individual's initiative.

During shaman's training, animal appeared to prospective doctor in dreams and became doctor's pet (pungul). This animal fell into general class of supernatural beings referred to as yu·mu·gi·wal. Pet told prospective doctor what to do; gave latter songs in his dreams at night. Doctors dreamt for 3 nights; began dreaming when young men, women. While training they would go out in night and talk to pet; sometimes latter came to doctor "from over the ocean" (MM) after night of singing, when doctor in his teens.

[231] Doctors with power to cure had birds as pet; 756 eagle, tugayayal (species of hawk), chicken hawk, 825 etc.; no small birds. If prospective doctor saw deer in dream, obtained song from deer. Witches advised in dreams by coyote, spike buck, ghost of dead relative, rattlesnake; one of these talked to prospective witch in dreams, told him, her how to make people sick, kill them. Songs animals gave had words, were doctor's property (see section on

[p. 62(b)]

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (PN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans
[177] were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over
there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had
died, his eldest daughter, wišimlit was making
a fiesta; then Steban [illegible] meat again. They
killed a big steer. Th[illegible]ked the meat; they
boiled and fried it. I [illegible]imlit's youngest
son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him
before, because after wišimlit's man was killed
in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to
Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and
lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back
here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was. He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.
"Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."
582 But my mother didn't want me to go with him;
he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay
with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from
Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one
eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big
the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the
mts. near the man's place for a long time. The
man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that
man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of
a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way
off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming
he would fly close to him, knock him down with his
wings; then he would cut that man's load all to
pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man,
too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he
never came back any more. That old man raised him;
anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago.
The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles
on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."
Four men went with him, away up on the S side
of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got
up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around
the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down
over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let
go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad
doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That
time my mother said to him, "You're all right."
Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and
helping us. His mother, wišimlit, didn't pay any-
thing for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's
brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal
woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good
worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlit paid for her
and brought her to yitiyamup to be Steban's wife.
Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working
down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know
anything about it. When he came home there was a
wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we
came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
● [231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. ● [231] Pete had 8 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

[p. 78(a)]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts N529

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
136 cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yÝta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwÝt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cïmil), gray squirrel (cawanÝnt), blue squirrel (ÝšÝ'Ýgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bÝ·l), bluejay (a·ŋayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
[533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not
224 accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space
● [237] cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
276 beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and
301 when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could PN give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·šawYt) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
● 237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that Tübatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
[773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
[171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
● [237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in.wide at
[171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tïbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
[482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Log basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on upcurve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to win-
[252] now piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
[222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

283 it was wrapped around left wrist. Made by men, women; used extensively for nets, fish lines, bridles, forehead band on pack strap, loops on pack basket, on water bottles, as warp for rabbitskin blankets, bowstring for rabbit bows, foundation for eagle dance skirts, to tie babies on cradles, tie newborn child's umbilical cord, as thread to sew up sacks, etc.

Rope (tu·mayu·t) made from outer bark of Fremontia californica Torrey (u·pul); long branches, trunk of shrub peeled, fresh bark softened between hands and 3 strands braided into rope which was used to lash bundles of tules together for raft, to tie up crook on piñon staves, to bundle firewood into load, for 2 ends of pack strap, etc.

LEATHERWORK

281 Tanning.- Tanning done chiefly by men, although women sometimes dehaired skins. Green hides (tu·šu·but) hung up to dry, doubled over line with skin side out, for 6-8 days. If not to be tanned immediately they were folded up, stored in house. When tanned, hide soaked in cold water 3 days (SM); MM said soaked for week, being taken out at intervals and as much hair as possible [412 171] pulled out with fingers. After thorough soaking, hair and fat, if any, scraped off with deer-bone scraper as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 118). Hide put in warm water to which deer brains had been added, and soaked overnight. Next morning hide dried, then returned to brain solution, [401] soaked again for 24 hours. Hide then rinsed out in clear water, looped around post and wrung out using short stick as lever (Kelly, pl. 21a, b). Lever, with hide still tightly twisted into coil around it, stuck between pole on which hide was looped and another pole 1 ft. away and hide left thus, tightly twisted, for about 30 minutes; after this hide slipped off lever, flattened out, stretched, rolled, and rubbed between hands. After fibers thus partly softened, hide draped over horizontal bar set into forks of 2 upright posts 3 ft. high, 3 ft. apart; hide pulled back and forth over bar, man often working with hide thus at intermittent intervals for 2-3 days. Tanned hides (takta·šat) not smoked; sometimes whitened; negative 15-6273 shows Tübatulabal man softening clay-whitened deerskin.

Skins to be tanned with hair on, as wildcat skins used for wrapping up infants, were scraped clean on skin side, skin wet, and deer brains, which had been soaked in small amount water, rubbed into hide with hands. Hide then allowed to dry and pulled, rubbed between hands until soft. Bear hides also tanned with hair left on, brains being worked in with scraper.

● 237 Fresh deer brains could be used for tanning hide, but usually dried brains used, prepared as follows. Deer skull cracked open with rock, brains scooped out, smeared over both sides cir-

237 cular mat (ši·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 [462] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·ɣul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
● [237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over patient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[P. 70(a)]

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wišt) tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totshoid[U] dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elabbrate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS12

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y [354] of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, ● 241 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, 511 beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

[63] [462 231] [222] 177

[p. 10(b)]

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

●[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
511 forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
222 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
224 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
226 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rabbits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomïp
● 241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomïp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had dis-
[262] appeared. I could straighten out my arm again. After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
● [241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
[476] dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

252 heads of Polypogon held over fire to singe off
262 awns, head rubbed between hands to extract seeds and these pounded in pit mortars. All small seeds
[264 mixed with cold water and made into thick gray-
272] colored gruel (ha·yi·l) which was drunk for refreshment, "like lemonade"; women often gave children drink of this gruel between meals. Two varieties of chia might be used mixed together, but neither mixed with Mentzelia seeds. Although small seeds now regarded as something of delicacy, they are still occasionally gathered in large quantity, using aboriginal methods; in 1933 some Kawaiisu brought 10-lb. flour sack of chia seeds to SM's rancheria, offering them for sale.

● 243 Wheat now cut by hand, piled up on piece of
252 canvas and thrashed with 4-ft. pole; winnowed in
262 flat tray, parched in oven, pounded into flour in pit mortars, and flour mixed with water and little sugar to make stiff mush. Corn is eaten on cob in roasting ear stage or allowed to dry on cob; 2 cobs twisted against each other to remove kernels, which are parched, pounded, winnowed, and meal made into mush.

252 Juniper berries boiled fresh; when dry and
262 fully ripe seeded by hand, flesh pounded in pit mortars and eaten raw; pounded mass never dried into cakes or beverage made from berries. Flesh of juniper berries "sweet." Ripe boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, taken up in hands, mixed with small amount of water and made into "biscuits" which were dried in sun; no fat added. These small balls stored; when used broken up, soaked in water, eaten; tasted "just like grapes."
[251] Elderberries boiled in clay pot with water and eaten (SM); FP said they "tasted queer." Never stored for winter.

Rush roots peeled, sun-dried, pounded into flour (obolinil) in mortar, mixed with water and stone boiled into mush.

252 Several plant foods roasted; for mescal short
264 trench dug, fire made in trench, tender young
262 stalks cut in half, laid on fire, covered with dirt and left overnight. In morning stalks uncovered, peeled, and eaten. Quantity of Spanish bayonet stalks laid directly on top of blazing brush fire; stalks turned once while cooking; when soft, stalks buried in dirt or sand, left to cool; burying made peel "slip off easier" (SM). Fleshy receptacles of Opuntia buds held over fire on end of sharp-pointed stick to singe off stickers (ukun), then spread on hot flat rock placed at bottom of pit, covered with another hot rock and pit filled with loose earth or hot ashes. Receptacles left to roast for about 8 hours; when taken out of pit outer skin peeled off and inner part eaten. Fleshy stalks wild rhubarb roasted overnight in hot ashes, eaten next morning.

252 Immature pods of tree yucca, while still in-
262 side green sheath, "boiled like cabbage" in clay pot (SM).

Several plant foods eaten raw by gatherer on spot; such included berries of deadly nightshade;

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling
484 around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
591 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we
● [245] returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left; he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and
484 his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

524 534 Bull-roarer.- Bull-roarer (ku·list, lit., instrument for playing, i.e., toy) made from stalk of Spanish bayonet, Yucca whipplei Torr., foothill, desert floral areas. Stalk dried, split in half, section 8-10 in. cut off, attached at center (sic) to 4-ft. length of native twine; stick handle lacking. Boys' toy (SM).

TOBACCO

137 ●249 Two species of tobacco (šo'ogonht), Nicotiana bigelovii Wats. and N. attenuata Torr., grow wild on floors of Kern and South Fork valleys and on slopes of lower foothills, at elevation from 2500-2800 ft. Of 2 species, N. bigelovii commoner than smaller-leaved N. attenuata, but native term is same for both and 2 species grow side by side, sometimes less than 1 ft. apart. At various points in South Fork valley not yet under cultivation wild tobacco plants are concentrated in 1- or 2-acre patches or fields (šo'ogonhtiŋ ugan), sparsely interspersed with low clumps of brush and turkey mullein; from such fields (pl. 3) tobacco was and still is (1933) being gathered for use by Tübutulabal women.

249 Tending and preparation.- Tobacco patches never burned over in fall; although ES drew my attention to half-burned clump of brush situated in patch she and FP were "working" in 1932, saying tobacco seemed to grow better where ground had been burned over, she and SM both said tobacco patches were never fired in order to produce better stands of plants next year. "The rain is what makes the plants grow" (SM).

In spring, about June 1, when plants 18-24 in. high, and beginning to blossom, women working singly or in groups of 2-3 began tending wild tobacco. This first tending consisted in snipping off, with thumb and index finger of right hand, side shoots and occasionally tips of plants. Hardy plants, mainly of bigelovii species, which did not have too many small shoots clustering around base of main stalk, selected for attention; after woman had pruned plant she would sometimes, but not always, wrench off some of large leaves which grow flat on ground around base of plant, and occasionally she would uproot weed growing close by plant. Selection of plants to tend made more or less at random from among numerous healthy specimens surrounding women workers; according to MM it was owing to this that later, several pruned plants were overlooked at final harvesting of crop. At first pruning of their 1932 crop ES and FP worked from 6 a.m. to around 10 a.m.; all trips to tobacco patch made early in morning, to take advantage of comparative coolness for, although pruning itself not difficult, it necessitates almost constant stooping over plants in full glare of hot midsummer sun. Also sun makes tobacco "strong" and sticky

●249 to handle after morning coolness has passed off (ES).

Week after first pruning, plants again denuded of sideshoots which had sprouted out afresh; new bottom leaves and some of flowering tips also snipped off. By this time tended plants had 6-8 leaves on solitary mainstalks; these leaves noticeably larger and thicker than more numerous leaves on bushier, untended plants growing beside them.

One more pruning, week later, followed; plants left to develop further for 10 more days, then leaves gathered. Fleshy leaves, which were often 3-4 in. wide, 7-10 in. long, still green, stripped off stalks by hand; stalks left standing, leaves deposited, after gatherer had accumulated as many as she could hold in sheaf in left hand, in sack gatherer kept on ground beside her. In 1932 LT assisted ES and FP in gathering crop; this was longer and more arduous task than previous prunings had been. The 2 younger women, LT and ES, actually gathered leaves; FP sat on ground in middle of patch and, as sacks of leaves brought to her, she emptied contents of sacks on piece of canvas spread out in front of her and tore leaves apart, discarding midrib (u·n, stalk) of each leaf. If midribs had not been removed, "they would have tasted just like wood" in the tobacco (FP). Later in morning, after ES and LT had finished gathering leaves they assisted FP in her task. Five wheat sacks of leaves gathered; this amounted to 2 washtubs, 2 ft. in diameter and about 20 in. high, of half-shredded leaves from which midribs had been removed.

Tobacco, thus far prepared, taken home by FP and LT and allowed to stand in washtubs 2 days. On morning of second day 2 youths sent to banks of South Fork of Kern r. to obtain small truckload of willow shoots (poyiwošt), Salix hindsiana Benth., S. exigua Nutt. When boys returned with willow FP and ES took shoots, pailful of cold water to which cupful of shelled, slightly crushed pine nuts had been added, and the 2 tubfuls of shredded tobacco and set to work on ground in shade of large cottonwood tree. Aided by ES, who handed her bunches of willow shoots, FP spread 12-15 shoots on ground parallel to each other to form leafy mat; she then took 1 or 2 generous double handfuls of green tobacco and spread it out in center of matted willows, sprinkling tobacco thoroughly with water in which pine nuts floated. After doing this she took more willow shoots which she spread on top of tobacco to cover latter completely; whole affair then tied with strips of burlap into cigar-shaped bundle 4 ft. long, 1 ft. in diameter. Ten such bundles prepared; set out in sun in open field adjacent to FP's house, where they were left for 10 days, after which they were piled up in shade, untied, and opened. Tobacco, black, wet, strong-smelling, removed from willow casings with fingers and spread out thinly on squares of canvas to dry in sun; willows in which it had

[p. 36(b)]

●249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bottomless form, similar to those used in making [177] adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop 435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls [438 and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; constituted, both in aboriginal times and to some ex- 439] tent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wYsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
159 were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yYtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[824] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yYtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yYtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[769] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
[285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

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789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

●249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

[p. 84 (b)]

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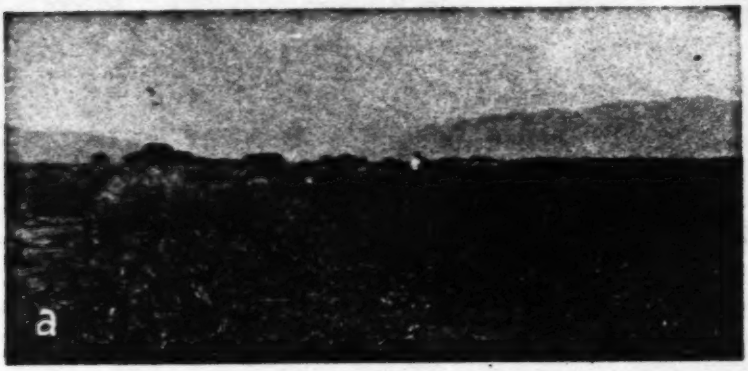

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Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
younger women to leave area and seek education,
177 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield;
167 young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
511 forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
222 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
224 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
226 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rabbits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

● [251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

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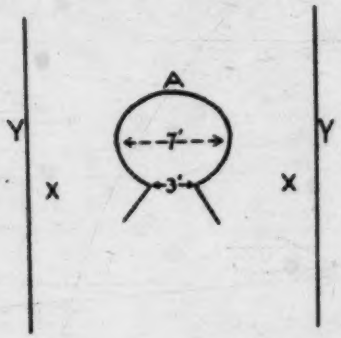

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

Another method of obtaining fish in large
226 quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, [171] thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 411 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes.
● [251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

824 137 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punṣil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maŋi·l) from blue oak (maŋi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

824 (Gray) Greene; Lycum cooperi Gray; Marrubium
137 vulgare L.; Malacothrix californica DC.; Melilotus indica All.; Mimulus gluttatus D.C., M. cardinalis Dougl.; Mirabilis laevis (Benth.) Curran; Montia perfoliata (Donn) Howell; Nama demissum Gray; Oenothera alyssoides and O. alyssoides T. & G. var. decorticans Jepson, O. bistorta Nutt., O. caespitosa Nutt., O. contorta Dougl., O. pallida Lindl., O. palmeri Watson, O. scapoidea T. & G.; Pallaea and romedaefolia Fee; Penstemon laetus Gray, P. palmeri Gray, P. breviflorus Lindl.; Phacelia tanecilifolia Benth., P. hispica Gray var. cicutaria McB.; Platystemon californicum Benth.; Polygonum persicaria L.; Ranunculus aquatilis L.R. var. cymbalaria Pursh.; Rumex crispus L., R. hymenosepalus Torrey; Senecio douglasii DC.; Sidalcea malvaeflora Gray; Sisymbrium incisum Engelm.; Sphaeralcea (Malvastrum) exile (Gray) Jepson; Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC.) Rydb.; Stephanomeria exigua Nutt. var. pentachaeta Hall, S. virgata Benth.; Tropidocarpum gracile Hook.; Vaccaria vulgaris Host.

This list probably represents only small fraction of indigenous plants available to Tübatulabal, of which they made no use; it serves to illustrate, in concrete fashion, selective processes at work, among people of hunting-gathering culture, in their utilization of their floral environment, and negative rôle which part of that environment played in their culture.

Plants put to other ethnobotanical uses, for curing, house building, etc., referred to in discussions of these subjects.

222 Gathering of plant food.- When acorns ripe,
[462] "all the people except very old persons and young children went together to get them" (SM); women chiefly collected them while men hunted, trapped.
● 251 Acorns gathered from ground in small conical baskets, transferred when baskets full to large basket, in which they were brought back to camp and spread out on deerskins, tule mats for 3-4 days to dry, this preventing acorns from sweating when cached; then stored at acorn grounds, in elevated caches. Acorns gathered near home packed back to hamlets, cached near houses.

222 When berries ripe on shrub (opo·bol), Rhamnus
824 californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, which grows in foothill floral area, "the people knew piñons were ready to be gathered in the mts. So some men went out first to see where the piñons were good; just any men went; they decided, and then everybody went to the places where these men said the
[887] nuts were plentiful" (SM). All inhabitants of hamlet or of several hamlets went together; sometimes very old persons might not stay at piñon camp when weather became too cold, but return to hamlet alone. Piñons gathered when cones reached maturity, but before they had opened; men, boys knocked cones off trees with staves or pulled down branches with "shepherd's crook" staff; men, women picked up cones, put them in conical lug baskets which were emptied into larger conical

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on
824 this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time to determine whether heat from burning brush had
222 caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
●251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bi·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which ber-
264] ries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman kneelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 heads of Polypogon held over fire to singe off
262 awns, head rubbed between hands to extract seeds and these pounded in pit mortars. All small seeds
[264 mixed with cold water and made into thick gray-
272] colored gruel (ha·yi·l) which was drunk for refreshment, "like lemonade"; women often gave children drink of this gruel between meals. Two varieties of chia might be used mixed together, but neither mixed with Mentzelia seeds. Although small seeds now regarded as something of delicacy, they are still occasionally gathered in large quantity, using aboriginal methods; in 1933 some Kawaiisu brought 10-lb. flour sack of chia seeds to SM's rancheria, offering them for sale.

243 Wheat now cut by hand, piled up on piece of
252 canvas and thrashed with 4-ft. pole; winnowed in
262 flat tray, parched in oven, pounded into flour in pit mortars, and flour mixed with water and little sugar to make stiff mush. Corn is eaten on cob in roasting ear stage or allowed to dry on cob; 2 cobs twisted against each other to remove kernels, which are parched, pounded, winnowed, and meal made into mush.

252 Juniper berries boiled fresh; when dry and
262 fully ripe seeded by hand, flesh pounded in pit mortars and eaten raw; pounded mass never dried into cakes or beverage made from berries. Flesh of juniper berries "sweet." Ripe boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, taken up in hands, mixed with small amount of water and made into "biscuits" which were dried in sun; no fat added. These small balls stored; when used broken up, soaked in water, eaten; tasted "just like grapes."
● [251] Elderberries boiled in clay pot with water and eaten (SM); FP said they "tasted queer." Never stored for winter.

Rush roots peeled, sun-dried, pounded into flour (obolinil) in mortar, mixed with water and stone boiled into mush.

252 Several plant foods roasted; for mescal short
264 trench dug, fire made in trench, tender young
262 stalks cut in half, laid on fire, covered with dirt and left overnight. In morning stalks uncovered, peeled, and eaten. Quantity of Spanish bayonet stalks laid directly on top of blazing brush fire; stalks turned once while cooking; when soft, stalks buried in dirt or sand, left to cool; burying made peel "slip off easier" (SM). Fleshy receptacles of Opuntia buds held over fire on end of sharp-pointed stick to singe off stickers (ukum), then spread on hot flat rock placed at bottom of pit, covered with another hot rock and pit filled with loose earth or hot ashes. Receptacles left to roast for about 8 hours; when taken out of pit outer skin peeled off and inner part eaten. Fleshy stalks wild rhubarb roasted overnight in hot ashes, eaten next morning.

252 Immature pods of tree yucca, while still in-
262 side green sheath, "boiled like cabbage" in clay pot (SM).

Several plant foods eaten raw by gatherer on spot; such included berries of deadly nightshade;

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uṭa·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
431 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
[415] "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
487 day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

251
343 sional use such as pack baskets, baby cradles, fishing gear, sacks, etc.

251 Fresh meat dried in sun by being cut into thin strips, 6 x 12 in. or smaller, hung up, either salted or unsalted, on branches of tree or on line made from native twine strung between 2 trees; drying generally took from 6-7 days. Fish split, cleaned, salt rubbed over them; hung up on willow branches to dry in sun during summer months. Neither meat nor fish smoked or dried over fire; dried fish "would last a long time" (FP, SM). Wild grapes spread out in sun to dry "like raisins" then stored for winter use; box-thorn berries dried whole or in cakes; rush roots sun-dried, stored; small seeds stored, either parched or unparched, in skin sacks or baskets, in storage house.

221 Staples; yearly consumption of food.- As food
262 calendar shows (p. 11), during spring and summer seasons Tübatulabal had relatively varied vegetable diet, but by fall their plant foods decreased in variety and during winter they "just ate acorns, piñons, and meat of any sort they could get, and dried and fresh fish" (SM). Of 2 vegetable foods eaten during winter, acorns figured as staple; "more acorns were eaten than piñons; old-timers ate acorn mush with deermeat, like bread. We just get acorns now once in awhile, because now we have white flour" (SM). That piñons were, however, also important in Tübatulabal diet, is shown by amount stored during good piñon yrs. However, abundant crops occur at best only every second yr., whereas acorns, of which Tübatulabal had 6 varieties to draw upon, could be procured in one locality or another annually.

Regarding proportion of animal, vegetable food eaten, my meager data on subject indicate
[146] meats, including birds and fish, may have comprised 40 per cent of food consumed throughout yr., acorns, piñons (if crop good) 40 per cent, small seeds, stalks, raw foods, etc., 20 per cent. As to amount of food consumed by family throughout year, data lacking for flesh foods, but for acorns SM said family 2 adults, 3 children needed one acorn granary (of dimensions given above), full, to have sufficient acorns for year. "If they had a larger family, they made a bigger granary" (SM). To this amount of acorns should be added contents of smaller acorn granary family might have near home. Piñon supplies varied, but in yrs. of good crop family of 5 stored cache such as described above, full of piñons, besides bringing several sackfuls home at end of piñon-gathering period.

251 Since all foodstuffs in order to be kept prop-
262 erly had to be sun-dried before being stored, weather which prevailed at season when wild foodstuffs were available for gathering and storing often regulated to a degree amount of food stored from yr. to yr. This consideration applies especially to storage of fish and some of minor plant foodstuffs, such as salt from salt grass,

●251 sweets made from cane, wild grapes, etc. Acorns
262 and piñons on other hand required shorter drying periods than any of above-mentioned foods, and furthermore, after gathering them, drying could be postponed for few days, if necessary, without danger of their spoiling.

312 Control of water.- Tübatulabal controlled water to degree of making ponds (pacu'a·t) near sweat houses; these ponds large enough for person to jump into after taking sweat bath. Ponds dug out with stick (nahat, also used for cane); water run into them from near-by spring. Springs also dug out to obtain drinking water, but no boxing in of sides, as is done now (SM).

312 Patches of wild seeds never irrigated as among
177 neighboring Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 247). An irrigation ditch, course of which is still traceable, formerly brought water from Canebrake canyon to former Indian settlement at mouth of Chimney canyon in arid e. end of South Fork valley. This ditch constructed by Koso Indian refugees who settled in Tübatulabal territory at this spot ca. 1863. At time of its construction white settlers had been ranching in South Fork valley nearly 20 years and ditch seems obviously native borrowing of white culture item.

231 Domesticated and captive animals.- Regarding
[262] possession of dogs (pungul, pet; pukubišt, specifically dog), and their use as food, PN, oldest informant, stated Tübatulabal had dogs and roasted them to eat, as Yokuts did (Kroeber, Handbook, 526), before whites entered region. She described native dogs as "small, white, short-haired"; denied they were procured from Mexicans or other outside sources.

231 SM, however, said Tübatulabal did not possess
262 dogs until whites brought them in. His statements
177 at different times on use of dog for food contradictory; once he said Tübatulabal roasted and ate dogs after latter introduced, but subsequently stated dogs never eaten. He knew of use of dogs by Yokuts, stating: "The Bakersfield Indians always had dogs and ate them; they'd buy dogs from each other for (the equivalent of) $2 apiece." FP said Tübatulabal "had dogs pretty early, but got them from whites; after they got dogs they did not eat them." These statements reconcilable because they probably reflect cultural divergency between Palagewan and Tübatulabal bands; Palagewan, situated nearest Yokuts, in all likelihood most affected by Yokuts customs. PN's mother member of Palagewan group; PN's second husband a Yokuts; in discussing dog PN probably had Palagewan in mind, although this point not specifically stated at time. Reason for SM's confused statements may also have been this cultural divergency, but in statement of FP, whose affiliations lay with Tübatulabal and Koso to E, we have clear-cut denial of trait.

000 Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

857
152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539x
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539x
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 159
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 524
lasts a long time. 857

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539x
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is 159
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 526
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 857
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539x
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 224
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). [251]
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are 226
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working [464]
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539x
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt- 159
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 222
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 857
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539x
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there [235]
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the 624
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E
[317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger
[276] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor." (FP, ES, SM).

[p. 11(b)]

252 824 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 262 813 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cactus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 824 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A.lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hcl.) [171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 825 136 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but rejected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tÏba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šïmïnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapÏl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (Ï·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapÏ·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (Ïihyïmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apÏ·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu·lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ǧayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellowhammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gïnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awÏ·t) and other worms, grubs, insects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring [171] Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawÏt) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten [177] (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens
[373] when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

●252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nĭ·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

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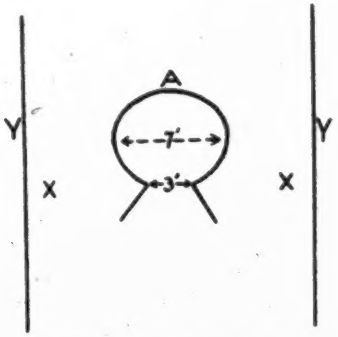

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

Another method of obtaining fish in large
226 quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from
[171] drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly
411 harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

● 252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes.
[251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

824 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly
137 in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punẓil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maŋi·l) from blue oak (maŋi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

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137
[117
252]

Leaves, stems watercress (beros, Spanish loan word), Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum (L.) Britt. & Rendle, not eaten aboriginally; sometimes boiled now for greens; leaves of wild mustard (hi·ulit), Sisymbrium officinale L., fried in grease; "learned this from Mexicans" (SM).

Immature pods of tree yucca or Joshua tree (umu·bĭ·l), Yucca brevifolia Engelm.; desert floral area.

Receptacle of cacti (ɣya·l), Opuntia caseyi Britt. & Rose var. magenta Pursh and O. basilans Engelm.; desert floral area.

Some plant species named, but put to no use, as: wild lilac (to·bu·l), Ceanothus divaricatus Nutt., foothill floral area; choya cactus (u·šil), desert floral area; California poppy (yogobul), Eschscholtzia californica Cham. and E. minutiflora Wats. (same name), foothill, desert floral areas, respectively; several varieties of lupines (šiwindiŋ taman, rattlesnake's teeth, so named because pistils and stamens protrude from keel of flower like teeth, SM), Lupinus sparsiflorus Benth., L. odoratus Heller, desert floral area, L. albifrons Benth., L. densiflorus Benth. var. lacteus C.P.S., foothill floral area, L. microcarpus Sims, var. ruber C.P.S., L. micranthus Dougl. Few other plants also named, rejected as food (p. 12).

For 86 plant species SM could give no economic, medicinal uses or names, referring to all of them as weeds (mašil): Albronia pogonantha Heimerl.; Achillea millefolium L. var. lanulosa Piper; Agoseris alpestris Greene; Azolla filiculoides Lam.; Baeria chrysostoma F. & M.; Brickellia californica T. & G.; Bromus rubens L.; Castilleia miniata Dougl.; Centaurium venustum Rob.; Centromadia (Henizonia) pungens (T. & G. Greene); Cerastium arvense L.; Chaenactis stevioides H. & G.; Cheilanthes covillei Max.; Chenopodium californicum Wats.; Chorisanthe staticoides Benth., C. watsonii T. & G., C. thurberi (Gray) Wats.; Chrysothamnus teretifolius Hall; Cotula coronopifolia L.; Cryptantha miriculata (A. DC.) Greene; Cuscuta californica Choisy; Datisca glomerata Brew. & Wats.; Delphinium hansenii Greene, D. purpusii Brandegee; Dicentra chrysantha (H. & A.) Walp.; Emmenanthe penduliflora Benth.; Encelia actoni Elmer; Epilobium californicum Hausskn.; Epipactis gigantea Dougl.; Ericameria cuneata (Gray) McCl. var. spathulata Hall; Erigeron divergens T. & G.; turkey mullein, Eremocarpus setigerns Benth.; Eriogonum argillosum J. T. Howell, E. angulosum Benth., E. mohavense Wats.; Eriophyllum ambiguum Gray, E. pringlei Gray, E. confertiflorum Gray; Euphorbia serpyllifolia Pers.; Galium angustifolium Nuss.; Gilia latiflora Gray, G. capitata Dougl.; Godetia viminea Spach; Greeneocharis circumscissa (Torr.) Rydb.; Gymnogramma trianularis Kaulf.; Hugelia filifolia Jepson; Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene; Lepidospartum squamatum Gray; Linanthus aurens (Nutt.) Greene; Lotus strigosus (Nutt.) Greene, L. oblongifolius (Benth.) Greene, L. argophyllus

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time
824 to determine whether heat from burning brush had
222 caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on
264] stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which berries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone
412 used in preparing different types plant food.
Mortars (pahal) included pit mortars, which were
depressions 2-10 in. deep, 3-5 in. wide in level
or gently sloping granite outcrops (Kroeber,
[773] Handbook, 524, pl. 45). Manufacture of pit mor-
tars attributed to Coyote, but fact recognized
that mortar holes enlarged with use until at
depth of 10 in. they became unusable.

412 Portable stone mortars (ku·pahal) from 6-35 in.
322 in total diameter; made by pecking out depression
324 in round soft gray stone with harder, pointed
rock (SM). Small stone mortars readily transport-
able; taken on piñon expeditions. Large wooden
portable mortars (ku·pahal) of Yokuts type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45) made from hard
wood, oak (SM), juniper (FP); bowl burnt out and
interior smoothed with rough rock. These latter
"easier to make than stone mortars" and commonly
used around home, but were too large to take on
trips. Basketry hopper used. Pestles (poho'owal)
for all types mortars were roughly cylindrical,
granite or slate rocks, picked up in river beds,
used as found; length of pestles varied from 5-20
in., width from 2 1/2-5 in., depending on size of
mortar.

412 Grinding slab (mana·l) oval or roughly rec-
324 tangular piece of granite or black slate, from
14-20 in. long, 10-15 in. wide, and 2-4 in.
thick; used on one side only; grinding surface
flat or slightly concave. Suitable slabs fairly
abundant in area, and woman always kept one such
in house, leaning up against wall. With slab,
either small ovoid rub stone (takibit) 3-4 in.
long, about 3 1/2 in. wide, 2 in. thick, flat on
top and bottom surfaces (Gifford and Schenck, 92,
pl. 31), or larger stone of same shape (takin)
used; these picked up in river beds. Long cylin-
drical mullers not used. When in use, grinding
slab set up with flat rock, about 2 in. thick,
placed under upper end of slab, so that slab
slanted downward, away from operator. Lower end
of slab rested on flat basketry tray.

412 All informants familiar with 3-legged metate
177 and horned muller (Steward, 1933, 341, pl. 5g),
252 because one such introduced among them by former
Jesus Miranda, Mexican who married Petra Miranda,
Tübatulabal woman; this metate used primarily for
grinding corn (FP). However, present-day Tüba-
tulabal ordinarily pound parched corn or wheat
into meal in pit mortars, following older pattern.

252 Cooking techniques included stone boiling,
boiling in clay pots, parching with live coals
on basketry tray, parching in fire, roasting on
coals, in ashes, in pit ovens, on spits, in fire.
General pattern of native cookery, which resulted
in economy of effort, was to apply heat only once
to any variety of food intended to be eaten in
cooked state. Thus small seeds which had already
been parched, and previously roasted piñons, af-
ter they were ground into meal, were merely mixed
with cold water when made up into gruel (u'u·gil);
neither seed nor piñon meal recooked by stone
boiling (or any other method), parched foods being

252 regarded as "already cooked" (ES). Same applies now to parched corn or wheat ground into flour; further instances of this general rule of using heat only once in treatment of plant foods can be noted below.

252 Acorns shelled as among Northfork Mono (Gif-
262 ford, 1932 b, 21); if woman had large family "everybody helped" (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Shelled kernels dried; pounded in pit mortars; flour sifted with basketry tray and leached with warm water in round pit scooped out of wet sand; woman tasted meal occasionally to test it for sweetness; leaching took about 1/2 day, depending on variety of acorn. Acorns never buried in mud to leach. Sometimes 2 varieties of acorn meal mixed; maul oak acorn flour too bitter to use alone, so was mixed with sweeter variety. Leached meal and water put in cooking basket; hot stones added with looped-stick stirrer (wo·do'oli·l) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, fig. 38) made of willow (PN), Digger pine, oak (SM), and tied with twine. Mush (ča·mil) cooked until of consistency of "canned tomato soup" (FP); eaten with meat. Sometimes hot mush poured into small coiled baskets which were set in cold water until mush had cooled, then mush taken out in form of biscuit which would keep 2-3 days (SM).

Piñons which had been previously roasted in cones, heaped by handfuls on grinding slab, gently crushed with small rub stone, using rotary motion; this done outdoors, where wind blew some of shells away, remaining shells winnowed from nut meats on large basket tray. Nut meats then "cooked like beans" in clay pot or reduced to meal on grinding slab; this latter operation accomplished with larger rub stone (supra) which was grasped in right hand and drawn backward and forward up and down surface of slab. Meal mixed with cold water, made into white piñon mush which was eaten occasionally with meat, but mainly alone (SM). Black piñon mush was made from those nuts which had been gathered from ground; these were cracked, winnowed as described above, nutmeats were then parched in ovate tray with small pieces of live charcoal, pounded into meal in pit or portable mortar and water added to meal to make thin dark mush.

Digger pine nuts which had previously been roasted were cracked on grinding slab, shells winnowed out, nutmeats eaten thus or "boiled like beans" in clay pot. Buckeye nuts peeled, leached whole in warm water for 3 days, boiled in pot or dried, pounded into flour in pit mortars, water added to flour and mixture stone boiled.

Small seeds treated in variety of ways; chia, wild oats, Eriogonum and Mentzelia seeds winnowed, parched with live coals "for about a minute"; hot sand not used. Chia and wild oats pounded in pit or portable mortars; Mentzelia seeds ground on slab. Bunch grass and heads of Polypogon burned; seeds of bunch grass caught on tray as they fell out, ground on grinding slab;

252 heads of Polypogon held over fire to singe off
262 awns, head rubbed between hands to extract seeds and these pounded in pit mortars. All small seeds
[264 mixed with cold water and made into thick gray-
272] colored gruel (ha·yi·l) which was drunk for refreshment, "like lemonade"; women often gave children drink of this gruel between meals. Two varieties of chia might be used mixed together, but neither mixed with Mentzelia seeds. Although small seeds now regarded as something of delicacy, they are still occasionally gathered in large quantity, using aboriginal methods; in 1933 some Kawaiisu brought 10-lb. flour sack of chia seeds to SM's rancheria, offering them for sale.

243 Wheat now cut by hand, piled up on piece of
252 canvas and thrashed with 4-ft. pole; winnowed in
262 flat tray, parched in oven, pounded into flour in pit mortars, and flour mixed with water and little sugar to make stiff mush. Corn is eaten on cob in roasting ear stage or allowed to dry on cob; 2 cobs twisted against each other to remove kernels, which are parched, pounded, winnowed, and meal made into mush.

252 Juniper berries boiled fresh; when dry and
262 fully ripe seeded by hand, flesh pounded in pit mortars and eaten raw; pounded mass never dried into cakes or beverage made from berries. Flesh of juniper berries "sweet." Ripe boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, taken up in hands, mixed with small amount of water and made into "biscuits" which were dried in sun; no fat added. These small balls stored; when used broken up, soaked in water, eaten; tasted "just like grapes."
[251] Elderberries boiled in clay pot with water and eaten (SM); FP said they "tasted queer." Never stored for winter.

Rush roots peeled, sun-dried, pounded into flour (obolinil) in mortar, mixed with water and stone boiled into mush.

252 Several plant foods roasted; for mescal short
264 trench dug, fire made in trench, tender young
262 stalks cut in half, laid on fire, covered with dirt and left overnight. In morning stalks uncovered, peeled, and eaten. Quantity of Spanish bayonet stalks laid directly on top of blazing brush fire; stalks turned once while cooking; when soft, stalks buried in dirt or sand, left to cool; burying made peel "slip off easier" (SM). Fleshy receptacles of Opuntia buds held over fire on end of sharp-pointed stick to singe off stickers (ukun), then spread on hot flat rock placed at bottom of pit, covered with another hot rock and pit filled with loose earth or hot ashes. Receptacles left to roast for about 8 hours; when taken out of pit outer skin peeled off and inner part eaten. Fleshy stalks wild rhubarb roasted overnight in hot ashes, eaten next morning.

252 Immature pods of tree yucca, while still in-
262 side green sheath, "boiled like cabbage" in clay pot (SM).

Several plant foods eaten raw by gatherer on spot; such included berries of deadly nightshade;

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin.,
258 utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July, August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice in-
171 side the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

285 824 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for various types twined ware made from whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots, roots of tree yucca, outer bark of willow. Tules used considerably for baskets, mats; there are few tules in either Kern or South Fork valleys now, but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

Coiled baskets included:

292 171 285 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 285 (b) Sifter (wa·t) or small tray; slightly concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

[525] (c) Parching tray (ša·gišt); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers. This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

● [252] (d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in. wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
[237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in.wide at
[171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tïbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
[482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Lug basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on upcurve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to win-
●[252] now piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
[222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do, they just moved all around; they'd camp under
173 some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said; "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

[p. 72 (b)]

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomÏp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l(p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomÏp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomÏp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[265] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 2)[p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.-- Analyst]

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
674 thin and died after awhile. A long time after
756 that wišimlīt's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got
sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's
friend came over here with him that time; he was
a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon
worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told
him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell
where everything is; they see everything. Ramon
told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine.
The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon
pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the
one who stole your rain machine." The other doc-
tor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors
know everything; who is making you sick, or if
you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison;
everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
"Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told
674 him. The man didn't want to go very much; he
just stopped every little while. My husband was
there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the
head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything;
he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that
doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
756 He should have though, then he could make rain
789 now. The man who found it buried it somewhere
else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit
(a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he
doesn't want to make it any more. The people
won't pay him anything for doing it. He says,
"Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat.
He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The In-
dians used to use everything in a deer; they'd
put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside
the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil
that up; it was fine. We never did that; just
the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a
Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they
could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave
the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the
ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father.
"You're going on a good road (going to die),"
Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said
it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my
mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku-l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. There, it is said, I was born; it is (where) I am living (now); my father says (this); and there, also, my older brother, it is said, all (of us siblings) were born. 2. Then, it is said, I grew up already; it is said I wandered about already. 3. Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me. 4. Then, it is said, I am crying. 5. Then, it is said, my mother is sick. 6. Then, it is said, I am crying very much when I am hungry. 7. Then, it is said, I took from there to here a little blanket. "Here, sit down, mother," I say, it is said; "No," she says. 8. Then, it is said, I eat food.

9. From there I grew up already. 10. Then I am learning already. 11. Then my father made my bow. 12. Then I am hunting. 13. Then I am killing wood-rats; (I) used to eat those birds, everything. 14. I used to bring to my own father (whatever I shot). 15. Then, "Good," says my father. 16. (I) used to kill everything, rabbits, cottontails, and also quail, and also pigeon. 17. Then I bring that to my own father. 18. And also I used to cause fish to swallow (bait). 19. I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip). 20. Then my mother boils those (fish); we used to eat them all the time.

21. Then father used to teach us. 22. "Wander about well(-behaved); steal nothing and also do not be nasty to the old men when you see (them); if you believe (my words), then you will get old." 23. "Good," we say, "then we are wandering about well(-behaved) all the time." 24. "Surely I got old already because I believe the talk of my own father." 25. Then he used to tell us myths in the evening when it was winter, (about) Coyote, (about) everything. 26. "Then go ye and bathe in the morning, when the Morning Star comes out; twice ye will dive in." 27. Then he says, "Good." 28. "Nothing will prick you; but if you will not bathe, then wood will prick you." 29. Surely, we used to bathe in the dark (before dawn); the water is very cold; we break the ice when we bathe; then (it is) good. 30. We do everything good all the time.

31. Then from there one Mexican came and arrived. 32. Then he says, "Would that your offspring would go watch over my pets (goats)." 33. "Good," says my father. 34. Then he took us; there we went and arrived at his house; and his pets (are) many. 35. Then we look after (them) every day and also we gather firewood in the evening when we arrive (at camp). 36. Then we used to run away when we were tired out; we come back toward our own house. 37. Then when we arrived, father used to scold us. 38. "Why did you come back?" he says. "(Because) we were tired." 40. Then he goes and puts us back again. 41. Presently we are coming back in the same way. 42. Then we do not go for a long time. 43. Then after a while the Mexican came and arrived. 44. "I already sold those, my own pets," he says; "and I left some," he says, "my present to your offspring," he says, "and ye come get (them)," he says. 45. "Good," says my father. 46. Then we went from there to go get (them). 47. Then we took (them) from there to here. 48. We brought (them) there (where) I used to look after (them). 49. Then from there we sold them.

50. Then from there I went to school. 51. Then I did not know the language of that teacher. 52. Then (there is) one Mexican; when I do not understand the language, then the Mexican tells me. 53. Then from there we went; then from school we went in the evening toward Weldon. 54. Then one man went and caught up to us there. 55. He is coming on horseback. 56. Then he talked to us, "Cold," he says. 57. Then we all say, "Cold!" too. 58. We do not understand what that means. 59. Then the man looks at us. 60. From there we came back in the evening toward our own house. 61. Then from there we are coming to school. 62. I went to school one year. 63. Then that teacher whipped me because I do not hear (i.e., understand) what she means. 64. She whipped me. 65. Then I got mad. 66. Then I tore my own book. 67. From there I went toward my own house. 68. Then from there I worked; I never went to school again.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their own houses without their own arrows, when losing.

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156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It lasts a long time.

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161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does the same next.

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174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

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187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunting and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them) every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted. 197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us, perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place (a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigating it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

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214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game (will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin., utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July, August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped
●258 on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice inside the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey
171 dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
●258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bĭ·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[415] had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten
774 after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
[609] might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E [317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

● 262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods, oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger [276] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM).

[p. 11(b)]

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
●262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hcl.)
[171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tĭba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šĭmĭnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapĭl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ĭ·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapĭ·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ĭihyĭmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apĭ·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu·lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ẓayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellow-hammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gĭnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awĭ·t) and other worms, grubs, in-
[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawĭt) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t)
[177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

262 136 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods included deer (tohi·l), antelope (yĭta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwĭt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cĭmil), gray squirrel (cawanĭnt), blue squirrel (hăĭ'ĭgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·ya·l), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bĭ·l), bluejay (a·ɣayibišt).

224 776 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts. usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 [533] 224 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; [237] [276] [301] if no deer sighted, within short while space cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 411 825 [349] Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows; at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on
824 this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time
222 to determine whether heat from burning brush had caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on
264] stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which berries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 regarded as "already cooked" (ES). Same applies now to parched corn or wheat ground into flour; further instances of this general rule of using heat only once in treatment of plant foods can be noted below.

252 Acorns shelled as among Northfork Mono (Gif-
● 262 ford, 1932 b, 21); if woman had large family "everybody helped" (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Shelled kernels dried; pounded in pit mortars; flour sifted with basketry tray and leached with warm water in round pit scooped out of wet sand; woman tasted meal occasionally to test it for sweetness; leaching took about 1/2 day, depending on variety of acorn. Acorns never buried in mud to leach. Sometimes 2 varieties of acorn meal mixed; maul oak acorn flour too bitter to use alone, so was mixed with sweeter variety. Leached meal and water put in cooking basket; hot stones added with looped-stick stirrer (wo·do'oli·l) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, fig. 38) made of willow (PN), Digger pine, oak (SM), and tied with twine. Mush (ča·mil) cooked until of consistency of "canned tomato soup" (FP); eaten with meat. Sometimes hot mush poured into small coiled baskets which were set in cold water until mush had cooled, then mush taken out in form of biscuit which would keep 2-3 days (SM).

Piñons which had been previously roasted in cones, heaped by handfuls on grinding slab, gently crushed with small rub stone, using rotary motion; this done outdoors, where wind blew some of shells away, remaining shells winnowed from nut meats on large basket tray. Nut meats then "cooked like beans" in clay pot or reduced to meal on grinding slab; this latter operation accomplished with larger rub stone (supra) which was grasped in right hand and drawn backward and forward up and down surface of slab. Meal mixed with cold water, made into white piñon mush which was eaten occasionally with meat, but mainly alone (SM). Black piñon mush was made from those nuts which had been gathered from ground; these were cracked, winnowed as described above, nutmeats were then parched in ovate tray with small pieces of live charcoal, pounded into meal in pit or portable mortar and water added to meal to make thin dark mush.

Digger pine nuts which had previously been roasted were cracked on grinding slab, shells winnowed out, nutmeats eaten thus or "boiled like beans" in clay pot. Buckeye nuts peeled, leached whole in warm water for 3 days, boiled in pot or dried, pounded into flour in pit mortars, water added to flour and mixture stone boiled.

Small seeds treated in variety of ways; chia, wild oats, Eriogonum and Mentzelia seeds winnowed, parched with live coals "for about a minute"; hot sand not used. Chia and wild oats pounded in pit or portable mortars; Mentzelia seeds ground on slab. Bunch grass and heads of Polypogon burned; seeds of bunch grass caught on tray as they fell out, ground on grinding slab;

252 heads of Polypogon held over fire to singe off
●262 awns, head rubbed between hands to extract seeds and these pounded in pit mortars. All small seeds
[264 mixed with cold water and made into thick gray-
272] colored gruel (ha·yi·l) which was drunk for refreshment, "like lemonade"; women often gave children drink of this gruel between meals. Two varieties of chia might be used mixed together, but neither mixed with Mentzelia seeds. Although small seeds now regarded as something of delicacy, they are still occasionally gathered in large quantity, using aboriginal methods; in 1933 some Kawaiisu brought 10-lb. flour sack of chia seeds to SM's rancheria, offering them for sale.

243 Wheat now cut by hand, piled up on piece of
252 canvas and thrashed with 4-ft. pole; winnowed in
262 flat tray, parched in oven, pounded into flour in pit mortars, and flour mixed with water and little sugar to make stiff mush. Corn is eaten on cob in roasting ear stage or allowed to dry on cob; 2 cobs twisted against each other to remove kernels, which are parched, pounded, winnowed, and meal made into mush.

252 Juniper berries boiled fresh; when dry and
262 fully ripe seeded by hand, flesh pounded in pit mortars and eaten raw; pounded mass never dried into cakes or beverage made from berries. Flesh of juniper berries "sweet." Ripe boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, taken up in hands, mixed with small amount of water and made into "biscuits" which were dried in sun; no fat added. These small balls stored; when used broken up, soaked in water, eaten; tasted "just like grapes." Elderberries boiled in clay pot with water and
[251] eaten (SM); FP said they "tasted queer." Never stored for winter.

Rush roots peeled, sun-dried, pounded into flour (obolinil) in mortar, mixed with water and stone boiled into mush.

252 Several plant foods roasted; for mescal short
264 trench dug, fire made in trench, tender young
262 stalks cut in half, laid on fire, covered with dirt and left overnight. In morning stalks uncovered, peeled, and eaten. Quantity of Spanish bayonet stalks laid directly on top of blazing brush fire; stalks turned once while cooking; when soft, stalks buried in dirt or sand, left to cool; burying made peel "slip off easier" (SM). Fleshy receptacles of Opuntia buds held over fire on end of sharp-pointed stick to singe off stickers (ukun), then spread on hot flat rock placed at bottom of pit, covered with another hot rock and pit filled with loose earth or hot ashes. Receptacles left to roast for about 8 hours; when taken out of pit outer skin peeled off and inner part eaten. Fleshy stalks wild rhubarb roasted overnight in hot ashes, eaten next morning.

252 Immature pods of tree yucca, while still in-
262 side green sheath, "boiled like cabbage" in clay pot (SM).

Several plant foods eaten raw by gatherer on spot; such included berries of deadly nightshade;

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
● 262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin., utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July,
258 August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice in-
171 side the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[445] had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753] them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
[774 might throw something in the food that would make
609] a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uya·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
481 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
[415] Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
487 "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning, taking water with him in a basketry water bottle. He returned home the same evening or the next day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. Another route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish, but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
● 262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño, Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750); food taboos related specifically to meat (including fish), grease, and cold water. However, as it was only with meat and fish that salt was used, practical result was that observers of meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking center post and with framework consisting of 4 large posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft. apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush; after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made trips to their granary and drew upon contents as needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes set up near dwelling house to use for acorns gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of circular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft. deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks or grass and small stones. During winter men made trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin sacks.

Families generally had storage house near family dwelling; this storage house as large and made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons, acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

251
343 sional use such as pack baskets, baby cradles, fishing gear, sacks, etc.

251 Fresh meat dried in sun by being cut into thin strips, 6 x 12 in. or smaller, hung up, either salted or unsalted, on branches of tree or on line made from native twine strung between 2 trees; drying generally took from 6-7 days. Fish split, cleaned, salt rubbed over them; hung up on willow branches to dry in sun during summer months. Neither meat nor fish smoked or dried over fire; dried fish "would last a long time" (FP, SM). Wild grapes spread out in sun to dry "like raisins" then stored for winter use; box-thorn berries dried whole or in cakes; rush roots sun-dried, stored; small seeds stored, either parched or unparched, in skin sacks or baskets, in storage house.

221
262 Staples; yearly consumption of food.- As food calendar shows (p. 11), during spring and summer seasons Tübatulabal had relatively varied vegetable diet, but by fall their plant foods decreased in variety and during winter they "just ate acorns, piñons, and meat of any sort they could get, and dried and fresh fish" (SM). Of 2 vegetable foods eaten during winter, acorns figured as staple; "more acorns were eaten than piñons; old-timers ate acorn mush with deermeat, like bread. We just get acorns now once in awhile, because now we have white flour" (SM). That piñons were, however, also important in Tübatulabal diet, is shown by amount stored during good piñon yrs. However, abundant crops occur at best only every second yr., whereas acorns, of which Tübatulabal had 6 varieties to draw upon, could be procured in one locality or another annually.

Regarding proportion of animal, vegetable food eaten, my meager data on subject indicate meats, including birds and fish, may have comprised 40 per cent of food consumed throughout yr., acorns, piñons (if crop good) 40 per cent, small seeds, stalks, raw foods, etc., 20 per cent. As to amount of food consumed by family throughout year, data lacking for flesh foods, but for acorns SM said family 2 adults, 3 children needed one acorn granary (of dimensions given above), full, to have sufficient acorns for year. "If they had a larger family, they made a bigger granary" (SM). To this amount of acorns should be added contents of smaller acorn granary family might have near home. Piñon supplies varied, but in yrs. of good crop family of 5 stored cache such as described above, full of piñons, besides bringing several sackfuls home at end of piñon-gathering period.

[146]

251
262 Since all foodstuffs in order to be kept properly had to be sun-dried before being stored, weather which prevailed at season when wild foodstuffs were available for gathering and storing often regulated to a degree amount of food stored from yr. to yr. This consideration applies especially to storage of fish and some of minor plant foodstuffs, such as salt from salt grass,

251 sweets made from cane, wild grapes, etc. Acorns
●262 and piñons on other hand required shorter drying periods than any of above-mentioned foods, and furthermore, after gathering them, drying could be postponed for few days, if necessary, without danger of their spoiling.

312 Control of water.- Tübatulabal controlled water to degree of making ponds (pacu'a·t) near sweat houses; these ponds large enough for person to jump into after taking sweat bath. Ponds dug out with stick (nahat, also used for cane); water run into them from near-by spring. Springs also dug out to obtain drinking water, but no boxing in of sides, as is done now (SM).

312 Patches of wild seeds never irrigated as among
177 neighboring Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 247). An irrigation ditch, course of which is still traceable, formerly brought water from Canebrake canyon to former Indian settlement at mouth of Chimney canyon in arid e. end of South Fork valley. This ditch constructed by Koso Indian refugees who settled in Tübatulabal territory at this spot ca. 1863. At time of its construction white settlers had been ranching in South Fork valley nearly 20 years and ditch seems obviously native borrowing of white culture item.

231 Domesticated and captive animals.- Regarding
[262] possession of dogs (pungul, pet; pukubišt, specifically dog), and their use as food, PN, oldest informant, stated Tübatulabal had dogs and roasted them to eat, as Yokuts did (Kroeber, Handbook, 526), before whites entered region. She described native dogs as "small, white, short-haired"; denied they were procured from Mexicans or other outside sources.

231 SM, however, said Tübatulabal did not possess
262 dogs until whites brought them in. His statements
177 at different times on use of dog for food contradictory; once he said Tübatulabal roasted and ate dogs after latter introduced, but subsequently stated dogs never eaten. He knew of use of dogs by Yokuts, stating: "The Bakersfield Indians always had dogs and ate them; they'd buy dogs from each other for (the equivalent of) $2 apiece." FP said Tübatulabal "had dogs pretty early, but got them from whites; after they got dogs they did not eat them." These statements reconcilable because they probably reflect cultural divergency between Palagewan and Tübatulabal bands; Palagewan, situated nearest Yokuts, in all likelihood most affected by Yokuts customs. PN's mother member of Palagewan group; PN's second husband a Yokuts; in discussing dog PN probably had Palagewan in mind, although this point not specifically stated at time. Reason for SM's confused statements may also have been this cultural divergency, but in statement of FP, whose affiliations lay with Tübatulabal and Koso to E, we have clear-cut denial of trait.

000 Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." FP denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to

●[262] eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibi·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

CYCLE OF LIFE

843 Birth.- Woman knew she was pregnant when menstrual periods stopped; during her pregnancy she "worked hard, climbed mts.; if she stayed in the house she'd get fat and the baby wouldn't move" (FP). During last month of pregnancy woman [262] ate no meat, very little salt; if she ate meat then, her husband would fail to see deer when hunting (SM). Some husbands did not kill any animal or eat meat when wife pregnant; others did so. One man "killed a fox by smashing its head, while his wife was pregnant; the baby was [845] born without any eyes or nose. Another time that same man killed a king snake when his wife was carrying a baby; the baby was born with a king-snake mark across its chest" (FP). Husband could have intercourse with wife during period of pregnancy. Sudden fright during pregnancy caused miscarriages; FP, LT said some babies born at 8th month, but expressed surprise when 7-months babies mentioned.

844 Older woman, usually a relative, attended woman in labor; husband often assisted, sometimes attended wife if no woman relative available. Husband or attendant dug shallow trench about 3 ft. long, either inside or outside living house, depending on weather; fire built in bottom of trench, slabs of stone laid on top of fire, then layers of earth, tule mats on top of stones. Woman in labor lay on top of this trench (to·niăt); during childbirth knelt, grasping [171] vertical stick; attendant pushed baby down onto mat on ground as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 158). Woman stuffed her hair in her mouth to prevent vomiting as baby emerged. To prevent breech presentation, if this expected, woman held suspended head downward; baby righted itself inside womb and would be born head first (FP). In [789] protracted labor person possessing amulet containing supernatural power might be called on to rub amulet over parturient's body (see Autobiography of FP).

Mother of baby pulled out afterbirth, cut cord and tied it about 3 in. from navel, with native twine; cord usually dropped off after 3 days; was saved by mother and kept wrapped in buckskin. Newborn baby washed in plain warm water by attendant and wrapped in soft deerskin, wildcatskin blanket. Maternal grandmother of infant buried afterbirth outside house.

846 After birth mother and infant lay on mat over [853] hot trench for 6 days. First 2 days baby fed thin gruel made of water, acorn or piñon meal, from mother's fingers; mother milked out colostrum for ca. 2 days, baby nursed on third day. If [262] mother had no milk she rubbed her breasts with soaproot brush dipped in warm water to induce flow. For one month she drank only warm water, "else her blood would get thick and she'd die" (FP); ate no meat, salt or grease as these foods would get into her milk and make baby sick (FP); if she ate meat husband would not be able to see deer (SM).

[p. 45(a)]

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-
[582] washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other; man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recovered from effect of taking drug, and could by
● [262] then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomÏp
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomÏp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had disappeared. I could straighten out my arm again. [262] After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomĭp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomĭp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomĭp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was lit-
252 tle, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[263] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, p. 23). [p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.--Analyst]

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots of them, at a spring. He made a little brush house and sat inside that house; when the doves came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't see him inside the house and he shot them with bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring half a sackful to camp; those doves were good and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone; there was no one else with us. We traveled all night on that desert; it was moonlight. There are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring, we wanted to drink that water there. So we stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a hill above the spring a little way off; we ran the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
[171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then, lots of them; they chase women, right away when they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the summit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested a little, because we were tired. It was sunup when we got to the summit. Then we came down to Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid and ran over on a little hill where we watched them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people living there. We were going home to omomïp from there, but they told us my mother had left omomïp to gather chia seeds and that nobody was home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody from omomïp was over at Scodie's mt., so that same day we went over there. We were very tired, but we couldn't stay over at omomïp all alone, with nobody in the house. We found my mother all right.

My grandmother came back from over on the desert a week after we got back. That girl who came home with me that time is still living; she lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady. She looks young yet; the Indians never used to get old-looking for a long time in the old days; these young people do now though because they eat
[262] everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wišimlït (SM's

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
[476] dens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

857
152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539 X
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 X
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are 159
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 524
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 857
lasts a long time.

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 X
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is 159
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 526
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 857
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 X
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 224
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). [251]
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are 226
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We [464]
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 X
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt- 159
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 222
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 857
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]●
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there [225]
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the 624
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin., utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July, August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped
258 on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice inside the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey
171 dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
137 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal
824 depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[415] had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753] them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
[774 might throw something in the food that would make
609] a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time
824 to determine whether heat from burning brush had
222 caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which ber-
● 264] ries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 heads of Polypogon held over fire to singe off
262 awns, head rubbed between hands to extract seeds and these pounded in pit mortars. All small seeds
● [264 mixed with cold water and made into thick gray-
272] colored gruel (ha·yi·l) which was drunk for refreshment, "like lemonade"; women often gave children drink of this gruel between meals. Two varieties of chia might be used mixed together, but neither mixed with Mentzelia seeds. Although small seeds now regarded as something of delicacy, they are still occasionally gathered in large quantity, using aboriginal methods; in 1933 some Kawaiisu brought 10-lb. flour sack of chia seeds to SM's rancheria, offering them for sale.

243 Wheat now cut by hand, piled up on piece of
252 canvas and thrashed with 4-ft. pole; winnowed in
262 flat tray, parched in oven, pounded into flour in pit mortars, and flour mixed with water and little sugar to make stiff mush. Corn is eaten on cob in roasting ear stage or allowed to dry on cob; 2 cobs twisted against each other to remove kernels, which are parched, pounded, winnowed, and meal made into mush.

252 Juniper berries boiled fresh; when dry and
262 fully ripe seeded by hand, flesh pounded in pit mortars and eaten raw; pounded mass never dried into cakes or beverage made from berries. Flesh of juniper berries "sweet." Ripe boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, taken up in hands, mixed with small amount of water and made into "biscuits" which were dried in sun; no fat added. These small balls stored; when used broken up, soaked in water, eaten; tasted "just like grapes." Elderberries boiled in clay pot with water and
[251] eaten (SM); FP said they "tasted queer." Never stored for winter.

Rush roots peeled, sun-dried, pounded into flour (obolinil) in mortar, mixed with water and stone boiled into mush.

252 Several plant foods roasted; for mescal short
264 trench dug, fire made in trench, tender young
262 stalks cut in half, laid on fire, covered with dirt and left overnight. In morning stalks uncovered, peeled, and eaten. Quantity of Spanish bayonet stalks laid directly on top of blazing brush fire; stalks turned once while cooking; when soft, stalks buried in dirt or sand, left to cool; burying made peel "slip off easier" (SM). Fleshy receptacles of Opuntia buds held over fire on end of sharp-pointed stick to singe off stickers (ukun), then spread on hot flat rock placed at bottom of pit, covered with another hot rock and pit filled with loose earth or hot ashes. Receptacles left to roast for about 8 hours; when taken out of pit outer skin peeled off and inner part eaten. Fleshy stalks wild rhubarb roasted overnight in hot ashes, eaten next morning.

252 Immature pods of tree yucca, while still in-
262 side green sheath, "boiled like cabbage" in clay pot (SM).

Several plant foods eaten raw by gatherer on spot; such included berries of deadly nightshade;

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 263 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass 258 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base 137 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal 824 depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks [272 278 757] equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball, dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs [262 263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 824 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 264 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made [415] from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave [753] them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they [774 609] might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

252 heads of Polypogon held over fire to singe off
262 awns, head rubbed between hands to extract seeds and these pounded in pit mortars. All small seeds
[264 mixed with cold water and made into thick gray-
272] colored gruel (ha·yi·l) which was drunk for refreshment, "like lemonade"; women often gave children drink of this gruel between meals. Two varieties of chia might be used mixed together, but neither mixed with Mentzelia seeds. Although small seeds now regarded as something of delicacy, they are still occasionally gathered in large quantity, using aboriginal methods; in 1933 some Kawaiisu brought 10-lb. flour sack of chia seeds to SM's rancheria, offering them for sale.

243 Wheat now cut by hand, piled up on piece of
252 canvas and thrashed with 4-ft. pole; winnowed in
262 flat tray, parched in oven, pounded into flour in pit mortars, and flour mixed with water and little sugar to make stiff mush. Corn is eaten on cob in roasting ear stage or allowed to dry on cob; 2 cobs twisted against each other to remove kernels, which are parched, pounded, winnowed, and meal made into mush.

252 Juniper berries boiled fresh; when dry and
262 fully ripe seeded by hand, flesh pounded in pit mortars and eaten raw; pounded mass never dried into cakes or beverage made from berries. Flesh of juniper berries "sweet." Ripe boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, taken up in hands, mixed with small amount of water and made into "biscuits" which were dried in sun; no fat added. These small balls stored; when used broken up, soaked in water, eaten; tasted "just like grapes."
[251] Elderberries boiled in clay pot with water and eaten (SM); FP said they "tasted queer." Never stored for winter.

Rush roots peeled, sun-dried, pounded into flour (obolinil) in mortar, mixed with water and stone boiled into mush.

252 Several plant foods roasted; for mescal short
264 trench dug, fire made in trench, tender young
262 stalks cut in half, laid on fire, covered with dirt and left overnight. In morning stalks uncovered, peeled, and eaten. Quantity of Spanish bayonet stalks laid directly on top of blazing brush fire; stalks turned once while cooking; when soft, stalks buried in dirt or sand, left to cool; burying made peel "slip off easier" (SM). Fleshy receptacles of Opuntia buds held over fire on end of sharp-pointed stick to singe off stickers (ukun), then spread on hot flat rock placed at bottom of pit, covered with another hot rock and pit filled with loose earth or hot ashes. Receptacles left to roast for about 8 hours; when taken out of pit outer skin peeled off and inner part eaten. Fleshy stalks wild rhubarb roasted overnight in hot ashes, eaten next morning.

252 Immature pods of tree yucca, while still in-
262 side green sheath, "boiled like cabbage" in clay pot (SM).

Several plant foods eaten raw by gatherer on spot; such included berries of deadly nightshade;

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin., utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July,
258 August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
[824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice inside the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey
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159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yïtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yïtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and
[273] got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yïtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yïtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 "You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 ●273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one.

[p. 78(a)]

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman. 539x 159

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her. 837

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 539x
451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We 159
went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to 578
here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own [195]
friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking.

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father 539x
after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 159
497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter.

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. [845
509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that 768]
killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that [592]
(baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time.
515. Then my wife is angry all the time.

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one 539x
bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. 159
Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. [273]
Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became
unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E [317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because [276] they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM).

[p. 11(b)]

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
136 cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yĭta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwĭt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cĭmil), gray squirrel (cawanĭnt), blue squirrel (tĭšĭ'ĭgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bĭ·l), bluejay (a·ʂayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
[533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not
224 accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space
[237 cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
276 beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and
301] when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed [342] tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, [171] although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small [177] groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

[p. 26(a)]

as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" (MM).

Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); FN denied use of spoons.

Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.

Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with
317 lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels
789 also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars. In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).

276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."

757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.

[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk
887 of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

276 small mortar, and powdery substance stuffed into
887 tubular pipe (wo·ša·giništ) made from 4- to 10-in. length of hollow cane (paha·bul), Phragmites communis Trin. Old men smoked once or twice daily while in sweat house or after morning, evening meals, "not all the time, like people do now" (MM). Smoker held pipe horizontally; took long slow puff from it, inhaling deeply, then removed pipe from mouth and closed lips; exhaled smoke slowly through nostrils. "The smoke went up from the smoker's lungs right to the top of his head, because that smoke was so strong" (MM). From 2-3 such long puffs, no more, taken at one smoking; tobacco so strong it soon caused smoker to tremble violently as though intoxicated. After indulging thus, smoker extinguished pipe by rubbing it in palm of hand, then set it aside for future use. When tobacco in
[323] pipe consumed, cane tossed away. Pottery pipe not used; steatite pipes used by rain makers.

171 Distributional discussion.- In general dis-
276 cussions of the use of tobacco in North America the trait of chewing tobacco with lime is mentioned as having a continuous distribution from the North Pacific Coast tribes S through the greater part of Calif. (Linton, 2; Wissler, 26, fig. 6; Sayce, 200; West, 99-100). Dixon, how-

Tribe	Tobacco species	Native names
C.,S. Miwok	N. bigelovii	ka´sü; kaku; hū´tĭa
W. Mono		pamu; cokx
O. V. Paiute	N. attenuata	pāmüpi; pâʰmū; sāgō
Koso		sohon, shogun
Tübatulabal	N. bigelovii; N. attenuata	šo'ogonht
Kawaiisu	N. attenuata; N. trigonophylla	soóda; koópi
Yokuts		sohow, personal name of plant; só.Gon, tobacco, tobacco plant; ba'um, tobacco smoke, cigarette
Costanoan		
Salinan		
Chumash	N. species	
Kitanemuk	N. species	tsiwut
Alliklik	N. species	
Gabrielino	N. species	shuki
Cahuilla	N. attenuata	pivat

[p. 38(a)]

171
276

ever, has shown that it was not tobacco, but some unknown masticatory, which was chewed with lime by the Tlingit and Haida (Dixon, 146-150). For Washington, Oregon, and n. Calif. tribes I have found no references to the chewing of tobacco, or any other plant substance, with lime; for the Quinault (Olson), Klamath (Spier, 1930, 87), Karok (Harrington, 10), and Wishram (Spier and Sapir, 269) the trait is denied. It is only when the Miwok of central Calif. are reached that chewing of tobacco with lime is reported; from the Miwok S the trait has a continuous distribution among a compact group of c. and s. Calif. tribes, as is shown in the tabulation below.

Tobacco chewing is not mentioned for any other S Calif. tribes; among Kamia (Gifford, 1931, 25; 1932 a, 25), Southeastern Yavapai (Gifford, 1932 a, 213), Akwa'ala (Gifford and Lowie, 342) absence of trait noted.

In regard to the use of tobacco and lime outside of California, MacLeod has pointed out the interesting fact that green leaves mixed with lime and tobacco mixed with the ashes of burned insects were used in Valley of Mexico; he also refers to a mention of the chewing of tobacco in the origin myth of the Chitimacha, and to the swallowing of a tobacco composition in the form of a pill, among the Natchez (MacLeod, 418-419).

Uses	Source
Eaten with lime by men, women, to induce vomiting.	Barrett and Gifford, 193, 195
Smoked; eaten with lime (?).	Gifford, 1932 b, 23; Kroeber, 1907, 77, 94; Tüb. informant (SM)
Smoked by men, doctors; chewed with lime by women only.	Steward, 1933, 319-320
Chewed (?).	Kroeber, Handbook, 627
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked by men, doctors.	
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked.	McCown, MS.
Chewed with lime by men, women; emetic; smoked by doctors.	Newman; Kroeber, Handbook, 516, 538, 617
Chewed with lime; smoked.	Kroeber, Handbook, 469, 826
Chewed with lime; emetic; smoked	Kroeber, Handbook, 548; J. A. Mason, 165
Chewed with lime.	Garcés, 277
Chewed with lime; emetic.	Kroeber, Handbook, 613, 628
Chewed (?).	Kroeber, Handbook, 538
Eaten with lime, medicinally.	Kroeber, Handbook, 627, 628
Chewed; smoked.	Barrows, 74

[p. 38(6)]

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na-mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-
[582] washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other; man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[806] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
● 276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life";
776 many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·num), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recov-
[262] ered from effect of taking drug, and could by then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet. Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life "would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
[777] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with
[778] takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured; often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

788 787 little balls." In evening grandfather took youth outside, questioned him about what he had seen in trance; boy told old man what life he had obtained, if any. All youths could take ants thus; "many of them did" (SM).

787 788 776 276 Youths of 16 or more also fasted single day, in evening swallowed small ball of tobacco and lime, either in sweat house or outside in hills; sometimes animal appeared to seeker, became latter's pet (SM). FP said younger women also took tobacco for same purpose.

788 765 572 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service. PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[253] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

[p. 72 (b)]

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomĭp
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomĭp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had disappeared. I could straighten out my arm again.
[262] After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (PP's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

276 756 789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

133 137 342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 2, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

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[p. 89]

DREAMS

15. JIMSONWEED DREAM

1. Once I went from Bishop to Mammoth, going to work for one man. 2. I am opening up a ditch. 3. Then it rained on me; it rained very much. 4. The hail then (was the size of) chicken's eggs. 5. So I ran away from there toward the house. 6. Then (after the shower) I went back to my own work. 7. Then I came to my own house in the evening. 8. Then, when I finished eating, I slept.

9. Then I dreamed. 10. I saw a windmill; I saw it. 11. Then one man is telling me: "It (the windmill) may be used as an instrument for flooding the houses," he says, "when the world is worn out," he says. 12. Then from there I see God and also angels. 13. Then there the man says to me, "Look you at that," he says; "jimsonweed," he says, "you ought to drink it," he says. 14. "Good," I say.

15. Then from there the very next day I went toward my own home, toward Bishop. 16. Then, when I arrive at my own home, I tell my own wife: "I dreamed that." 17. Then: "Go to your own house, to your own father; he can give you jimsonweed," she says. 18. I did not come. 19. Then I got hurt myself after three months. 20. There, the one who told me in vain, the man is there. 21. It is the end.

16. BEAR DREAM

1. Once I came from Bishop long ago. 2. So I am coming on the road. 3. Then I arrived at Indian Wells. 4. From there I came toward the summit. 5. Then, while I was wanting to arrive at the summit, I saw a bear while he was running away from the mountain. 6. He is coming running. 7. Then I, contrary to will, am coming very fast (in a Ford). 8. Already very close the bear appeared to come. 9. I left him there and went away. 10. Then I, while appearing to go away from there, looked back. 11. No bear. 12. This direction I (am) on the steep place.

13. Then I woke up suddenly. 14. (It was) the first time I dreamt of the bear from Bishop. 15. Then I from there came away from Bishop, having finished dreaming (of) that bear. 16. Then I came and arrived here to my own father. 17. Then I lived here two or three months. 18. Then I dream again (of) that bear, my own past dream.

19. There on the summit I see him when dreaming. 20. He followed me. 21. Then I passed that bear; then I woke up. 22. Then, two weeks after my own dream, I took leave toward Bishop. 23. Then I, on the summit, went and arrived. 24. Then I remembered my own past dream (of) the bear. 25. I did not stand for a moment on the summit. 26. Straightway I went. 27. I became very frightened. 28. From there I took leave.

17. REQUESTED DREAM

1. I dreamed because you said to me, "You will dream." 2. Then I dream that at night we are sitting in the house. 3. A big white house and another house are standing in the neighborhood. 4. Then we are sitting there next to the house. 5. We are eating our own lunch. 6. Then your wife is sitting on this side. 7. Then from there she yells to you: "Come, run," she is saying. 8. Then you go to that side. 9. Then your wife is holding the little girl. 10. The little girl died momentaneously. 11. Then I saw above. 12. Then I see it; (there are) two men and one woman. 13. Then one man sits next to me. 14. Then he says, "Do not look," he says, "it is bad," he says. 15. Then Old Man is sitting on this side. 16. Then I say, "Let me call him."

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 529] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.---P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´was) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yɨ´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278

the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616

Moiety.---The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796

Snake ritual.---This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.---This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.---This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756

Shamans' Contest.---There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237

Eagle purchase.---A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435]

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

T Y 276 796 [757]

Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 539] Tubatulabal NS22

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

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saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

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Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

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F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nək ma ana´təlhːn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ˈːt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bY·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[445 had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten
774 after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
609] might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits 317 in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars. 789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).

276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."

757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
● 278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.

[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk
887 of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

THERAPEUTICAL PRACTICES

757 General good health induced by sweat bathing, observing pregnancy, menstrual taboos, bathing in hot springs, taking some simple herb medicines, as salt-grass crystals in warm water every morning for laxative purposes, to clean out stomach. In sicknesses, before taking patient to shaman for treatment which partook of nature of religious ceremony herb medicines (ti·bo·hišt) might be administered by old man, woman. Such persons often doctored ailing members of family, without any singing ceremony; "anyone who knew
759 the right medicine for an ailment would do this;
757 sometimes a herbalist would be sent for to treat a sick person; in that event he'd be paid. People learned about the medicines from their parents or grandparents, or a man would know about a medicine and other people would pay him to tell them.
[177] They learned a lot about medicines from the Mexicans, too. Now the witches have spoiled all the plant medicines except jimsonweed; they can't spoil that because it's too strong" (SM). In situations where shamans failed to effect cure, herb medicines might be administered after shamanistic treatment.

757 Ants also used as medicine; charms sometimes applied to body to relieve pain.

Plant, insect remedies.- Following plant, insect remedies, unless initialed otherwise, given by SM.

757 Piece jimsonweed root (mo·mo·ht), Datura
824 meteloides HBK., weed, about 12 in. long, dug,
278 washed, macerated, set to soak for day in 2 qts. cold water; in evening water strained, given to patient, who had abstained from food, drink for 3 days and had cleaned out stomach every morning during fast with bitter drink made from roots of reise blanco. After taking dose patient fell into stupor which lasted 12-24 hrs.; during this time he was turned from one side to other; if he lay on his back or stomach he would fail to revive. FP's father blew whistle when giving her jimsonweed (see Autobiography of FP). While under influence drug patient might walk around, but was watched carefully; sometimes had visions (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215); SM imagined row of fence posts were dancers in feather costumes when he took drug; MM one time saw man who told him to take jimsonweed again in week; next time MM took it he saw white lizard drop from his shoulder, black one from his knee; when he awoke his rheumatism had disappeared. Sometimes patients, upon advice of person seen in stupor, drank jimsonweed 3 times before they were cured.

Before digging root plant addressed briefly; drink could not be administered in summer as "the roots are all right then, but when it's hot you want water; if you drink water and then drink jimsonweed, you get bloated right away" (SM). If drug taken without fasting at least 3 days, dose immediately vomited.

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SM had given jimsonweed to MM for rheumatism, after shaman failed to cure him; to RP when she was badly bloated, constipated; had taken it himself when wounded in leg, as anodyne; FP had taken it for rheumatism (see Autobiography of FP).

Dry pounded jimsonweed root used as poultice on sores to relieve inflammation.

Powdered tobacco and lime snuffed to clear nose during colds. Tobacco, lime mixed with water, drunk in evening in sweat house, among groups people or by individuals in order to induce vomiting, thus insuring dreamless slumber.

Large root of yerba mansa, Anemopsis californica (Nutt.) Hook (čahpanÏ·l), boiled in qt. water for hour, decoction strained, cupful drunk every 2 hours for day or so, for heavy colds. Piece of root 1 in. long of Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene (paništ), desert floral area, boiled in pint of water few minutes, dose taken 3 times during day for colds.

As laxative, 4-5 tsp. salt-grass crystals (p. 15) mixed with 1 tsp. ordinary salt in cup warm water used.

Leaves, flowers Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC) Rydb. (ča·dača·dapïl), foothill floral area; stalks, flowers Ericameria monactis (Gray) McCl. (same name); roots of Encelia actoni Elmer, desert floral area, boiled, affected parts washed with decoction for rheumatism.

Leaves, flowers Diplacus longiflorus Nutt., or D. aurantiacus Jepson, both foothill floral area, boiled, decoction strained, drunk for stomach-ache. Dry heads Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled, tea drunk for stomach-ache, diarrhea.

Entire plant of turpentine weed, Trichostema lanceolatum Benth. (ši·gišt), foothill floral area, boiled, infusion snuffed up nose to stop headaches, nosebleed.

For bloody flux, entire plant Heliotropum curassavicum L., general in alkaline soils, boiled, decoction drunk; handful of dried flower heads of Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled 1/2 hr. in water, decoction strained, cupful given 3 times daily; mild enough to give children.

Stalks, leaves of Indian tea, Ephredra viridis Coville (u'tu·udul), desert floral area, boiled; decoction "good for blood" (SM), used for syphilis (?).

Entire plants Eriogonum virgatum Benth. (šiko··nišpul), foothill floral area; E. baileyi Wats., E. gracillimum Wats., Chorizanthe staticoides Benth., desert floral area, boiled, infusions used as lotions for pimples.

Ripe seeds Argemone platyceras Link & Otto (šo·'lolo·pul), Great Basin floral area, pounded, used as poultice on open sores, piles. Ripe seeds of Echinocystis brandegei Cogn. (čawakišt) and E. horrida Cogn., foothill floral area, burned until black, rubbed with fingers in palm of hand until reduced to greasy paste which was smeared over pimples, rubbed over baby's umbilicus after navel

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šimindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (polcli·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
278 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
177 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners
824 active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every
751 night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yĭtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The TÜbatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

[P. 52a] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw:l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
136 cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yĭta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwĭt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu··it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cĭmil), gray squirrel (cawanĭnt), blue squirrel (yăĭ'ĭgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·ya·), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bĭ·l), bluejay (a·ɣayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
[533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might
224 also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space
[237 cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
276 beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and
301] when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
● [281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

291 of tanned buckskin with lacing like that on skirts at top of shoulders and from armholes down sides, and with 10 to 12-in. laced slit in front from neck downward, worn against cold (FP).

Bearskin robes with hair left on may have been worn occasionally, but were "too heavy" (SM). Feather, squirrelskin capes never made; sea-otter [439] capes not obtained in trade though SM had seen them worn by Chumash at Ventura.

292 Shamans engaged in curing, competitive con-
171 tests, and dancers wore skirts (wi·la·t) made same style as Owens Valley Paiute, Koso skirts (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7d; Kroeber, Handbook, 508, pl. 42a). Some dancers also wore bands of yellowhammer feathers around waist (FP).

292 Men when hunting in winter kept fingers warm, limber by putting them inside wildcatskin quiver, which had hair left on inside and was worn slung across chest.

291 Headgear and footwear.- Men went hatless; women wore coiled basketry cap (pongat) when using pack strap for carrying loads, but not habitually; these caps round at top, came down nearly to eyebrows. Hair nets not used. Men rarely seen now outdoors without hat; women wear them less frequently; FP habitually wore black cloth stocking cap resembling basket cap in shape. Some 60 years ago FP's aunt (Koso) made coiled hats of same material used for basketry cap, but patterned hats like "store hats"; sold these to several Tübatulabal men who wore them "all the time" (FP, SM).

292 Shamans and dancers wore feather headdress
301 consisting of fillet (še·mapun) of eagle down,
171 and crown (anambul) of magpie (?) feathers, similar to Owens Valley Paiute dancer's headdress (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7a, b).

291 Moccasins (wahcibi·l), made from tanned buck-
● 281 skin taken from neck region of deer "where the hide is thick" (SM); made to extend well above ankle (fig. 3). FP in cutting out model in cloth

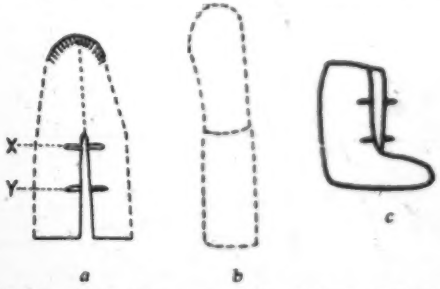


Fig. 3. Moccasin. a, side strips, puckered at toe ends; thongs at x and y; seams occur along dotted lines. b (upper half), sole, (lower half), back strip. c, completed moccasin.

(Mus. cat. no. 1-28226) first cut out sole, then sewed straight piece of cloth 6 in. long, 3 1/2 in. wide onto back section of sole and then 2 straight pieces 12 in. long, 4 in. wide on sides and front of sole, puckering 2 pieces at toe end.

[p. 22 (b)]

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted [314] pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of [412] soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

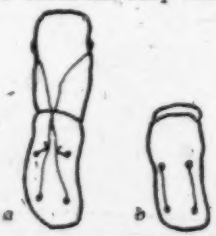


Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow
132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, [372] 1929, pl. 97a, b); banging done by holding front hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens James (cĭw'wĭ·ĭbĭ·l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

285 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).
415

[492] (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules.

In contrast to twined ware, all of which was
415 plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had de-
531 signs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

531 Either informants had forgotten them, or else few designs had names; when shown some 26 designs taken from Tübatulabal basketry collections, SM recognized 3 (fig. 9) which had descriptive names, king snake design (pokpo·go´no·lo·wun),

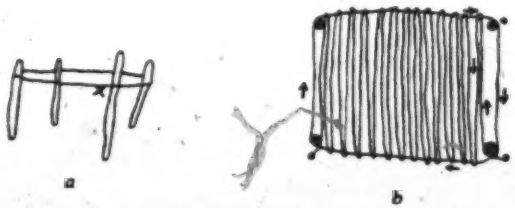
Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wun), rattlesnake
[532] design (cĭmĭndiŋlo·wun), "a hard pattern" (ES). Human figure design aboriginal (SM); pictographs of human figures in territory tend to confirm this, although Kroeber holds human figures on baskets result of American influence (Kroeber,
[171] Handbook, 541). ES recognized several Yokuts designs (Kroeber, Handbook, 533, fig. 47, nos. 1, 8, 15, 16) which she had seen on Tübatulabal baskets, but did not know names for them.

285 Mats.- Mats (paht) were made from whole dried trimmed tules, which were soaked before being woven; mats 3-5 ft. wide, of varying lengths, made in plain twined weave with each series of tule weft elements spaced about 3 in. apart. Top, bottom edges finished with tule braid (ta·ža·bil). Specimen 1-21064, large tule mat used for house covering, has braid edge, as has fragment of mat 1-28574; specimen 1-28575, also fragment, has wrap edge. Large mats used to cover walls, floors of living houses, to sit on while working outside, to sleep on. Small tule mats bordered with tule braid, but lacking weft bandings, used on both types baby cradles; hood for baby's second cradle also of tules.

281 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihnibĭ·l)
286 made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.



a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winišt) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

283 it was wrapped around left wrist. Made by men, women; used extensively for nets, fish lines, bridles, forehead band on pack strap, loops on pack basket, on water bottles, as warp for rabbitskin blankets, bowstring for rabbit bows, foundation for eagle dance skirts, to tie babies on cradles, tie newborn child's umbilical cord, as thread to sew up sacks, etc.

Rope (tu·mayu·t) made from outer bark of Fremontia californica Torrey (u·pul); long branches, trunk of shrub peeled, fresh bark softened between hands and 3 strands braided into rope which was used to lash bundles of tules together for raft, to tie up crook on piñon staves, to bundle firewood into load, for 2 ends of pack strap, etc.

LEATHERWORK

●281 Tanning.- Tanning done chiefly by men, although women sometimes dehaired skins. Green hides (tu·šu·but) hung up to dry, doubled over line with skin side out, for 6-8 days. If not to be tanned immediately they were folded up, stored in house. When tanned, hide soaked in cold water 3 days (SM); MM said soaked for week, being taken out at intervals and as much hair as possible pulled out with fingers. After thorough soaking, [412 171] hair and fat, if any, scraped off with deer-bone scraper as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 118). Hide put in warm water to which deer brains had been added, and soaked overnight. Next morning hide dried, then returned to brain solution, [401] soaked again for 24 hours. Hide then rinsed out in clear water, looped around post and wrung out using short stick as lever (Kelly, pl. 21a, b). Lever, with hide still tightly twisted into coil around it, stuck between pole on which hide was looped and another pole 1 ft. away and hide left thus, tightly twisted, for about 30 minutes; after this hide slipped off lever, flattened out, stretched, rolled, and rubbed between hands. After fibers thus partly softened, hide draped over horizontal bar set into forks of 2 upright posts 3 ft. high, 3 ft. apart; hide pulled back and forth over bar, man often working with hide thus at intermittent intervals for 2-3 days. Tanned hides (takta·šat) not smoked; sometimes whitened; negative 15-6273 shows Tübatulabal man softening clay-whitened deerskin.

Skins to be tanned with hair on, as wildcat skins used for wrapping up infants, were scraped clean on skin side, skin wet, and deer brains, which had been soaked in small amount water, rubbed into hide with hands. Hide then allowed to dry and pulled, rubbed between hands until soft. Bear hides also tanned with hair left on, brains being worked in with scraper.

237 Fresh deer brains could be used for tanning hide, but usually dried brains used, prepared as follows. Deer skull cracked open with rock, brains scooped out, smeared over both sides cir-

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

● 281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 [42] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·ɣul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on bowl or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

7. YIHAWAL STEALS GIRL

1. (This is) not a myth. People, the pioneers, (had already) come here. 2. Once a man and also his wife are living, and also her child, a little girl, and also her mother-in-law. 3. Then the man goes and hunts, and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns. 4. Then her child is crying all the time when her mother goes pounding.

5. Then also in the evening the little girl cries. 6. Then her mother left her. "Right here take her and go away, Yihawal," (the mother) says. 7. From there her mother went toward the house. 8. She went and arrived at her own house. 9. Then her mother-in-law asks, "Where is the little girl?" 10. Then from there her mother went and ran back again.

11. The little girl is not there. 12. Yihawal took her here and went away. 13. Back again (the mother) came and ran toward the house. "Nothing there," she says. 14. From there, then, they both went. 15. There they met the man. 16. "What is it you are looking for?" (he asks). 17. "I left the little girl here," her mother says; "perhaps Yihawal has already taken her here and gone away."

18. Yihawal took her to his own house. 19. Then Yihawal hunts every day. 20. He brings many mountain quail in the evening. 21. Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits, and also he stirs chia seed in the cooking-basket. 22. Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket. 23. That woman eats (the contents of the cooking-basket). 24. He fixes her blankets for her. 25. He blankets that (woman). 26. His blankets (are) good ones. 27. He strung (them of) the skin of the mountain quail.

28. Then Yihawal said, "Already your relatives begin to make fiesta. Better let me take you there." 29. Then from there he took her. 30. He put her there, close to the house. 31. "Don't you tell (how you were brought up)," he says, "for three days," he says. 32. Then, "Good," says the woman.

33. From there he went to his own house. 34. Then she went and arrived outside her own house. 35. She hears the crying (of the fiesta). 36. Then her mother came out there outside (the house) (and) saw there that woman while she stands there. 37. Then (the mother) went toward her. 38. "Who are you?" she says. 39. "I stand (here), your child. You left me and went away to your pounding."

40. Then her mother took her inside the house. 41. Then her mother became silent. 42. Then all the people came, when they came to see her. 43. They are talking to her. 44. "Where (were) you, you who have traveled?" (they ask). 45. She does not tell. 46. Then they also (more people) are coming; they are coming and asking her.

47. Then after a while, she told. 48. "I (am) the one who lived there," she says, "in the home of Yihawal." 49. Then from there she went and fell dead when she had finished saying it. 50. Then there her child runs away. 51. He went, he went, so they say. 52. There it got ended.

8. END OF THE MYTHICAL AGE

1. Many people are living. 2. Then Coyote says to Eagle, "Pretty soon we get scattered. Different people will come," he says. 3. "Good," they (the people) say when he says (this). 4. Coyote (is) chief. 5. "Where will you live?" he says to Eagle. 6. "On Lelet" (a mountain peak south of Weldon). 7. "And you?" Coyote says to Bat. 8. "Indeed, I shall wander at night." 9. "And you?" Coyote says to Lizard. 10. "Indeed, I shall live on rocks." 11. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Grasshopper. 12. "Indeed, I shall wander in the valley." 13. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Fish. 14. "Indeed, I shall live in the water," Fish says. 15. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Sage Hen. 16. "Indeed, I shall live in the sagebrush."

17. Eagle (asks) Coyote, "Where will you live?" 18. "Indeed, I shall live in the valley; I will eat beetles and also grasshoppers." 19. There it is ended.

226 obtained from augmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

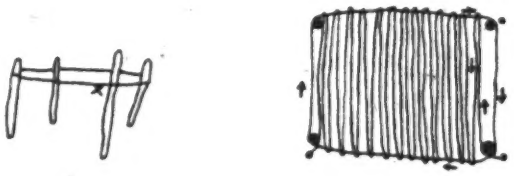
Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] [227] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·št) 7-8 ft. long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). [321] Fishhooks (wele·haniš) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrapping of native twine which was given coating of asphalt to make it fast. [283] Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (ti·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 476 417 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to corral, beat water with long willow poles so that [462] all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.



a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winišt) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

283 it was wrapped around left wrist. Made by men, women; used extensively for nets, fish lines, bridles, forehead band on pack strap, loops on pack basket, on water bottles, as warp for rabbitskin blankets, bowstring for rabbit bows, foundation for eagle dance skirts, to tie babies on cradles, tie newborn child's umbilical cord, as thread to sew up sacks, etc.

Rope (tu·mayu·t) made from outer bark of Fremontia californica Torrey (u·pul); long branches, trunk of shrub peeled, fresh bark softened between hands and 3 strands braided into rope which was used to lash bundles of tules together for raft, to tie up crook on piñon staves, to bundle firewood into load, for 2 ends of pack strap, etc.

LEATHERWORK

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317 and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

285 [171] Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed by shamans in shooting contests. [#62] [756]

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 16a, b). [171]

285 824 Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wInapI·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šY·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šY·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

285 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for
824 various types twined ware made from whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots, roots of tree yucca, outer bark of willow. Tules used considerably for baskets, mats; there are few tules in either Kern or South Fork valleys now, but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

292 Coiled baskets included:
171 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled
285 Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 (b) Sifter (wa·ṭ) or small tray; slightly
285 concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

(c) Parching tray (ša·gišt); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers.
[525] This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

(d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in.
[252] wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

415 in. high, 6 1/2 in. in diameter at top, 4 in. at
285 base. Used by individuals for drinking soup; also used for shaping biscuits of acorn mush (p. 18).

(f) Meal basket (ponol); was about 16 in. high, flat-bottomed, with sides which curved inward toward top; latter about 6 in. in diameter. Used as container for freshly ground chia seeds, etc. (Fig. 8b.)

(g) Mortar hopper (hoyanut, PN); was made from old cooking basket with bottom cut out; height, diameter varied, depending on size of
[317] mortar; some hoppers 6-8 in. deep, 16 in. in diameter across top. Attached permanently to mortar with asphalt; PN had seen hopper attached to small portable stone mortar used for mixing tobacco and lime; FP had seen Bob Rabbit, widowed Kawaiisu rain doctor, using hopper on mortar hole in log at piñon camp, "where there was no stone." Hopper helped prevent small seeds from flying out of mortar during pounding.

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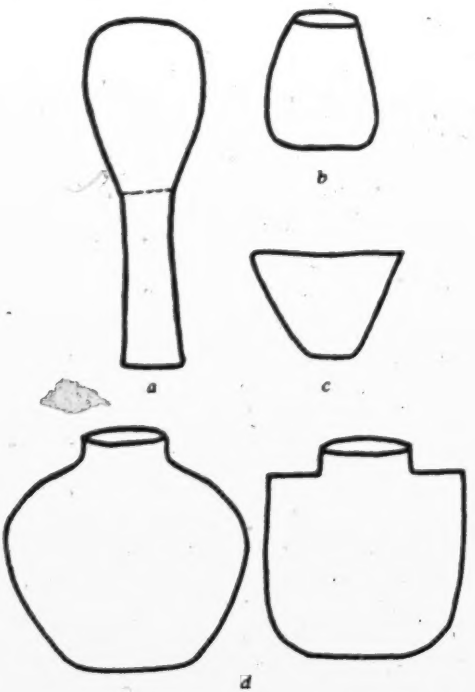

Fig. 8. Basketry and pottery shapes. a, tule tray for drying sweets; upper part, body of tray, lower part, handle end which was folded over at broken line. b, coiled basket used for storing small seeds. c, pottery bowl in Andress collection, height 4 in., width at mouth 4½ in., thickness ¼ in.; surface find in mts., Tübatulabal area. d, bottleneck money jars (1-20952, 20953).

415
285 (h) Money jar (ukulušt) or "Tulare bottleneck" (fig. 8d); most elaborate basket type; specimen 1-20951, 20953 (O. T. Mason, 479, pls. 193, 194), made by FP's mother, ornamented around

[p. 31(b)]

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
[237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at
[171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tĭbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
[482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Lug basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on upcurve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to win-
[252] now piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
[222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

415 285 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 2 willow rods (pi·mun) sewn around top for reinforcement; 2 cloth lugs attached to rim on opposite sides. Seeds, berries collected in this basket as they were knocked off bush with seed beater.

415 285 482 (b) Burden basket (wa·niht); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket, about 29 in. deep, 26 in. in diameter at top. Warp and weft of peeled willow shoots; basket banded with oak rod attached to rim with split willow shoots. Two pieces of willow, 3 in. long, sewn on inside of basket horizontally 9 in. below rim and 6 in. apart; lengths of twine attached to these pieces of willow to make 2 loops (pu·niwa·n) 6 in. long, which came through basket and hung down on outside; pack strap attached to these 2 loops. On some baskets 3 willow bands encircled basket on outside as reinforcement, being put on at top, 1/3 and 2/3 of way down. Specimen 1-19815, small burden basket made by PN, is 20 in. deep, 23 in. in diameter at top; has 2 willow rods around top, with top rod left bare except at intervals where it is stitched to rod underneath it. Rod sewn on inside basket for attaching twine loops. Uses have been mentioned (ante).

[171] (c) Water bottle (iwat); resembled that of Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55e), but had flat base (all informants). Made in 2-ply diagonal twining with warp of whole peeled willow shoots, weft of split willow shoots; 2 loops attached to side as on burden basket, with long string which passed over carrier's forehead, fastened to loops. Bottle pitched inside and out (see section on Glue, Pitch, Asphalt); stoppered with roll of grass (pa·niŝwa·n). Small girls packed little water bottles "like the one in the picture" (Handbook, ibid.); adults larger ones, some 16 in. tall, on trips into dry country. Large bottles, often 17 in. in diameter, used to store water in at dry piñon camps and as water containers at hamlets.

[171] Tule baskets and traps were all of 2-ply diagonal twining; soft tule baskets such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50c) not manufactured among Tübatulabal.

227 285 Tule objects included:

[171] (a) Conical trap; some 4 ft. deep, 3 1/2 ft. wide at top, made similar to burden basket; this trap set below fall in river, secured between 2 sticks as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 251); set in evening and left overnight.

[171] (b) Tubular trap (wa·mat); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), but made from tules; this staked down in smooth water; "when a big fish got inside, it couldn't turn around to get out" (SM).

[171] (c) Conical scoop (či·dišt); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33b), but lacking inner cone and made from tules; used to scoop up stupefied fish from pools.

285 415 (d) Tule tray (ši'i·bī·l u·ži·l); shaped something like seed beater but with broader

285 415 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

[492] (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules. In contrast to twined ware, all of which was plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had designs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

531 Either informants had forgotten them, or else few designs had names; when shown some 26 designs taken from Tübatulabal basketry collections, SM recognized 3 (fig. 9) which had descriptive names, king snake design (pokpo·go´no·lo·wun),

a b c

Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wun), rattlesnake design (cĭmĭndiŋlo·wun), "a hard pattern" (ES). [532] Human figure design aboriginal (SM); pictographs of human figures in territory tend to confirm this, although Kroeber holds human figures on baskets result of American influence (Kroeber, [171] Handbook, 541). ES recognized several Yokuts designs (Kroeber, Handbook, 533, fig. 47, nos. 1, 8, 15, 16) which she had seen on Tübatulabal baskets, but did not know names for them.

285 Mats.- Mats (paht) were made from whole dried trimmed tules, which were soaked before being woven; mats 3-5 ft. wide, of varying lengths, made in plain twined weave with each series of tule weft elements spaced about 3 in. apart. Top, bottom edges finished with tule braid (ta·ža·bil). Specimen 1-21064, large tule mat used for house covering, has braid edge, as has fragment of mat 1-28574; specimen 1-28575, also fragment, has wrap edge. Large mats used to cover walls, floors of living houses, to sit on while working outside, to sleep on. Small tule mats bordered with tule braid, but lacking weft bandings, used on both types baby cradles; hood for baby's second cradle also of tules.

281 286 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihmibĭ·l) made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yĭtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[763] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
● [285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made. The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

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If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

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Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

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The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder dropped into channel leading to edge of hearth. [illegible] (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made [illegible] of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. [illegible] DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener
[171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near
324 Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised
[171] lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
● 286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served
372 for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
373 in summer, cooking fire often built outside under shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by
[756] fire built in center; sweat house heated, illuminated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with
462 simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
177 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

(e) Saddles were formerly made from tules. In contrast to twined ware, all of which was plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had designs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

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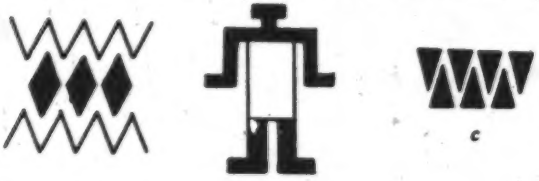

a b c

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[p. 33(a)]

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.

a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winiŝt) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS12

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two T Y [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t·m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w·s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to

[262] eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

● 291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnihY·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

291 of tanned buckskin with lacing like that on skirts at top of shoulders and from armholes down sides, and with 10 to 12-in. laced slit in front from neck downward, worn against cold (FP).

Bearskin robes with hair left on may have been worn occasionally, but were "too heavy" (SM). Feather, squirrelskin capes never made; sea-otter [439] capes not obtained in trade though SM had seen them worn by Chumash at Ventura.

292 171 Shamans engaged in curing, competitive contests, and dancers wore skirts (wi·la·t) made same style as Owens Valley Paiute, Koso skirts (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7d; Kroeber, Handbook, 508, pl. 42a). Some dancers also wore bands of yellowhammer feathers around waist (FP).

292 Men when hunting in winter kept fingers warm, limber by putting them inside wildcatskin quiver, which had hair left on inside and was worn slung across chest.

291 Headgear and footwear.- Men went hatless; women wore coiled basketry cap (poŋgat) when using pack strap for carrying loads, but not habitually; these caps round at top, came down nearly to eyebrows. Hair nets not used. Men rarely seen now outdoors without hat; women wear them less frequently; FP habitually wore black cloth stocking cap resembling basket cap in shape. Some 60 years ago FP's aunt (Koso) made coiled hats of same material used for basketry cap, but patterned hats like "store hats"; sold these to several Tübatulabal men who wore them "all the time" (FP, SM).

292 301 171 Shamans and dancers wore feather headdress consisting of fillet (še·mapun) of eagle down, and crown (anambul) of magpie (?) feathers, similar to Owens Valley Paiute dancer's headdress (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7a, b).

291 281 Moccasins (wahcibi·l), made from tanned buckskin taken from neck region of deer "where the hide is thick" (SM); made to extend well above ankle (fig. 3). FP in cutting out model in cloth

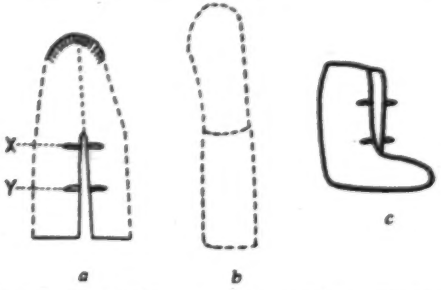

Fig. 3. Moccasin. a, side strips, puckered at toe ends; thongs at x and y; seams occur along dotted lines. b (upper half), sole, (lower half), back strip. c, completed moccasin.

(Mus. cat. no. 1-28226) first cut out sole, then sewed straight piece of cloth 6 in. long, 3 1/2 in. wide onto back section of sole and then 2 straight pieces 12 in. long, 4 in. wide on sides and front of sole, puckering 2 pieces at toe end.

[p. 22 (b)]

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed 281 to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted [314] pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of [412] soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

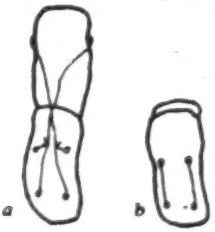

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow 132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, 1929, pl. 97a, b); banging done by holding front [372] hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens James (cĭw'wĭ·ĭbĭ·l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

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● 292 171 Shamans engaged in curing, competitive contests, and dancers wore skirts (wi·la·t) made same style as Owens Valley Paiute, Koso skirts (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7d; Kroeber, Handbook, 508, pl. 42a). Some dancers also wore bands of yellowhammer feathers around waist (FP).

292 Men when hunting in winter kept fingers warm, limber by putting them inside wildcatskin quiver, which had hair left on inside and was worn slung across chest.

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291 281 Moccasins (wahcibï·l), made from tanned buckskin taken from neck region of deer "where the hide is thick" (SM); made to extend well above ankle (fig. 3). FP in cutting out model in cloth

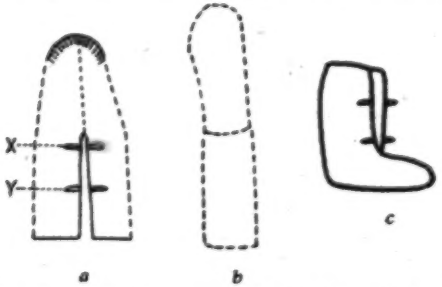

Fig. 3. Moccasin. a, side strips, puckered at toe ends; thongs at x and y; seams occur along dotted lines. b (upper half), sole, (lower half), back strip. c, completed moccasin.

(Mus. cat. no. 1-28226) first cut out sole, then sewed straight piece of cloth 6 in. long, 3 1/2 in. wide onto back section of sole and then 2 straight pieces 12 in. long, 4 in. wide on sides and front of sole, puckering 2 pieces at toe end.

[p. 22 (b)]

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in
[314] front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of
[412] soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

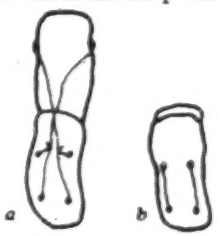

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

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285 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for
824 various types twined ware made from whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots, roots of tree yucca, outer bark of willow. Tules used considerably for baskets, mats; there are few tules in either Kern or South Fork valleys now, but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

292 Coiled baskets included:

171 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled
285 Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 (b) Sifter (wa·t) or small tray; slightly
285 concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

(c) Parching tray (ša·gišt); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers.
[525] This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

(d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in.
[252] wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:
"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and
women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and
they danced around a fire in a big circle for a
long time. A few singers who knew the war songs
stood between the fire and the circle of dancers;
they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
● [292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for
dances at a burning. During the night of a war
dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly,
principally to the men. The next morning the men
would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

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173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wišt) tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totshoid[u] dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elabbrate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

302 [765] sum, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., [824] pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. 388 [515] (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (iihabi·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for several days. At dances women put loose eagle [301] down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wïnït) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native string to form flat, narrow brush. This hair- [413] brush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apïn) made from colum- [177] nelia of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (nangawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

262 136 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods included deer (tohi·l), antelope (yĭta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwĭt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cĭmil), gray squirrel (cawanĭnt), blue squirrel (yĭšĭ'ĭgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bĭ·l), bluejay (a·ṣayibišt).

224 776 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts. usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 [533] 224 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

[237] [276] [301]

224 411 825 [349] Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows; at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

[281]

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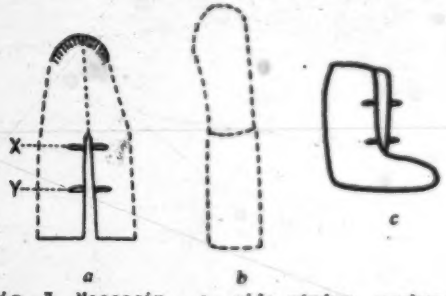

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302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

352 deer sinew (tohi·lIŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bI·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
[221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with FM's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 ●301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

[p. 84 (b)]

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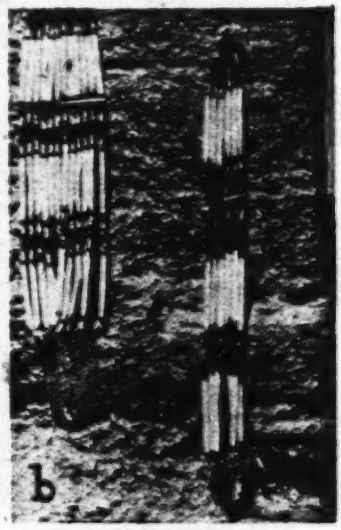

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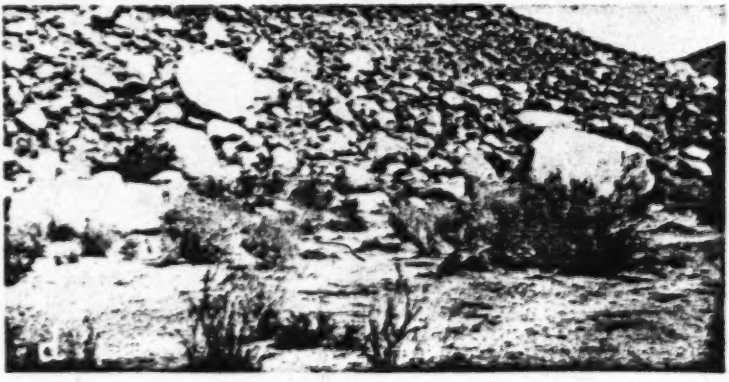

[p. 90]

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS29

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two T Y [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would T Y 517 dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in
[314] front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted
[412] pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

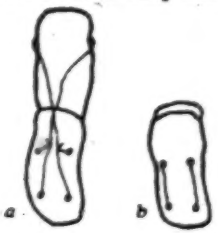

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow
132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

● 302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, 1929, pl. 97a, b); banging done by holding front
[372] hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens James (cĭw'wĭ-ĭbĭ-l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

302 [765] [824] 388 [515] [296] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ïihabï·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for [301] several days. At dances women put loose eagle down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wïŋït) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native string to form flat, narrow brush. This hair-[413] brush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apïn) made from colum-[177] nella of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (nangawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

302 men, women (SM), women only (FP), for dances. Women, young girls sometimes rubbed mashed roots of Plagiobothrys nothofulvus Gray (ši'iwišt), foothill floral area, over cheeks to color face red; this done merely "to make themselves pretty" (FP). Women also sometimes painted faces with earth and kept paint on all day, staying indoors, [756] "to make face lighter" (FP). Shamans engaging in contests painted faces with alternate stripes of red and white raying out from nose across cheeks; rest of body not painted; paint not applied in [317] honor of visitors. Red earth obtained from vicinity of Koso Hot Springs, east of Little lake in Koso territory; Tübatulabal either went for it or Koso brought it to them.

304 Tattooing done on women only; women "had it done because they liked it, to make them look pretty" (FP); not done at any specific age, although small girls were not tattooed "because it hurt too much" (FP). Old woman, not necessarily relative, did the tattooing; all women formerly had one or more marks. Pattern drawn on skin with charcoal (tu·l), obtained from "any wood" (FP); pricked in with spine of Tetradymia spinosa H. & W. (pokpo·giništ); marks, black at first, later turned blue. Usually done on face between mouth and chin, on back of hand, inner surface of forearms (fig. 5).

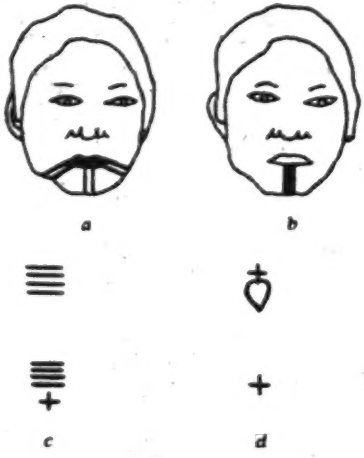

Fig. 5. Women's tattoo patterns. a, b, facial; c, 1½ in. long, inner surface of forearms (FP); d, inner surface of forearm.

Women had septum of nose pierced with pointed hot stick for nose plugs; after piercing, stick kept in hole about 7 days until wound healed. This done "any time" (SM). Lobes of female infant's ears pierced for earrings shortly after birth, "because the baby doesn't feel it much [302] then" (SM). Some men pulled out facial hair around mouth; others wore sparse mustaches (kaŋa·l), 4-5 in. long.

[P. 54b] Tubatulabal NS22

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756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino´lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

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[302]

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

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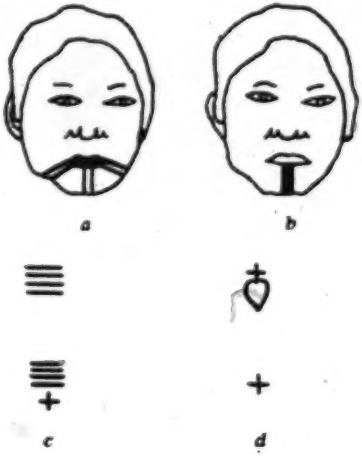

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846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for earrings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM). [304]

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when latter seated. If mother became pregnant while child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP). [862] [841]

854 481 Up to time when they could walk well, children carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography of FP). Children born dead buried immediately; parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM). [845 754]

847 824 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree" (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins overworked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins. [597]

597 768 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomip
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomip did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had disappeared. I could straighten out my arm again.
[262] After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FF's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomĭp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomĭp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomĭp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[265] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from
349 greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, p. 24) [p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelia Albicaulis Dougl.--Analyst]

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 241 511 [463] [462 231] [222] 177 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
● 311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). PN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, PN).

[p. 39(6)]

131 Habitat.- Deltoid-shaped wedge of territory
133 claimed by Tübatulabal and Palagewan (fig. 1) consisted roughly of natural drainage area of Kern r. and its tributaries from river's source near Mt. Whitney to w. end of Kern canyon 14 mi. NE of Bakersfield; this area comprises some 1300 sq. mi., and is mainly mountainous with elevation between 2500-14500 ft. The n. 2 3 of area lies in high Sierras, with many mt. meadows
●[312] and numerous peaks of 6000 ft. and more; it is well-watered, both Kern and South Fork of Kern being perennial streams, flowing southward at bottom of deep narrow canyons in parallel courses 20 mi. apart. Lawson gives 2 excellent views of canyon of unaugmented Kern and Little Kern plateau, showing character of region (Lawson, pl. 41a, b).

133 In s. third of area (fig. 1) mountainous character of country continues save for 3 narrow valleys, each drained by a stream, which ray out N-NE, E-NE, S-SW from common flood plain at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r. The n. valley is that of Kern r.; this flood-plain valley extends N, strewn with boulders and gravel, up unaugmented Kern for distance of 10 mi. from confluence, its breadth diminishing from 1 1/2 mi. to few hundred feet. The e. valley, that of South Fork of Kern r., extends E from confluence for 15 mi., with width in its
[134] lower part of more than one mile. In this valley, flood-plain silts and sands mantle stream gravel in large part and make agricultural land. The s. valley, or Hot Springs valley, is a little over 4 mi. long and about 1 mi. wide; it is divided longitudinally into 2 parts by low median ridge of
[312] granitic rock. On e. side of this ridge is flat-bottomed alluviated plain from 1 2-3 4 mi. wide; in this plain are situated several hot springs. On w. side of median ridge in Hot Springs valley is tortuous channel of Kern r.; stream enters this rocky channel through streamworn notch in n. end of median ridge immediately at junction of South Fork and Kern r. Alluvium which forms floor of Hot Springs valley derived from 3 incoming streams, largest of which is Erskine creek which enters valley at s.e. corner and there builds up notable fan which spreads out over its entire width. Second stream is Vaughn creek which centers at s. end and gives rise to less important fan which is confluent with that of Erskine creek; smallest creek is that which drains an incipient canyon in face of steep mt. slope which bounds valley on e. side between Erskine creek and South Fork of Kern r. (Lawson, 399). Lawson gives several photographs of Hot Springs valley and excellent view looking up South Fork valley from confluence of South Fork and Kern r. (Lawson, pls. 39a, b, 40a, b).

133 Near s. end of Hot Springs valley Kern r. enters precipitous gorge through which river rushes over huge boulders, creating continuous rapids for its 25-mi. course through gorge. There are no outstanding cataracts or falls in

133 river as it flows through gorge, but from e. mouth of gorge for 60 mi. downstream there is drop of 50 ft. per mi. in river's course. There are 2 periods of high water in Kern r.; one during winter rain-flood from Jan.-March, second during summer snow-flood, from May-July; lowest water occurs in October (Gifford and Schenck, 17). Minimum flow of Kern in dry season 2700-3000 cu. ft. per second, in season greatest capacity over 18000 cu. ft. per second (Pen Pictures, 248).

133 Three valleys lie at 2500-3000 ft. elevation.
132 They are in a climatic province which is semi-arid, with mesothermal temperature and summer deficiency of rainfall (Thornthwaite, pl. 3). Temperatures from 110-115° F. not uncommon in July-August; winters not severe, but generally some snow falls in valleys, more on foothills, and there are always heavy snows in mts. Precipitation records for Kernville, in Kern valley, are:

Year	Rainfall (in inches)	No rainfall
1924	6.48	May-September (inclusive)
1925	7.43	September
1926	11.66	June-September (inclusive)
1927	10.37	May-September (inclusive)
1928	6.47	June-September (inclusive)
1929	5.04	July, Aug., Oct.-Dec.
1930	6.97 plus 19 in. snow	June-October (inclusive)
1931	9.92	May, September
1932	7.34	July-November (inclusive)

●[312] Previous to white settlement and diversion of water for agriculture, South Fork valley contained 2 large lakes, W of Onyx, NW of Weldon on Jesus ranch (SM). In 1776 Garcés, writing of un-
[175] augmented Kern near Kernville, says, "On this famous river, which I named Rio de San Pelipe, there are abundant pastures, famous woods, and much irrigated ground (tierra de regadio)" (Garcés, 282). In foothills which enclose valleys are numerous hot and cold springs and intermittently flowing streams.

137 Vegetation of 3 valleys and lower foothill regions mixed; Shantz and Zon include valleys in chaparral area; my botanical collections from valley-foothill region contain specimens from desert, foothill, and Great Basin floral areas. This mixed vegetation area extends in E-W line across s. base of Tübatulabal territory. N of it are several different forest belts extending in N-S line; on w. edge of area along Greenhorn mts., is spruce-fir strip; E of this along canyon of unaugmented Kern strip of yellow pine-sugar pine forest; E of this another spruce-fir strip and finally on e. edge of Tübatulabal territory strip of piñon-juniper forest (Shantz and Zon). In extreme n. part of Tübatulabal area, on w. slope of Sierras, is found subalpine forest and, at higher altitudes, alpine communities (Klyver, 8). In terms of Merriam's life zones, using tree indicators of Grinnell and Storer (Grinnell and

251 sweets made from cane, wild grapes, etc. Acorns
262 and piñons on other hand required shorter drying periods than any of above-mentioned foods, and furthermore, after gathering them, drying could be postponed for few days, if necessary, without danger of their spoiling.

● 312 Control of water.- Tübatulabal controlled water to degree of making ponds (pacu'a·t) near sweat houses; these ponds large enough for person to jump into after taking sweat bath. Ponds dug out with stick (nahat, also used for cane); water run into them from near-by spring. Springs also dug out to obtain drinking water, but no boxing in of sides, as is done now (SM).

312 Patches of wild seeds never irrigated as among
177 neighboring Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 247). An irrigation ditch, course of which is still traceable, formerly brought water from Canebrake canyon to former Indian settlement at mouth of Chimney canyon in arid e. end of South Fork valley. This ditch constructed by Koso Indian refugees who settled in Tübatulabal territory at this spot ca. 1863. At time of its construction white settlers had been ranching in South Fork valley nearly 20 years and ditch seems obviously native borrowing of white culture item.

231 Domesticated and captive animals.- Regarding
[262] possession of dogs (pungul, pet; pukubišt, specifically dog), and their use as food, PN, oldest informant, stated Tübatulabal had dogs and roasted them to eat, as Yokuts did (Kroeber, Handbook, 526), before whites entered region. She described native dogs as "small, white, short-haired"; denied they were procured from Mexicans or other outside sources.

231 SM, however, said Tübatulabal did not possess
262 dogs until whites brought them in. His statements
177 at different times on use of dog for food contradictory; once he said Tübatulabal roasted and ate dogs after latter introduced, but subsequently stated dogs never eaten. He knew of use of dogs by Yokuts, stating: "The Bakersfield Indians always had dogs and ate them; they'd buy dogs from each other for (the equivalent of) $2 apiece." FP said Tübatulabal "had dogs pretty early, but got them from whites; after they got dogs they did not eat them." These statements reconcilable because they probably reflect cultural divergency between Palagewan and Tübatulabal bands; Palagewan, situated nearest Yokuts, in all likelihood most affected by Yokuts customs. PN's mother member of Palagewan group; PN's second husband a Yokuts; in discussing dog PN probably had Palagewan in mind, although this point not specifically stated at time. Reason for SM's confused statements may also have been this cultural divergency, but in statement of FP, whose affiliations lay with Tübatulabal and Koso to E, we have clear-cut denial of trait.

000 Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
● 313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibĭ·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·num) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

598. From there we took leave. 599. We went and arrived there at Independence (where the man was jailed). 600. Then from there we asked that sheriff. 601. "Is it rightly said that the prisoner is living here?" we are saying. 602. Then that sheriff is saying, "Yes." 603. Then Chogil spoke, "We are wanting to talk to him," he is saying. 604. Then, "Good," he is saying. 605. Then we went inside. 606. We saw that prisoner there. 607. "Hello, hello," he is saying to Yukaya, "and who is this?" he is saying. 608. "It is my friend," I am saying. 609. "Good," he is saying. 610. "We are coming to see (you)," I am saying. 611. "But I am already judged," he is saying, "I am given six months," he is saying. 612. Then I told Chogil. 613. Then Chogil spoke, "Good," he is saying, "let me ask this sheriff." 614. Then Chogil asked. 615. Then the sheriff spoke, "He can't get out now," he is saying, "he is given six months," that sheriff is saying. 616. Then Chogil is saying, "Good." 539 X 159

617. Then we took leave from there. 618. We went and arrived there at Bishop, there at the house of my friend. 619. Then, "Hello," my friend is saying when (we) are arriving, "and who is (this)?" he is saying to Chogil. 620. "It is my friend," I am saying. 621. "And is (this) his wife?" he is saying. 622. "Yes," I am saying when he is speaking. 623. Then that man took Chogil and also his wife in his hand. 624. "You come in," he is saying to us. 625. We stayed there at his house for two days.

626. From there we came back again. 627. We came and arrived here, back again. 628. Then also, when arriving here, we worked again. 629. Then from there Chogil spoke, "Pretty soon I go back to my own house," he is saying. 630. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 631. Then from there he takes leave. 632. Chogil (and his wife), they go back toward their own house. 633. Then Chogil spoke when taking leave, "I shall come again," he is saying, "in another summer," he is saying, "then also we shall work," he is saying. 634. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 635. Then from there they took leave.

636. Then when Chogil had finished taking leave, I cut firewood all winter. 637. Then from there I finished my own cutting. 638. Then one man wrote to us. 639. Then, "You come to the dance," he is saying, "we shall make a dance," he is saying, "at Christmas." 640. Then when writing to him, "Good," we are saying. 641. Then from there we took leave. 642. We went and arrived there at Tejon; (it was) already very late. 643. (There are) many people when we arrived, many girls. 644. Right away we danced all night. 645. We came from there in the morning. 646. Then our machine became bad. 647. Then we approached the river (at the bottom of Kern Canyon). 648. Then we are coming and ascending the steep place. 649. Then our machine stopped. 650. Then from there it ran backward. 651. Then it hit the rock there. 652. Then it turned over. 653. Then I jumped out on the ground. 654. Then, while jumping, I lifted Mickey out. 655. Then those two men, our partners, they came and fell down. 656. Our machine is lying there. 657. Then from there we put it up back again. 658. Then (it is) well; nothing (is) bad; pretty soon that windshield broke apart. 659. Then it ran again. 660. From there, also, we came. 661. Then we arrived at our own houses. 662. Then we stayed at home. 539 X 159 313

663. Then from there we went toward Walker pass to gather pine nuts when they got ripe. 664. We are gathering pine nuts there. 665. Many people came and arrived there. 666. Then, sure enough, my wife came and arrived there. 667. "So, you are gathering pine nuts here?" she is saying. 668. "Yes," I am saying when she is speaking. 669. Then she stayed there with me. 670. From there we are all gathering pine nuts. 671. Then, having finished gathering pine nuts, we came from there toward my house. 672. We stayed there a while. 539 X 159 222

673. From there we went toward Tule. 674. "Let us go sell pine nuts." 675. Then we took leave. 676. We took six bags, and also tobacco. 677. Then we went and arrived there at Tule. 678. Then we saw many people. 679. Then they are saying to us, "What are you bringing?" 680. "Pine nuts," we are saying. 681. "That is good food," they are saying, "but our money (is) nothing," they are saying. 682. Then they bought a little. 683. "The money (is) gone," they are saying. 684. Then from there we went toward Visalia. 685. We 539 X 159 432

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal
824 depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
751] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

● 314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bĭ·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (ǩiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[415] had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
774 might throw something in the food that would make
609] a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

[p. 19 (b)]

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in
[314] front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of
[412] soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

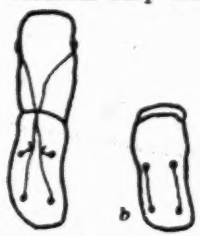

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow
132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, 1929, pl. 97a, b); banging done by holding front
[372] hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens James (cĭw'wĭ·ĭbĭ·l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

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arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted,
●[317 trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E
484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable
824 foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 Niceties in matter of diet extended to prepara-
824 tion of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger
[276] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP,ES,SM).

[p. 11(b)]

317 135 431 [415] 487 Salt.- Rock salt (uŋa·l) obtained in winter chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso territory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot; "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning, taking water with him in a basketry water bottle. He returned home the same evening or the next day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. Another route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large [482] lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish, but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other 262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño, 784 Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750); food taboos related specifically to meat (including fish), grease, and cold water. However, as it was only with meat and fish that salt was used, practical result was that observers of meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo periods.

251 343 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking center post and with framework consisting of 4 large posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft. apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush; after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made trips to their granary and drew upon contents as needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes set up near dwelling house to use for acorns gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of circular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft. deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks or grass and small stones. During winter men made trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin sacks.

Families generally had storage house near family dwelling; this storage house as large and made in same fashion as living house, save that [415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons, acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

302 men, women (SM), women only (FP), for dances. Women, young girls sometimes rubbed mashed roots of Plagiobothrys nothofulvus Gray (ši'iwišt), foothill floral area, over cheeks to color face red; this done merely "to make themselves pretty" (FP). Women also sometimes painted faces with earth and kept paint on all day, staying indoors, [756] "to make face lighter" (FP). Shamans engaging in contests painted faces with alternate stripes of red and white raying out from nose across cheeks; rest of body not painted; paint not applied in ●[317] honor of visitors. Red earth obtained from vicinity of Koso Hot Springs, east of Little lake in Koso territory; Tübatulabal either went for it or Koso brought it to them.

304 Tattooing done on women only; women "had it done because they liked it, to make them look pretty" (FP); not done at any specific age, although small girls were not tattooed "because it hurt too much" (FP). Old woman, not necessarily relative, did the tattooing; all women formerly had one or more marks. Pattern drawn on skin with charcoal (tu·l), obtained from "any wood" (FP); pricked in with spine of Tetradymia spi-
•ncsa H. & W. (pokpo·giništ); marks, black at first, later turned blue. Usually done on face between mouth and chin, on back of hand, inner surface of forearms (fig. 5).

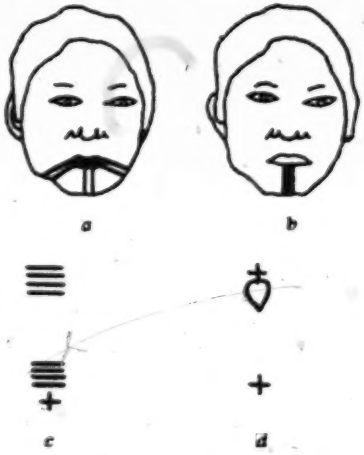

Fig. 5. Women's tattoo patterns. a, b, facial; c, 1½ in. long, inner surface of forearms (FP); d, inner surface of forearm.

Women had septum of nose pierced with pointed hot stick for nose plugs; after piercing, stick kept in hole about 7 days until wound healed. This done "any time" (SM). Lobes of female infant's ears pierced for earrings shortly after birth, "because the baby doesn't feel it much [302] then" (SM). Some men pulled out facial hair around mouth; others wore sparse mustaches (kaŋa·l), 4-5 in. long.

[p. 24(a)]

411 bow was 68 in., width at grip 1 3/4 in., at tips 3/4-in. SM denied that Tübatulabal formerly ever [176] bowed in grip; FC very probably had introduced this feature.

Boys used small plain willow bows and willow [462] arrows "before they began regular hunting" (SM). Bows, arrows made by men only.

Arrows.- War arrows (pa·hal) were 34-36 in. long, with wooden foreshaft (wawpit), some 8 in. long, made from hard wood set into cane mainshaft made from stalks of cane (paha·bI·l), same variety as that from which women obtained sweets (p. 19). Mainshafts also sometimes made from wood. Cane mainshaft (u·gat) straightened by being gently rolled at joints in round groove and over shallow incisions of heated stone arrow straightener (u·gišt). Mainshaft notched at upper end for insertion of bowstring; foreshaft split at end for insertion of arrowhead. War arrows had 3 vanes, square-trimmed, 1 in. wide, set on spirally and attached at each end with sinew; "if only 2 feathers were put on, the arrow didn't shoot straight, it went sideways" (SM). FC's arrows nevertheless had 2 vanes, set on spirally. Feathers from eagles, crows, owls, 3 varieties of hawks among those used. Arrow- [324] heads (kIyi·l) were flaked from obsidian (tu·gu·-pIl tInt, black rock), obtained near Mt. Whitney (SM); from bluish gray rock procured in mts. (SM), at Koso (FP); from a red rock (flint?) obtained near Tejon or on Mohave desert. Stone "cooked" first in fire, then broken into small [412] pieces (FP). Deer-bone awl used to flake arrowheads; palm of left hand protected with piece of buckskin. Heads varishaped (fig. 7), "because some men liked this kind, some that" (ES), but all heads shouldered. Beautifully shaped head (fig. 7), 3 1/4 in. long, 1 in. wide at top, found by FC on old battlefield on Nichols peak, in s. border of Tübatulabal area; SM said this probably head for war arrow, as heads for such ● [317] often 6 in. long(!). Asphalt (tu·šanat) used to set heads into foreshaft; no mention made of sinew lashings. Poison (pohil), source of which was unknown to informants, said to have been used on both war, hunting arrowheads (MM); only on hunting arrowheads (SM).

Hunting arrows (šu·mu·na·l), for use on large game, similar to war arrows save that they were 48 in. long, with 9-in. wooden foreshaft and were often tipped with smaller, black obsidian heads which were inserted rather loosely into foreshaft so that shaft fell out after animal was shot, leaving head firmly embedded; or if shaft did not fall out, it could be pulled out easily, head then cut out with stone knife.

Arrows of foregoing type used with sinew-backed bow; with willow bow cane arrows (šu·mu·-na·l), 40 in. long, 2-3-vaned, tipped with wooden foreshaft, point of which had been sharpened by rubbing on rough rock, used to shoot rabbits, etc. For birds, shorter cane arrows with pointed

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

411 Arrow release.- Man shot either standing or kneeling; if kneeling, weight rested on left knee, which touched ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz;
18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to
[171] Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261,
fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term),
used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc.,
consisted of flaked obsidian blade about 5 in.
[171 long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens
317] Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j),
except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with
asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted
knives aboriginal (SM).

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades,
[171] an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber,
Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about
[317] 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped
with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buck-
[462] skin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right
hand; this awl essentially man's tool.
Women used smaller awl (wīŋabīt), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kīče'apīl) surmounted with small lump of asphalt, when making coiled baskets.

[p. 29(a)]

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quarts for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibi·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for trees), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·num) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes; thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 58) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

37 and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

285 [171] Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed by shamans in shooting contests.

[462] [756]

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 16a, b).

[171]

285 824 Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wĭnapĭ·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šĭ·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šĭ·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

415 285 in. high, 6 1/2 in. in diameter at top, 4 in. at base. Used by individuals for drinking soup; also used for shaping biscuits of acorn mush (p. 18).

(f) Meal basket (ponol); was about 16 in. high, flat-bottomed, with sides which curved inward toward top; latter about 6 in. in diameter. Used as container for freshly ground chia seeds, etc. (Fig. 6b.)

(g) Mortar hopper (hoyanut, PN); was made from old cooking basket with bottom cut out; height, diameter varied, depending on size of mortar; some hoppers 6-8 in. deep, 16 in. in diameter across top. Attached permanently to mortar with asphalt; PN had seen hopper attached to small portable stone mortar used for mixing tobacco and lime; FP had seen Bob Rabbit, widowed Kawaiisu rain doctor, using hopper on mortar hole in log at piñon camp, "where there was no stone." Hopper helped prevent small seeds from flying out of mortar during pounding.

● [317]

415 323

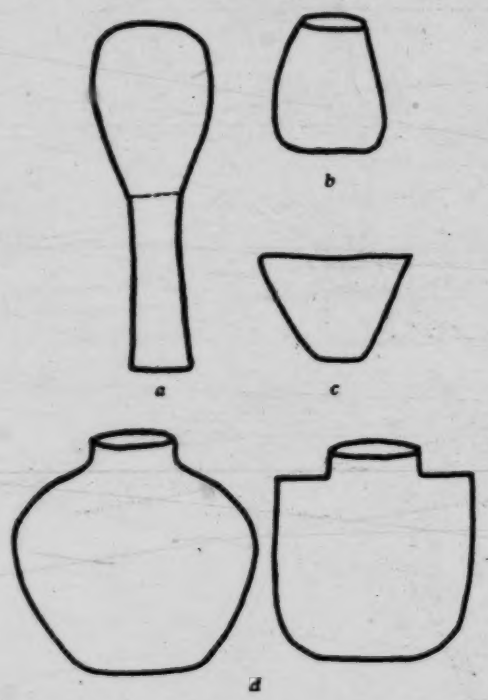

Fig. 8. Basketry and pottery shapes. a, tule tray for drying sweets; upper part, body of tray, lower part, handle end which was folded over at broken line. b, coiled basket used for storing small seeds. c, pottery bowl in Andress collection, height 4 in., width at mouth 4¼ in., thickness ¼ in.; surface find in mts., Tübatulabal area. d, bottleneck money jars (1-20952, 20953).

415 285 (h) Money jar (ukulušt) or "Tulare bottleneck" (fig. 8d); most elaborate basket type; specimen 1-20951, 20953 (O. T. Mason, 479, pls. 193, 194), made by FP's mother, ornamented around

[p. 31(b)]

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 [462] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·gul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

● [317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits
●317 in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars.
789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).
276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."
757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.
[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk
887 of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] [227] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·št) 7-8 ft. long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks [321] (wele·haništ) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrapping of native twine which was given coating of [283] asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (tï·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 476 417 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to corral, beat water with long willow poles so that [462] all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

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415 in. high, 6 1/2 in. in diameter at top, 4 in. at
285 base. Used by individuals for drinking soup; also used for shaping biscuits of acorn mush (p. 18).

(f) Meal basket (ponol); was about 16 in. high, flat-bottomed, with sides which curved inward toward top; latter about 6 in. in diameter. Used as container for freshly ground chia seeds, etc. (Fig. 8b.)

(g) Mortar hopper (hoyanut, PN); was made from old cooking basket with bottom cut out; height, diameter varied, depending on size of mortar; some hoppers 6-8 in. deep, 16 in. in diameter across top. Attached permanently to mortar [317] with asphalt; PN had seen hopper attached to small portable stone mortar used for mixing tobacco and lime; FP had seen Bob Rabbit, widowed Kawaiisu rain doctor, using hopper on mortar hole in log at piñon camp, "where there was no stone." Hopper helped prevent small seeds from flying out of mortar during pounding.

415
● 323

Fig. 8. Basketry and pottery shapes. a, tule tray for drying sweets; upper part, body of tray, lower part, handle end which was folded over at broken line. b, coiled basket used for storing small seeds. c, pottery bowl in Andreas collection, height 4 in., width at mouth 4½ in., thickness ¼ in.; surface find in mts., Tübatulabal area. d, bottleneck money jars (1-20952, 20953).

415 (h) Money jar (ukulušt) or "Tulare bottle-
285 neck" (fig. 8d); most elaborate basket type; specimen 1-20951, 20953 (O. T. Mason, 479, pls. 193, 194), made by FP's mother, ornamented around

[A. 31(b)]

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired; tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

● 323 [42] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·ṣul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

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276 small mortar, and powdery substance stuffed into
887 tubular pipe (wo·ša·giništ) made from 4- to 10-in. length of hollow cane (paha·bul), Phragmites communis Trin. Old men smoked once or twice daily while in sweat house or after morning, evening meals, "not all the time, like people do now" (MM). Smoker held pipe horizontally; took long slow puff from it, inhaling deeply, then removed pipe from mouth and closed lips; exhaled smoke slowly through nostrils. "The smoke went up from the smoker's lungs right to the top of his head, because that smoke was so strong" (MM). From 2-3 such long puffs, no more, taken at one smoking; tobacco so strong it soon caused smoker to tremble violently as though intoxicated. After indulging thus, smoker extinguished pipe by rubbing it in palm of hand, then set it aside for future use. When tobacco in
● [323] pipe consumed, cane tossed away. Pottery pipe not used; steatite pipes used by rain makers.

171 Distributional discussion.- In general dis-
276 cussions of the use of tobacco in North America the trait of chewing tobacco with lime is mentioned as having a continuous distribution from the North Pacific Coast tribes S through the greater part of Calif. (Linton, 2; Wissler, 26, fig. 6; Sayce, 200; West, 99-100). Dixon, how-

Tribe	Tobacco species	Native names
C.,S. Miwok	N. bigelovii	ka´sü; kaku; hū´tĭa
W. Mono		pamu; cokx
O. V. Paiute	N. attenuata	pāmüpi; páʰmū; sāgō
Koso		sohon, shogun
Tübatulabal	N. bigelovii; N. attenuata	šo'ogonht
Kawaiisu	N. attenuata; N. trigonophylla	soóda; koópi
Yokuts		sɔhɔw, personal name of plant; só.Gɔn, tobacco, tobacco plant; ba'um, tobacco smoke, cigarette
Costanoan		
Salinan		
Chumash	N. species	
Kitanemuk	N. species	tsiwut
Alliklik	N. species	
Gabrielino	N. species	shuki
Cahuilla	N. attenuata	pivat

[p. 38(a)]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

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411 bow was 68 in., width at grip 1 3/4 in., at tips
3/4-in. SM denied that Tübatulabal formerly ever
[176] bowed in grip; FC very probably had introduced
this feature.

Boys used small plain willow bows and willow
[462] arrows "before they began regular hunting" (SM).
Bows, arrows made by men only.

Arrows.- War arrows (pa·hal) were 34-36 in. long, with wooden foreshaft (wawpit), some 8 in. long, made from hard wood set into cane mainshaft made from stalks of cane (paha·bĭ·l), same variety as that from which women obtained sweets (p. 19). Mainshafts also sometimes made from wood. Cane mainshaft (u·gat) straightened by being gently rolled at joints in round groove and over shallow incisions of heated stone arrow straightener (u·gišt). Mainshaft notched at upper end for insertion of bowstring; foreshaft split at end for insertion of arrowhead. War arrows had 3 vanes, square-trimmed, 1 in. wide, set on spirally and attached at each end with sinew; "if only 2 feathers were put on, the arrow didn't shoot straight, it went sideways" (SM). FC's arrows nevertheless had 2 vanes, set on spirally. Feathers from eagles, crows, owls,
● [324] 3 varieties of hawks among those used. Arrowheads (kĭyi·l) were flaked from obsidian (tu·gu··pĭl tĭnt, black rock), obtained near Mt. Whitney (SM); from bluish gray rock procured in mts. (SM), at Koso (FP); from a red rock (flint?) obtained near Tejon or on Mohave desert. Stone "cooked" first in fire, then broken into small
[412] pieces (FP). Deer-bone awl used to flake arrowheads; palm of left hand protected with piece of buckskin. Heads varishaped (fig. 7), "because some men liked this kind, some that" (ES), but all heads shouldered. Beautifully shaped head (fig. 7), 3 1/4 in. long, 1 in. wide at top, found by FC on old battlefield on Nichols peak, in s. border of Tübatulabal area; SM said this
[317] probably head for war arrow, as heads for such often 6 in. long(!). Asphalt (tu·šanat) used to set heads into foreshaft; no mention made of sinew lashings. Poison (pohil), source of which was unknown to informants, said to have been used on both war, hunting arrowheads (MM); only on hunting arrowheads (SM).

Hunting arrows (šu·mu·na·l), for use on large game, similar to war arrows save that they were 48 in. long, with 9-in. wooden foreshaft and were often tipped with smaller, black obsidian heads which were inserted rather loosely into foreshaft so that shaft fell out after animal was shot, leaving head firmly embedded; or if shaft did not fall out, it could be pulled out easily, head then cut out with stone knife.

Arrows of foregoing type used with sinew-backed bow; with willow bow cane arrows (šu·mu··na·l), 40 in. long, 2-3-vaned, tipped with wooden foreshaft, point of which had been sharpened by rubbing on rough rock, used to shoot rabbits, etc. For birds, shorter cane arrows with pointed

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Fig. 7. Flaked artifacts from Andreas collection. a, white quartz strike-a-light, 1 5/8 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; b, c, obsidian arrowheads, 1¼ in. long, 5/8-in. wide at shoulders; d, red flint arrowhead, 1 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; e, arrowhead from Nichols peak (see text); f, g, h, red flint artifacts, lengths respectively, 3¼ in., 2 3/4 in., 1 7/8 in., widths at top, respectively, 1¼ in., 1¼ in., 1 in., either spearheads (FP), unfinished arrowheads (SM), or knife blades (?).

411 wooden foreshaft used; for waterfowl, cane arrows had sinew wrapped thickly around joint where foreshaft entered cane mainshaft, so as to produce bulge which made arrow skip over water in flight, similar to Owens Valley Paiute arrows for ducks (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3d). Specimen 1-19809 consists in part of 2 unfeathered arrows with cane mainshafts 46 in. long, foreshafts 4 1/2 in. and 2 in. long; such arrows might have been used by boys or else are simply, as collector has noted, very poor specimens.

[171]

415 Quiver.- Sacklike quiver (ma·šat, also term for sack), made from whole untanned antelope, coyote, or wildcatskin with hair left on; men going hunting carried quiver in carrying net,

[p. 28(b)]

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

411 Arrow release.- Man shot either standing or kneeling; if kneeling, weight rested on left knee, which touched ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
● 324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz;
[171] 18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term), used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc., consisted of flaked obsidian blade about 5 in. long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j), except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted knives aboriginal (SM).

[171 317]

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades, an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber, Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buckskin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right hand; this awl essentially man's tool.

[171] [317] [462]

Women used smaller awl (wīŋabĭt), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kĭše'apĭl) *surmounted with small lump of asphalt*, when making coiled baskets.

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener [171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near ● 324 Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife. [171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose [171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from
177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" (MM).

Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); PN denied use of spoons.

Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.

Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

SHELTER

● 342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohošt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yÏhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; TÜbatulabal houses had no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork [17] Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set [22] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [84] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 Most of TÜbatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
[22] about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

178 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of
342 tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 More elaborate type of summer shelter, re-
342 ferred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept
[221] under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 Camps.- At piñon grounds Tübatulabal often
361 camped in large group, within circular corral-like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [534] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, 171 although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round 527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en- 535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens 482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed 492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams 501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
● [342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

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789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

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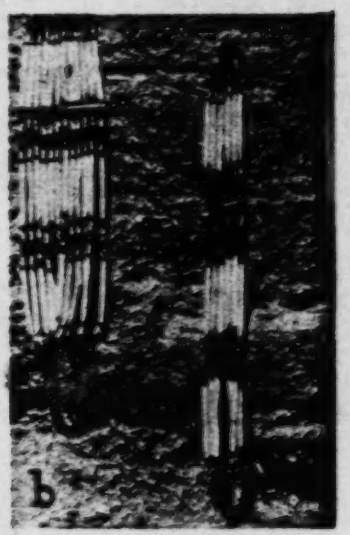

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[p. 90]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal NS29

159 father and is older than P.M., now lives up at T Y Onyx.[126]

756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, T Y was a Bankalachi.

221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When P.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 P.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deep Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena ''w in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ' 'n"wao, was east of Čena"". Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above P.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi 'yo, which P.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu 'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana 's'ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight T Y [354] mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya 'w'l ti ''i; that I Y covered with tule, pumuk ti ''i.[128]

343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. P.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uya·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
431 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
[415] "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
487 day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type
● 343 (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

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●343 sional use such as pack baskets, baby cradles, fishing gear, sacks, etc.

251 Fresh meat dried in sun by being cut into thin strips, 6 x 12 in. or smaller, hung up, either salted or unsalted, on branches of tree or on line made from native twine strung between 2 trees; drying generally took from 6-7 days. Fish split, cleaned, salt rubbed over them; hung up on willow branches to dry in sun during summer months. Neither meat nor fish smoked or dried over fire; dried fish "would last a long time" (FP, SM). Wild grapes spread out in sun to dry "like raisins" then stored for winter use; box-thorn berries dried whole or in cakes; rush roots sun-dried, stored; small seeds stored, either parched or unparched, in skin sacks or baskets, in storage house.

221 Staples; yearly consumption of food.- As food
262 calendar shows (p. 11), during spring and summer seasons Tübatulabal had relatively varied vegetable diet, but by fall their plant foods decreased in variety and during winter they "just ate acorns, piñons, and meat of any sort they could get, and dried and fresh fish" (SM). Of 2 vegetable foods eaten during winter, acorns figured as staple; "more acorns were eaten than piñons; old-timers ate acorn mush with deermeat, like bread. We just get acorns now once in awhile, because now we have white flour" (SM). That piñons were, however, also important in Tübatulabal diet, is shown by amount stored during good piñon yrs. However, abundant crops occur at best only every second yr., whereas acorns, of which Tübatulabal had 6 varieties to draw upon, could be procured in one locality or another annually.

Regarding proportion of animal, vegetable food eaten, my meager data on subject indicate
[146] meats, including birds and fish, may have comprised 40 per cent of food consumed throughout yr., acorns, piñons (if crop good) 40 per cent, small seeds, stalks, raw foods, etc., 20 per cent. As to amount of food consumed by family throughout year, data lacking for flesh foods, but for acorns SM said family 2 adults, 3 children needed one acorn granary (of dimensions given above), full, to have sufficient acorns for year. "If they had a larger family, they made a bigger granary" (SM). To this amount of acorns should be added contents of smaller acorn granary family might have near home. Piñon supplies varied, but in yrs. of good crop family of 5 stored cache such as described above, full of piñons, besides bringing several sackfuls home at end of piñon-gathering period.

251 Since all foodstuffs in order to be kept prop-
262 erly had to be sun-dried before being stored, weather which prevailed at season when wild foodstuffs were available for gathering and storing often regulated to a degree amount of food stored from yr. to yr. This consideration applies especially to storage of fish and some of minor plant foodstuffs, such as salt from salt grass,

349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (tɨŋgi·l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

Women pounding meal, etc., at pit mortars on hot days piled up scrub oak or willows to height of 4-6 ft. around mortar bed, in order to have shade while working.

343 171 515 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu·šaht) resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tübatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 515 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft. deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 515 372 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders (po·'anapï´l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

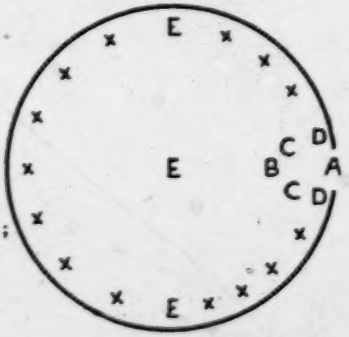

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.

103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

*17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
[171] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted
592 of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

592

House I

Tübat.♂ (1) | Willy Miranda (3) | Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2) | =Tübat.♀ (4) | Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4) | ♀ (9) | Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8) | ♂ (10) | plus =Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
♀ (11)
♂ (12)

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this
[343] hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet
[361] no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

[p. 43(a)]

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

●343
301

342

133

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal NS29

159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at T Y Onyx.[126]

Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo;
756 there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, T Y was a Bankalachi.

The village broke up during the summer,
221 the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old T Y they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of
621 which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo
131 village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena''wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, 'n'wao, was east of Čena''. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y Houses at Sototlo were conical, never
342 gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's'ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and T Y about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight [354] mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The ● T "brush" house was called ya'wil ti''i; that Y covered with tule, pumuk ti''i.[128]

343 ● The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

[P. 51b] Tubatulabal NS29

no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha'tɨm (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.---Women played huču'wɨs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala'sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama'ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya'man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi''i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

535 Social dances sometimes given "just for fun" according to FP, although SM denied this; in summer such dances held outdoors; in winter, inside sweat house (FN), or dwelling house if latter large enough. Not customary to hold dance at end of piñon, acorn harvests (FP, SM), although people "could, if they wanted to" (FP).

788 Minor rituals, elements of ritual.- Several minor rituals have been referred to; they include weather shaman's treatment of seeds (see section on Shamanism), deer hunting ritual (see section on Basic Subsistence), offering of tobacco at eclipse, etc. At strange body of water, before drinking, person put small amount of eagle down on water and said to spirit living in stream (SM), "I am going to drink this water; don't make me sick." Offerings for minor rituals included tobacco, eagle down, shell money; seeds, meal not used. From context of informants' remarks eagle down not attached to ends of stick, although I did not inquire specifically about this. Offerings were left on bare ground which had been brushed clean with hands; no altars; formulas accompanied most ritual offerings.

346 Ceremonial structure for larger rituals and ritual dress have been mentioned; ritual apparatus simple (above). Ritual number 3; dancing proceeded clockwise.

[801]

[p. 71(6)]

262 136 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods included deer (tohi·l), antelope (yɪ̈ta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwɪ̈t), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cɪ̈mil), gray squirrel (cawanɪ̈nt), blue squirrel (ɪ̈šɪ̈'ɪ̈gal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bɪ̈·l), bluejay (a·ɣayibišt).

224 776 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts. usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 [533] 224 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

[237] [276] [301]

224 411 825 [349] Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows; at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

[281]

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large
[231] game; deer, antelope never corralled and killed; large game never chased over cliffs; dogs not used for hunting (SM). Antelope chased by one hunter toward second man concealed behind bush or
●[349] pile rocks; Waterman has picture of pass where trail leads from South Fork valley to Kern valley, showing loose rocks which "are remains of small structure and pit, where lurking hunters shot antelope, which were run through the pass by beaters" (Mus. cat. no. 15-6258).

476 Once a yr. in July Tübatulabal joined with
224 Kawaiisu, Tejon, Ventura Indians, Yokuts for antelope drive (Kroeber, Handbook, 528) in Yokuts territory on plains near Bakersfield. As many as 500 men took part; in drive men stood in circle, 6 ft. apart; circle was from 2-4 mi. in diameter at beginning of drive; men walked inward, driving antelope before them; when circle had shrunk to a few hundred feet in diameter, 10 men (Kroeber,
[411] Handbook, 529, says 2 men from each tribe) stepped inside, shot antelope with flint-tipped arrows. No antelope drives held in Tübatulabal area.

224 Mt. sheep shot with bow and arrow; "easier than deer to kill"; often sighted on rocky promontories along n. edge of South Fork valley, W of Onyx. Grizzlies and brown bears shot in summer with bow and arrows; never attacked in caves or shot from trees, but SM had seen latter done at Tejon. Mt. lions shot while on ground; killed after being treed.

476 Rabbits obtained on valley floors by firing
224 dry brush; 20 or more men stood in circle outside burning brush; as rabbits fled men shot them with bow and arrows. Another method was to use nets (wa·na·l), propped up loosely on sticks on level ground; 15-20 men formed straight line parallel to net 1/4 mi. or so away from it and advanced beating sagebrush with sticks, driving rabbits before them. When rabbits encountered net, vertical props fell down; rabbits became entangled and were clubbed with straight sticks or shot with bow and arrows; crescentic rabbit sticks not used. Those rabbits in rear that succeeded in jumping over fallen net became entangled in second net placed short distance ahead of first one. No boss for drive; rabbits collected, evenly divided by throwing each participant a rabbit until pile exhausted. Rabbits also shot by young boys, men, singly or in small groups, with bow and arrows.

224 Woodrats, squirrels, small birds trapped with rock trap (togo·'i·nit) exactly like Havasupai rodent trap (Spier, 1928, 113, fig. 4). For Tübatulabal trap shallow hole 3-4 in. deep dug between upright post and base of rock; acorn impaled on lower stick as bait; when stone slab fell, bird or rodent caught in hole underneath flat rock surface, but not crushed. Men set out 15-20 such traps, especially at piñon grounds during harvest; visited them every 2 days (SM).

224 Small willow blinds like Yokuts model (Kroeber,
349 Handbook, 524, pl. 45), but lacking stone platform, large enough to admit 2 men, built near

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens
[373] when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

178 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of
342 tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

●349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 More elaborate type of summer shelter, re-
342 ferred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept [221] under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 Camps.- At piñon grounds Tübatulabal often
361 camped in large group, within circular corral-like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

●349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (tüngi·l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

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343 171 515 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu·ŝaht) resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tübatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 515 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft. deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 515 372 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders (po·'anapï'l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

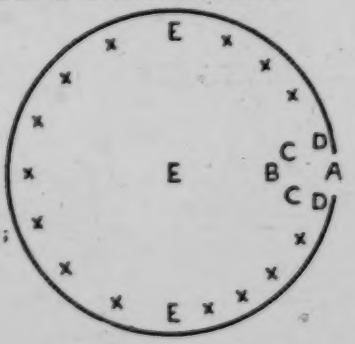

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

[p. 26(a)]

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and
made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about
it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At
first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't
want her to do it, but she said those marks would
look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and
she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed
in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a
bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed
dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm,
but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to
show on my face for a long time, when I was
younger. Indians used to do that to make them-
selves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have
those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u·-
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he
was going to kill all the children, so later they
burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with
a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomĭp for awhile after that. Then
some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l[1] (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from
here went to get it. That was when I was a young
girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with
my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this
side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people
went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little
girl went with her grandma; the little girl was
maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies
taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in
the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour
from omomĭp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomĭp
where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and
whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we
got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l
seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to
eat; we ate all those. There were lots of box-
thorn berries over there, too; we gathered those.
And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that
we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are
little and sweet, but those over on the desert
are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was lit-
252 tle, and everybody stood around watching her, all
the people; she cried then, because she was
ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was
all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[262] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from
greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and
another pole leaning against the first one in
the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on
both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 2b), [p. 73(b)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.-- Analyst]

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the
other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots
of them, at a spring. He made a little brush
house and sat inside that house; when the doves
came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't
see him inside the house and he shot them with
bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring
half a sackful to camp; those doves were good
and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people
camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I
was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone;
there was no one else with us. We traveled all
night on that desert; it was moonlight. There
are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots
of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe
they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and
we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When
we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring,
we wanted to drink that water there. So we
stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a
hill above the spring a little way off; we ran
the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
[171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the
spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill
us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they
didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then,
lots of them; they chase women, right away when
they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the sum-
mit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a
little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested
a little, because we were tired. It was sunup
when we got to the summit. Then we came down to
Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid
and ran over on a little hill where we watched
them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people
living there. We were going home to omomïp from
there, but they told us my mother had left
omomïp to gather chia seeds and that nobody was
home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody
from omomïp was over at Scodie's mt., so that
same day we went over there. We were very tired,
but we couldn't stay over at omomïp all alone,
with nobody in the house. We found my mother all
right.

My grandmother came back from over on the
desert a week after we got back. That girl who
came home with me that time is still living; she
lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband
is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady.
She looks young yet; the Indians never used to
get old-looking for a long time in the old days;
[262] these young people do now though because they eat
everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used
to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wišimlït (SM's

SHELTER

342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohoŝt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ŝi·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yIhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; Tübatulabal houses had no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork [[71]] Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set [221] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

● 352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [841] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 342 [22] Most of Tübatulabal now live during all or greater part of year in one-room frame shacks; about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

482 415 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (poŋgon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 372 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 415 Carrying net.- Men used carrying net (tambahal) exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 482 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men, women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 854 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

Between ages of 5 months and year, child "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work [[71]] to do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in Tübatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

352 854 deer sinew (tohi·lIŋ tapn); all bars except bottom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child [482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 352 562 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated by any sort of decoration on either type of cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 226 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green tules (ši'i·bI·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for [221] spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 481 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with PW's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and SM's that men, women, children were all good [221] swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal NS29

159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ʻ´nuwao, was east of Čenawu. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´sʻts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´wʻl ti´'i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´'i.[128]

T Y [354]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would T Y 517 dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

178 342 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 342 More elaborate type of summer shelter, referred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept [221] under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 Camps.- At piñon grounds Tübatulabal often camped in large group, within circular corral-
● 361 like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.
32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.
33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.
34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.
35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Bull Run creek.
36. tuŋabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.
37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.
38. i·wakanun, Long valley.
39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.
40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.
41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

● 361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

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*1. iŝwahul, Koso site on Canebrake creek, 4000-ft. elev. Now known as Canebrake; up to 1932 property of FP; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 25, T25S, R36E.

2. paca'awat, Koso site S of spring, 3000-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. Center, sec. 21, T25S, R36E.

3. meyumbašt, Koso-Kawaiisu site at spring, 3500-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 17, T25S, R36E.

*4. u·u·pu·lap, rope place; Tübatulabal hamlet, 2 mi. NW of Pilot Knob, on flat, W side of South Fork of Kern r. (FP); SM gave paca'awat as name for this site, but was probably incorrect. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 100; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 24, T25S, R35E.

*5. čebu·nun, Tübatulabal site, S bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 3000 ft., est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R35E.

6. omomïp, Tübatulabal site at spring in foothills, N bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2800 ft.; occupied by Tübatulabal family, 1932, and now known as Raphael Chico's place; for est. pop. see no. 7. NW quarter, sec. 3, T26S, R35E.

*7. omomïp, Tübatulabal site in valley, N bank of South Fork of Kern r., 1/8 mi. NE of Onyx. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. of nos. 6 and 7, 30; occupied by several Tübatulabal families, 1932, and now known as Onyx rancheria. SW quarter, sec. 4, T26S, R35E.

*8. yowolup, Red Dirt place; Tübatulabal site at spring on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 35; unoccupied, 1932.

*9. yïtiyamup, Tübatulabal site at springs in foothills, n. edge of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 50; owned by SM, occupied by 2 related family groups, 1932, and known as the Rancheria. SE quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R34E.

*10. kolokum, Tübatulabal site, near springs on Fay creek. Elev. 4000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 22, T25S, R34E.

*11. tušpan, Tübatulabal site, near spring, 1/4 mi. N of Weldon, on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 50; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 14, T26S, R34E.

*12. pa·da·ǧap, Tübatulabal site, below and above spring, in foothills S of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R34E.

*13. ha·halam, Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 50; occupied, 1932, by 2 related Tübatulabal family groups and known as Jesus ranch. NW quarter, sec. 16, T26S, R34E.

*14. ? , Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 20. Unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 18, T26S, R34E.

*15. umu·bï·lap, Tree Yucca place; Tübatulabal site below spring, on flat, near s. end of South Fork valley. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 12, T26S, R33E.

*16. pašgeštap, Palagewan site, at hot spring,

[p. 41 (6)]

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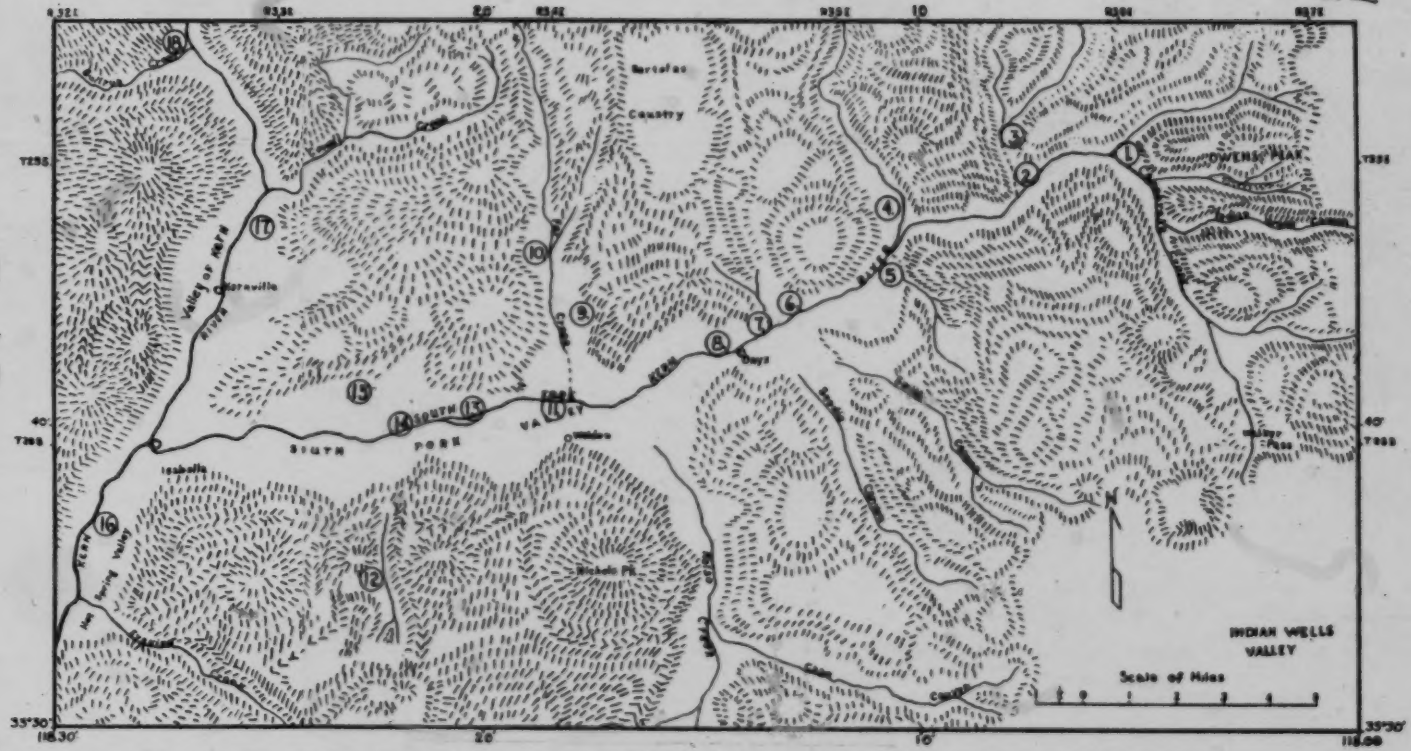

Fig. 11. Map showing three valley regions and Tübatulabal hamlet sites, s. part of Tübatulabal area.

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

[p.42]

103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

*17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
[171] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved
592 about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

592

House I

Tübat.♂ (1)	Willy Miranda (3)	Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2)	=Tübat.♀ (4)	Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4)	♀ (9)		Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8)	♂ (10)	plus	=Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
	♀ (11)		
	♂ (12)		

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
[343] a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet
[361] no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Tubatulabal NS22

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131

this locality was probably the dividing line between the Canaliño and their neighbors to the east, the *Shoshoneans*.

The Shoshoneans were the largest and most powerful group bordering on the Yokuts. They extended from the Canaliño to the east and to the north as far as the Miwok. The names of some Shoshonean tribes have been preserved.

Occupying upper Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, the desert territory lying about Willow Springs, and Cummings and Bear valleys were the *Kitanemuk*. When asked for their tribal name some aged Tejon Indians will still answer, "*Ah kik-ke tah nim*", meaning, my tribe is Kitanemuk." A Kitanemuk village was located on Tejon Creek six miles northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. It was named *Tusin Tinliu*. The site is now occupied by a settlement of Indians of mixed tribes.

The Kitanemuk Indian village on Tejon Creek where the Overland Stage Station was located was named *Ahyah Kahbe*, which means Cottonwood. The village at the mouth of Comanche Creek was named *Cheut* (Che'-oot) *Pahbe*. Comanche Creek and Comanche Point both went by the name of the village there. Comanche is a name applied by white people. The first canyon north of Comanche Creek, and also the Indian Village there, were called *Ahbahvo Kahse*. At the present White Wolf Ranch was a village called *Ahtuse* (Ah-too'-se). The mountain valley there had the same name. Tejon Canyon back of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters was named *Cutset* (Coot-seet) *Ahobe*. Bear Mountain was called *Kiets* (Ki'-eets). Where the Vaquero Headquarters is now at Tejon Ranchos was an Indian village named *Hunah Vahmutch*.

Occupying Tehachapi Valley and the country north through Walker's Basin were the *Kawaiisu*. This tribe occupied territory almost exactly opposite the Yowlumne. On Caliente Creek, where the town of Caliente is now located, was the Kawaiisu village of *Tumayo*. Another Kawaiisu village was *Tahichpiu*, after which modern Tehachapi was named.

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North of the Kawiisu were the *Bankalachi*. As this volume goes to press there is perhaps one aged full-blooded member of this tribe still living, *Las'-yeh*, of Tule River Indian Reservation. She is now probably ninety-five years of age and is still the active head of a household. Together with her late husband, she accompanied me over much of the territory once occupied by her tribe, as well as neighboring Yokuts territory,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts
Tubatulabal NS22

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Les'-yeh, now aged about 95 and last surviving full-blood of the Bancalachi Tribe from near Glennville, Eastern Kern County.

and helped record the names of many village sites and natural landmarks. On the site of present Kernville was the Bankalachi village of *Tulonoya*. Another Bankalachi village, *Pitnaniu*, was located where Isabella is now. Where Bodfish is now was the village of *Tumoyo*. *Haukaniu* was located where the old mining village of Keyesville was established. *Mawsow* (ow as in cow) was the Bankalachi name for a village about a mile and a half above the forks of Poso and Little Poso Creeks. It was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Tubatu/Aboi/ NS22

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361

on the west side of Poso Creek and was in *Paleuyami* territory. Hot Springs, on Deer Creek, was always called *Kahtil Ilkow* (Hot Springs).

Back of the Bankalachi, and extending north to present Mineral King, were the *Pitanisha,* of which the Bankalachi were a subdivision.

Y
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On the Kaweah River, surrounding present Camp Potwisha and extending east into Sequoia National Park where the *Balwishi,* or *Pahd'-wishi.* Hospital Rock was known by the Pahdwishi as *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under, Moro Rock, the great granite dome which stands out so impressively above Hospital Rock, was known as *Wah'-ah Yah'-kow,* or High Rock. Castle Rocks on the south side of Kaweah River, opposite Moro Rock, in Pahdwishi territory, were named *Lungnotim.* The mountain known as Homer's nose, in the high Sierra south of Castle Rocks was named *Topousha,* meaning Leaning Rock.

The high, sharp peak northwest of the old North Tharp home, and also in Pahdwishi territory, was called *Ducuntow.* On the south bank of the Kaweah River, just south of Ducuntow was a village named *Hawtyunyu.* About two miles up the little valley southeast of the North Tharp home was the village of *Yumuhtow.*

The Pahdwishi had at the bridge just below the present Three Rivers store a seasonal camping site which was called *Chopaw.* The high hills across the river north of Chopaw were called *Nawhawntow,* meaning Bear Place, because a bear once killed an Indian there. Just across the road about eighty yards east of the Camp Howdy store was a salt spring called *Tushow.* The Indians obtained salt by boiling down this water. Sawtooth Peak, back of Mineral King, was called *Kah-did'-it.* Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shim.* Yucca Point, just above Ash Mountain checking station, was called *Kawidow,* meaning Yucca Place. The red paintings at Hospital Rock were called *Hawyu,* meaning Red.

North of the Pahdwishi were the *Wuksache.* They occupied upper Rattlesnake Creek and the territory around present Badger. The mountain east of Ash Springs, in Wuksachi land, was called *Wehe.* Bear Mountain, south and west of Badger, and the long ridge which runs southwest from it were called *Chawhawmin.* At Stokes Mountain, south of old Aukland, there are several Wuksachi landmarks. A short distance below the old Stokely Stokes ranch home was the village of *Tungnow.*

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in
[314] front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted
[412] pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

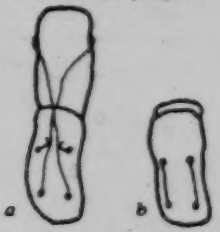

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow
132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, 1929, pl. 97a, b); banging done by holding front
● [372] hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens James (cĭw'wĭ-ĭbĭ-l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

SHELTER

342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohošt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yIhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; TÜbatulabal houses had no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork [[71] Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

•[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set [221] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [841] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 Most of Tübatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular
[22] gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (tɨŋgi·l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

Women pounding meal, etc., at pit mortars on hot days piled up scrub oak or willows to height of 4-6 ft. around mortar bed, in order to have shade while working.

343 171 515 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu·ŝaht) resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tübatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 515 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft. deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 515 372 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders (po·'anapï´l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

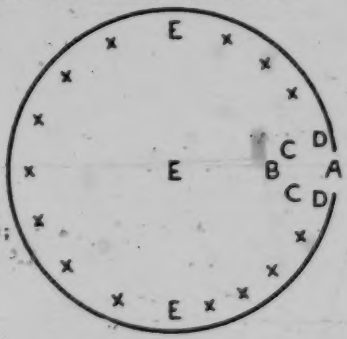

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.

482 415 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (pongon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 372 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 415 Carrying net.- Men used carrying net (tambahal) exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 482 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men, women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 854 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

Between ages of 5 months and year, child "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work [71] to·do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in Tübatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener
[171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near
324 Chimney canyon in TÜbatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17c), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with
462 simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
177 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century TÜbatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
462 obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).
[439]

313 Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l), Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree (a·wilibi·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't); cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft. lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn, horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·num) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water bottles made watertight by putting handful of red earth of same variety used for face paint, plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth, and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch also smeared over outside of bottle with small stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth, mixed with little water, was smeared on top and mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used in combination with the pitch, made water "taste sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter" taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from greasewood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also visited at Ventura, and one of the things they brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM). This commodity used in variety of ways, some of which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon, to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar. Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was softened by melting; often applied with small stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.---P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yo´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131]Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Kabonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132]Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot
● [373] them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·lï·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kana·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

[p. 13 (b)]

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener
[171] (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central
324 groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802,4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from
177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibi·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

● 381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·num) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick." Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

302 [765] sum, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., [824] pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. [388] (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and [515] used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit [296] of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ïihabï·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for several days. At dances women put loose eagle [301] down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wïŋït) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native [413] string to form flat, narrow brush. This hair-brush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, [177] long shell cylinders (hobo'apïn) made from columnella of giant clam (?), and in historic times [439] red, blue, black glass beads used in combination for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (nangawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

283 it was wrapped around left wrist. Made by men, women; used extensively for nets, fish lines, bridles, forehead band on pack strap, loops on pack basket, on water bottles, as warp for rabbitskin blankets, bowstring for rabbit bows, foundation for eagle dance skirts, to tie babies on cradles, tie newborn child's umbilical cord, as thread to sew up sacks, etc.

Rope (tu·mayu·t) made from outer bark of Fremontia californica Torrey (u·pul); long branches, trunk of shrub peeled, fresh bark softened between hands and 3 strands braided into rope which was used to lash bundles of tules together for raft, to tie up crook on piñon staves, to bundle firewood into load, for 2 ends of pack strap, etc.

LEATHERWORK

281 Tanning.- Tanning done chiefly by men, although women sometimes dehaired skins. Green hides (tu·šu·but) hung up to dry, doubled over line with skin side out, for 6-8 days. If not to be tanned immediately they were folded up, stored in house. When tanned, hide soaked in cold water 3 days (SM); MM said soaked for week, being taken out at intervals and as much hair as possible [412 pulled out with fingers. After thorough soaking, 171] hair and fat, if any, scraped off with deer-bone scraper as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 118). Hide put in warm water to which deer brains had been added, and soaked overnight. Next morning hide dried, then returned to brain solution, ●[401] soaked again for 24 hours. Hide then rinsed out in clear water, looped around post and wrung out using short stick as lever (Kelly, pl. 21a, b). Lever, with hide still tightly twisted into coil around it, stuck between pole on which hide was looped and another pole 1 ft. away and hide left thus, tightly twisted, for about 30 minutes; after this hide slipped off lever, flattened out, stretched, rolled, and rubbed between hands. After fibers thus partly softened, hide draped over horizontal bar set into forks of 2 upright posts 3 ft. high, 3 ft. apart; hide pulled back and forth over bar, man often working with hide thus at intermittent intervals for 2-3 days. Tanned hides (takta·šat) not smoked; sometimes whitened; negative 15-6273 shows Tübatulabal man softening clay-whitened deerskin.

Skins to be tanned with hair on, as wildcat skins used for wrapping up infants, were scraped clean on skin side, skin wet, and deer brains, which had been soaked in small amount water, rubbed into hide with hands. Hide then allowed to dry and pulled, rubbed between hands until soft. Bear hides also tanned with hair left on, brains being worked in with scraper.

237 Fresh deer brains could be used for tanning hide, but usually dried brains used, prepared as follows. Deer skull cracked open with rock, brains scooped out, smeared over both sides cir-

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
136 cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yŸta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu·-gu·kwŸt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cŸmil), gray squirrel (cawanŸnt), blue squirrel (tŠŸ'Ygal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi·-bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bŸ·l), bluejay (a·ąayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
[533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might
224 also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

[237]
[276]
[301]

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
●411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole
[349] day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large
[231] game; deer, antelope never corralled and killed; large game never chased over cliffs; dogs not used for hunting (SM). Antelope chased by one hunter toward second man concealed behind bush or
[349] pile rocks; Waterman has picture of pass where trail leads from South Fork valley to Kern valley, showing loose rocks which "are remains of small structure and pit, where lurking hunters shot antelope, which were run through the pass by beaters" (Mus. cat. no. 15-6258).

476 Once a yr. in July Tübatulabal joined with
224 Kawaiisu, Tejon, Ventura Indians, Yokuts for antelope drive (Kroeber, Handbook, 528) in Yokuts territory on plains near Bakersfield. As many as 500 men took part; in drive men stood in circle, 6 ft. apart; circle was from 2-4 mi. in diameter at beginning of drive; men walked inward, driving antelope before them; when circle had shrunk to a few hundred feet in diameter, 10 men (Kroeber,
●[411] Handbook, 529, says 2 men from each tribe) stepped inside, shot antelope with flint-tipped arrows. No antelope drives held in Tübatulabal area.

224 Mt. sheep shot with bow and arrow; "easier than deer to kill"; often sighted on rocky promontories along n. edge of South Fork valley, W of Onyx. Grizzlies and brown bears shot in summer with bow and arrows; never attacked in caves or shot from trees, but SM had seen latter done at Tejon. Mt. lions shot while on ground; killed after being treed.

476 Rabbits obtained on valley floors by firing
224 dry brush; 20 or more men stood in circle outside burning brush; as rabbits fled men shot them with bow and arrows. Another method was to use nets (wa·na·l), propped up loosely on sticks on level ground; 15-20 men formed straight line parallel to net 1/4 mi. or so away from it and advanced beating sagebrush with sticks, driving rabbits before them. When rabbits encountered net, vertical props fell down; rabbits became entangled and were clubbed with straight sticks or shot with bow and arrows; crescentic rabbit sticks not used. Those rabbits in rear that succeeded in jumping over fallen net became entangled in second net placed short distance ahead of first one. No boss for drive; rabbits collected, evenly divided by throwing each participant a rabbit until pile exhausted. Rabbits also shot by young boys, men, singly or in small groups, with bow and arrows.

224 Woodrats, squirrels, small birds trapped with rock trap (togo·'i·nit) exactly like Havasupai rodent trap (Spier, 1928, 113, fig. 4). For Tübatulabal trap shallow hole 3-4 in. deep dug between upright post and base of rock; acorn impaled on lower stick as bait; when stone slab fell, bird or rodent caught in hole underneath flat rock surface, but not crushed. Men set out 15-20 such traps, especially at piñon grounds during harvest; visited them every 2 days (SM).

224 Small willow blinds like Yokuts model (Kroeber,
349 Handbook, 524, pl. 45), but lacking stone platform, large enough to admit 2 men, built near

226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

●[411] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·št) 7-8 ft.
[227] long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth
[321] water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks (wele·haništ) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrapping of native twine which was given coating of
[283] asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (tï·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers
476 done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt
417 upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to
[462] corral, beat water with long willow poles so that all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

[p. 14(a)]

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417

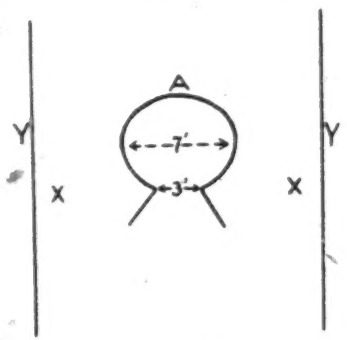

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, [171] thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly
●411 harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes. [251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

824 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly
137 in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punžil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (manj·l) from blue oak (manj·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

501 481 231 492 baskets not used for ferrying; breast stroke used chiefly in swimming (SM).
Horses mounted on right side; bridles made of native twine, saddles of tules.

WEAPONS

411 Bow chief weapon; spears may have been used in warfare; clubs not used, "because men didn't get that near to each other when they fought" (SM); spear thrower, shield, armor not used; aboriginal use of slings denied.

Bow.- Both for war and hunting large game, used sinew-backed bow (a·lit tupani·l), made from juniper (wa·dul), Juniperus californica Carr., var. utahensis Engelm., foothill floral area; bows also occasionally made from tamarack (iŝwa'adul). Such bows were "hard to make," and "took a long time to shape" with flint knives; furthermore one could not "get a good piece of wood for a bow every day" (SM, ES). Method of manufacture was to select suitable piece of wood, cut it, peel bark off immediately and shave bow into shape with knife, then warm bow in hot ashes or hold it over fire and flatten 2 ends over knee. Next, cord tied taut from one end to other, over back of bow, thus bowing length of wood in arc opposite to that in which it would bow when used. Tied thus, bow left to season for 6-8 days; was then untied and 2 1/2-in.-wide strip of water-wetted sinew (tupani·l), from backbone of deer, glued on to back of bow and overlapping edges glued down on sides. At 2 ends of bow, ends of sinew backing wrapped around wood several times to form knobs which prevented bowstring from slipping; neither end of bow notched for stringing. After sinew had dried, bow wrapped at grip (po·ho·nil) with strip of buckskin. Bowstring (piho·lit) of sinew, 3-ply, rolled into cord on knee (SM). Sinew-backed bows were some 48 in. long, 2 in. wide, 1/2-3/4 in. thick at grip; back and under side flattened, edges rounded; ends about 1 in. wide, 1/4 in. thick and either slightly re-bowed, or straight.

For hunting small game plain bow (a·lit) with rounded edges, made either of willow or juniper, used. Bowstring for such made from native twine. SM said such bows were about 45 in. long, 2 in. wide at grip; specimen 1-19808, of willow, is 50 in. long. In 1932, FC had willow bow he had made, which MM said was similar to bows TÜbatulabal used formerly for shooting rabbits; FC had made his from green willow, first shaping it with knife, then bowing it in at grip by laying length of willow on 2 flat rocks which were set some 16 in. apart, so when weight was put on top of central section of willow it bowed downward between the 2 rocks. Ends were rebowed by placing flat rocks beneath and on top of each tip and suspending rock from underneath unfinished bow at points 8 in. inward from ends. Thus weighted, bow was left to dry and season for 8 days. Length of this

411 bow was 68 in., width at grip 1 3/4 in., at tips
[176] 3/4-in. SM denied that Tübatulabal formerly ever bowed in grip; FC very probably had introduced this feature.

Boys used small plain willow bows and willow
[462] arrows "before they began regular hunting" (SM). Bows, arrows made by men only.

Arrows.- War arrows (pa·hal) were 34-36 in. long, with wooden foreshaft (wawpit), some 8 in. long, made from hard wood set into cane mainshaft made from stalks of cane (paha·bï·l), same variety as that from which women obtained sweets (p. 19). Mainshafts also sometimes made from wood. Cane mainshaft (u·gat) straightened by being gently rolled at joints in round groove and over shallow incisions of heated stone arrow straightener (u·gišt). Mainshaft notched at upper end for insertion of bowstring; foreshaft split at end for insertion of arrowhead. War arrows had 3 vanes, square-trimmed, 1 in. wide, set on spirally and attached at each end with sinew; "if only 2 feathers were put on, the arrow didn't shoot straight, it went sideways" (SM). FC's arrows nevertheless had 2 vanes, set on spirally. Feathers from eagles, crows, owls,
[324] 3 varieties of hawks among those used. Arrowheads (kïyi·l) were flaked from obsidian (tu·gu··pïl tïnt, black rock), obtained near Mt. Whitney (SM); from bluish gray rock procured in mts. (SM), at Koso (FP); from a red rock (flint?) obtained near Tejon or on Mohave desert. Stone "cooked" first in fire, then broken into small
[412] pieces (FP). Deer-bone awl used to flake arrowheads; palm of left hand protected with piece of buckskin. Heads varishaped (fig. 7), "because some men liked this kind, some that" (ES), but all heads shouldered. Beautifully shaped head (fig. 7), 3 1/4 in. long, 1 in. wide at top, found by FC on old battlefield on Nichols peak, in s. border of Tübatulabal area; SM said this
[317] probably head for war arrow, as heads for such often 6 in. long(!). Asphalt (tu·šanat) used to set heads into foreshaft; no mention made of sinew lashings. Poison (pohil), source of which was unknown to informants, said to have been used on both war, hunting arrowheads (MM); only on hunting arrowheads (SM).

Hunting arrows (šu·mu·na·l), for use on large game, similar to war arrows save that they were 48 in. long, with 9-in. wooden foreshaft and were often tipped with smaller, black obsidian heads which were inserted rather loosely into foreshaft so that shaft fell out after animal was shot, leaving head firmly embedded; or if shaft did not fall out, it could be pulled out easily, head then cut out with stone knife.

Arrows of foregoing type used with sinew-backed bow; with willow bow cane arrows (šu·mu··na·l), 40 in. long, 2-3-vaned, tipped with wooden foreshaft, point of which had been sharpened by rubbing on rough rock, used to shoot rabbits, etc. For birds, shorter cane arrows with pointed

411
324

Fig. 7. Flaked artifacts from Andreas collection. a, white quartz strike-a-light, 1 5/8 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; b, c, obsidian arrowheads, 1¼ in. long, 5/8-in. wide at shoulders; d, red flint arrowhead, 1 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; e, arrowhead from Nichols peak (see text); f, g, h, red flint artifacts, lengths respectively, 3¼ in., 2 3/4 in., 1 7/8 in., widths at top, respectively, 1¼ in., 1¼ in., 1 in., either spearheads (FP), unfinished arrowheads (SM), or knife blades (?).

411 wooden foreshaft used; for waterfowl, cane arrows had sinew wrapped thickly around joint where foreshaft entered cane mainshaft, so as to produce bulge which made arrow skip over water in flight, [17] similar to Owens Valley Paiute arrows for ducks (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3d). Specimen 1-19809 consists in part of 2 unfeathered arrows with cane mainshafts 46 in. long, foreshafts 4 1/2 in. and 2 in. long; such arrows might have been used by boys or else are simply, as collector has noted, very poor specimens.

415 Quiver.- Sacklike quiver (ma·šat, also term for sack), made from whole untanned antelope, coyote, or wildcatskin with hair left on; men going hunting carried quiver in carrying net,

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

•411 Arrow release.- Man shot either standing or kneeling; if kneeling, weight rested on left knee, which touched ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz;
[171] 18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term), used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc., consisted of flaked obsidian blade about 5 in. long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens
[171 Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j),
317] except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted knives aboriginal (SM).

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades,
[171] an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber, Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about
[317] 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buck-
[462] skin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right hand; this awl essentially man's tool.
Women used smaller awl (wīŋabĭt), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kĭče'apĭl) surmounted with small lump of asphalt, when making coiled baskets.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

17. Then I, already wanting to go, woke up with a start. 18. Then I got up at four o'clock. 19. Then I went out far away; when I arrived, I prayed (and) I blew (to get rid of the impurity of the dream). 20. I dreamed a bad one. 21. I blew (the bad dream away). 22. "Nothing, nothing (bad remains)," I say, "everything (is) good; to us nothing (bad) will happen." 23. It is the end. 539x

18. BULL DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along the valley. 2. Then I see cattle. 3. I go and hold my own gun. 4. Then I see the bull. 5. There is not a bull (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me. 6. Then from there I go down toward the canyon, I am going to the canyon. 7. Then I see the bull in front (of me). 8. Then, when he sees me, he runs away from me because I am holding my own gun. 9. Then I woke up. [177 411] [756]

19. DEER DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along. 2. I cross the deep canyon. 3. On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains. 4. Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks. 5. Then I went and found many deer. 6. Then they jump about in every direction. 7. Then a big one stands still. 8. Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead. 9. Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart. 10. Then I woke up with a start.
11. It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say. [787]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

69. Then we went in the home of Peterson to cut posts. 70. There we made camp at the bottom of the mountain. 71. Then that next day my father cut juniper posts. 72. Then I used to make bread at noon and also in the evening. 73. When he arrives in the evening, he is eating that bread and also rabbit. 74. We cut many (posts). 75. We win a unit of money (ten cents) for one post. 76. Then I carry the posts on my own back. 77. I piled (them) there on the level place. 78. He (father) stayed there all summer in order to cut (posts). 79. Then in the evening I went to get water. 80. The water is there far away. 81. When it got dark already, then I came back, fetching water from there to here. 82. Then I got lost, coming back. 83. I took the downward way. 84. From there I got lost; there I yelled; then nobody (answered). 85. Then I cried. 86. Then I ran; I am dangling my own pail when crossing (the canyon). 87. Then my father talked there. 88. "Where are you going?" 89. "I got lost," I am saying, "the water which I got ran out." 90. "Come," (father) is saying, "let's go fetch water," he is saying. 91. From there we came back in order to fetch water from there toward our own camp. 92. We stayed there all summer. 93. Then we finished. 94. Then we came back in our own house. 95. Then when winter comes, we go back again in order to go and cut firewood. 96. Then we went away from everything. 97. Then there we cut (wood) all winter. 98. (There is) only much juniper firewood. 99. We finished there. 100. Then we came back toward our own house. 101. Then we arrived in our own house. 102. Then we are just living. 103. (There is) no work.

104. Then we used to play. 105. We are playing tag in the bull-pine trees; we are climbing (the trees); we are chasing each other. 106. Then we make one boy "it." 107. And we are not playing on the ground (but) in the bull-pine trees. 108. That one (who is "it") chases us. 109. Then to catch us he touches someone. 110. Then that one stays "it" next. 111. Then we are running away up (in the trees). 112. We are jumping in different places in the branches of the bull-pine tree. 113. Then some are falling down (and) are running away from the branches of the bull pines. 114. Some are hanging on the branches of the bull pines. 115. We are playing during the day.

116. And then again we are playing different games after that. 117. We are playing quoits; with the shoots of the bull pine, we are making the quoit; with it we play quoits. 118. Then we are cutting sticks; having finished making the quoit. 119. We are fixing the target. 120. We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins. 121. Five of the boys gamble with those quoits. 122. Some (are) proficient. 123. Then one is shooting first. 124. Each one (has) three quoits. 125. Then one is shooting first at that target. 126. Then he is shooting close. 127. Then next another one is shooting. 128. Then he is shooting on top of that quoit. 129. Then from there again another one is shooting. 130. Then he throws that quoit this way. 131. From there again another one is shooting. 132. Then he pushes aside those (which had been placed by the other boys). 133. Then there he is holding that target (i.e., he is closest to it); he is winning. 134. We are playing during the day.

135. Then, when we want to practice shooting at a target, we are going and gathering canes. 136. We are making many canes into arrows. 137. We are making arrows well. 138. We are putting feathers on them. 139. Then, having finished (the arrows), we are making the target. 140. We are tying the brush (for a target). 141. We are practicing shooting at that. 142. Then whoever is hitting it, then that hitter is hiding that target (which he hit) under the ground. 143. Then, "Shoot," (one of the boys) is saying to you. 144. Then you are shooting (at the target now concealed in the ground). 145. Right there you are leaving your own arrow (having shot it in the ground at the concealed arrow). 146. Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next. 147. Then he is hitting that target because he knows his own hiding place (better than the other who only knows the general spot in which he placed the target). 148. Then he pulls out that (hidden target) with his own arrow (which is firmly shot into the concealed target). 149. Then from there again he hides for him (another player) that one, that target under the ground. 150. "Now shoot," he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting. 151. "Leave your arrow right here," he is saying.

friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɛn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɛl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɛt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɛn, where there was a deep little river."

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

[P. 529] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.---P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on
824 this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time
222 to determine whether heat from burning brush had caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on
264] stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which berries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

●412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone used in preparing different types plant food.
412 Mortars (pahal) included pit mortars, which were depressions 2-10 in. deep, 3-5 in. wide in level or gently sloping granite outcrops (Kroeber, [773] Handbook, 524, pl. 45). Manufacture of pit mortars attributed to Coyote, but fact recognized that mortar holes enlarged with use until at depth of 10 in. they became unusable.

412 Portable stone mortars (ku·pahal) from 6-35 in.
322 in total diameter; made by pecking out depression
324 in round soft gray stone with harder, pointed rock (SM). Small stone mortars readily transportable; taken on piñon expeditions. Large wooden portable mortars (ku·pahal) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45) made from hard wood, oak (SM), juniper (FP); bowl burnt out and interior smoothed with rough rock. These latter "easier to make than stone mortars" and commonly used around home, but were too large to take on trips. Basketry hopper used. Pestles (poho'owal) for all types mortars were roughly cylindrical, granite or slate rocks, picked up in river beds, used as found; length of pestles varied from 5-20 in., width from 2 1/2-5 in., depending on size of mortar.

412 Grinding slab (mana·l) oval or roughly rec-
324 tangular piece of granite or black slate, from 14-20 in. long, 10-15 in. wide, and 2-4 in. thick; used on one side only; grinding surface flat or slightly concave. Suitable slabs fairly abundant in area, and woman always kept one such in house, leaning up against wall. With slab, either small ovoid rub stone (takibit) 3-4 in. long, about 3 1/2 in. wide, 2 in. thick, flat on top and bottom surfaces (Gifford and Schenck, 92, pl. 31), or larger stone of same shape (takin) used; these picked up in river beds. Long cylindrical mullers not used. When in use, grinding slab set up with flat rock, about 2 in. thick, placed under upper end of slab, so that slab slanted downward, away from operator. Lower end of slab rested on flat basketry tray.

412 All informants familiar with 3-legged metate
177 and horned muller (Steward, 1933, 341, pl. 5g),
252 because one such introduced among them by former Jesus Miranda, Mexican who married Petra Miranda, Tübatulabal woman; this metate used primarily for grinding corn (FP). However, present-day Tübatulabal ordinarily pound parched corn or wheat into meal in pit mortars, following older pattern.

252 Cooking techniques included stone boiling, boiling in clay pots, parching with live coals on basketry tray, parching in fire, roasting on coals, in ashes, in pit ovens, on spits, in fire. General pattern of native cookery, which resulted in economy of effort, was to apply heat only once to any variety of food intended to be eaten in cooked state. Thus small seeds which had already been parched, and previously roasted piñons, after they were ground into meal, were merely mixed with cold water when made up into gruel (u'u·gil); neither seed nor piñon meal recooked by stone boiling (or any other method), parched foods being

291 These 2 pieces were then seamed together from
281 front of sole as far up as ankle and also seamed to each side of back piece. In front, from ankle upward 2 side pieces were tied together with 2 sets of buckskin thongs; sometimes upper set of thongs was wrapped around leg and tied either in
[314] front or back. To make soles wear longer, melted pitch from Digger pine smeared over outside of
[412] soles (FP). Deerbone awl used to punch holes for seams, which were stitched with sinew. Moccasins made by men; worn by men, women in summer, "not in rainy weather" (SM), when hunting, wood gathering, piñon gathering, etc.; children also wore them if "going some place," but footgear was not worn habitually or on short trips.

Sandals (same name as moccasins) were made of heavy buckskin sole to which a straight strip of buckskin 3 in. wide, 8 in. long was sewed in back (fig. 4; Mus. cat. no. 1-28227, 15-10538). When worn, this buckskin flap was brought upward

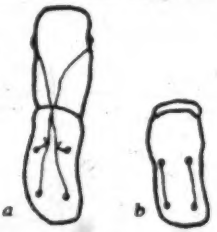

Fig. 4. Sandal. a, front view, showing strap arrangement; b, under side of sole, with strap.

to lie flat against back part of lower leg. Flap secured against leg by long buckskin thong, middle part of which held flap against lower leg. Ends of thong were brought forward on either side of leg, crossed in front over instep and threaded downward through 2 slits on each side of sole at instep; ends were then run up on under surface of sole to 2 holes underneath great and 4th toes and threaded up through these 2 holes. One end of thong passed between great and first toe, other between 3d and 4th toe; ends tied to upper sections of thong just below point where these were crossed over instep. Such sandals were used only when roasting piñons, to protect feet "when there was a hot fire to walk around" (SM). Fiber sandals never made, used.

292 Snowshoes not used, there being "not much snow
132 in the valley" where majority of semipermanent winter settlements were situated.

302 Coiffure.- Men wore hair long, loose (SM); sometimes parted it in middle and tied it in back (FP); never braided it. Women wore hair long, loose, parted, banged in front (Gayton, 1929, pl. 97a, b);
[372] banging done by holding front hair out from forehead in bunch, burning ends off with glowing stick of Atriplex canescens (James (cĭw'wĭ·ĭbĭ·l). Woman's back hair sometimes braided, tied (FP wore hair thus; aboriginal?). When pounding acorns, otherwise employed in hot

411 bow was 68 in., width at grip 1 3/4 in., at tips
3/4-in. SM denied that Tübatulabal formerly ever
[176] bowed in grip; FC very probably had introduced
this feature.

Boys used small plain willow bows and willow
[462] arrows "before they began regular hunting" (SM).
Bows, arrows made by men only.

Arrows.- War arrows (pa·hal) were 34-36 in. long, with wooden foreshaft (wawpit), some 8 in. long, made from hard wood set into cane mainshaft made from stalks of cane (paha·bï·l), same variety as that from which women obtained sweets (p. 19). Mainshafts also sometimes made from wood. Cane mainshaft (u·gat) straightened by being gently rolled at joints in round groove and over shallow incisions of heated stone arrow straightener (u·giit). Mainshaft notched at upper end for insertion of bowstring; foreshaft split at end for insertion of arrowhead. War arrows had 3 vanes, square-trimmed, 1 in. wide, set on spirally and attached at each end with sinew; "if only 2 feathers were put on, the arrow didn't shoot straight, it went sideways" (SM). FC's arrows nevertheless had 2 vanes, set on spirally. Feathers from eagles, crows, owls,
[324] 3 varieties of hawks among those used. Arrowheads (kïyi·l) were flaked from obsidian (tu·gu··pïl tïnt, black rock), obtained near Mt. Whitney (SM); from bluish gray rock procured in mts. (SM), at Koso (FP); from a red rock (flint?) obtained near Tejon or on Mohave desert. Stone "cooked" first in fire, then broken into small
● [412] pieces (FP). Deer-bone awl used to flake arrowheads; palm of left hand protected with piece of buckskin. Heads varishaped (fig. 7), "because some men liked this kind, some that" (ES), but all heads shouldered. Beautifully shaped head (fig. 7), 3 1/4 in. long, 1 in. wide at top, found by FC on old battlefield on Nichols peak, in s. border of Tübatulabal area; SM said this
[317] probably head for war arrow, as heads for such often 6 in. long(!). Asphalt (tu·šanat) used to set heads into foreshaft; no mention made of sinew lashings. Poison (pohil), source of which was unknown to informants, said to have been used on both war, hunting arrowheads (MM); only on hunting arrowheads (SM).

Hunting arrows (šu·mu·na·l), for use on large game, similar to war arrows save that they were 48 in. long, with 9-in. wooden foreshaft and were often tipped with smaller, black obsidian heads which were inserted rather loosely into foreshaft so that shaft fell out after animal was shot, leaving head firmly embedded; or if shaft did not fall out, it could be pulled out easily, head then cut out with stone knife.

Arrows of foregoing type used with sinew-backed bow; with willow bow cane arrows (šu·mu··na·l), 40 in. long, 2-3-vaned, tipped with wooden foreshaft, point of which had been sharpened by rubbing on rough rock, used to shoot rabbits, etc. For birds, shorter cane arrows with pointed

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

411 Arrow rel[illegible]an shot either standing or kneeling; i[illegible]g, weight rested on left knee, which [illegible] ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz;
[171] 18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term), used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc., consisted of flaked obsidian blade about 5 in. long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens
[171 Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j),
317] except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted knives aboriginal (SM).

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades,
[171] an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber, Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about
[317] 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buck-
[462] skin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right hand; this awl essentially man's tool.
Women used smaller awl (wiŋabït), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kïče'apïl) surmounted with small lump of asphalt, when making coiled baskets.

283 it was wrapped around left wrist. Made by men, women; used extensively for nets, fish lines, bridles, forehead band on pack strap, loops on pack basket, on water bottles, as warp for rabbitskin blankets, bowstring for rabbit bows, foundation for eagle dance skirts, to tie babies on cradles, tie newborn child's umbilical cord, as thread to sew up sacks, etc.

Rope (tu·mayu·t) made from outer bark of Fremontia californica Torrey (u·pul); long branches, trunk of shrub peeled, fresh bark softened between hands and 3 strands braided into rope which was used to lash bundles of tules together for raft, to tie up crook on piñon staves, to bundle firewood into load, for 2 ends of pack strap, etc.

LEATHERWORK

281 Tanning.- Tanning done chiefly by men, although women sometimes dehaired skins. Green hides (tu·šu·but) hung up to dry, doubled over line with skin side out, for 6-8 days. If not to be tanned immediately they were folded up, stored in house. When tanned, hide soaked in cold water 3 days (SM); MM said soaked for week, being taken out at intervals and as much hair as possible pulled out with fingers. After thorough soaking, hair and fat, if any, scraped off with deer-bone scraper as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 118). Hide put in warm water to which deer brains had been added, and soaked overnight. Next morning hide dried, then returned to brain solution, soaked again for 24 hours. Hide then rinsed out in clear water, looped around post and wrung out using short stick as lever (Kelly, pl. 21a, b). Lever, with hide still tightly twisted into coil around it, stuck between pole on which hide was looped and another pole 1 ft. away and hide left thus, tightly twisted, for about 30 minutes; after this hide slipped off lever, flattened out, stretched, rolled, and rubbed between hands. After fibers thus partly softened, hide draped over horizontal bar set into forks of 2 upright posts 3 ft. high, 3 ft. apart; hide pulled back and forth over bar, man often working with hide thus at intermittent intervals for 2-3 days. Tanned hides (takta·šat) not smoked; sometimes whitened; negative 15-6273 shows Tübatulabal man softening clay-whitened deerskin.

[412 171] [401]

Skins to be tanned with hair on, as wildcat skins used for wrapping up infants, were scraped clean on skin side, skin wet, and deer brains, which had been soaked in small amount water, rubbed into hide with hands. Hide then allowed to dry and pulled, rubbed between hands until soft. Bear hides also tanned with hair left on, brains being worked in with scraper.

237 Fresh deer brains could be used for tanning hide, but usually dried brains used, prepared as follows. Deer skull cracked open with rock, brains scooped out, smeared over both sides cir-

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; Z, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b,
412 brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber
415 brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured
276 tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of
301 sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11).
342 Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b,
133 necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-
773 glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

[p. 84 (b)]

249

412
415

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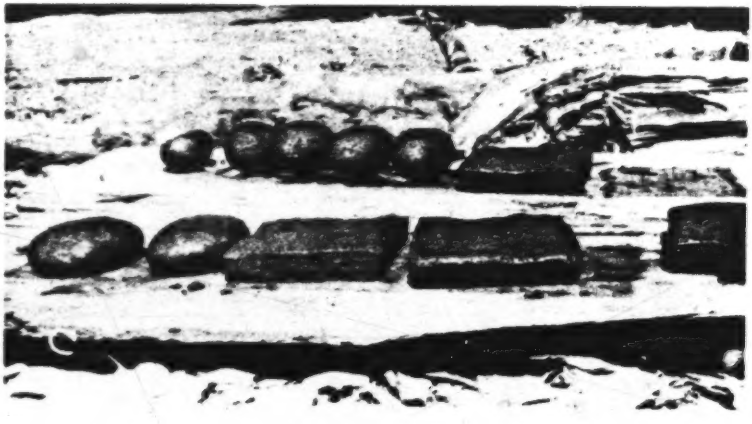

[p. 89]

302 [765] sum, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., [824] pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. 388 (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and [515] used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit [296] of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ɪihabɪ·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for [301] several days. At dances women put loose eagle down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wɪŋɪt) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native string to form flat, narrow brush. This hair- [413] brush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apɪn) made from colum- [177] nella of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (naŋgawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

●413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener
[171] (Kroëber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near
324 Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802,4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with
462 simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
177 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[888] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[806] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life";
776 many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

9. The old woman says, "So Bear killed her." 10. The old woman is crying; then she went to look for her; she arrived there; no woman (is) there when the old woman arrived. 11. The old woman says, to Migitih, "Where are you?" she says. 12. Migitih whistled. 13. The old woman heard him when he whistled; she went, going to see him. 14. The old woman saw his blood in the grass; she grabbed the blood; she brought it to her own house. 539X

15. She went and took it; she grabbed a big basket there; she filled (the basket with) water. 16. She put his blood in the basket and then covered the basket. 17. Then, in the middle of the night, the old woman heard Migitih when he made a noise and she went out and Migitih is making a noise in the basket and the old woman went from there back in again. 18. The next day she saw Migitih; he is sitting in the basket. 19. The old woman grabbed Migitih, a little baby; she wrapped up Migitih in the skin of a wildcat. 20. Then the old woman takes care of him.

21. Then Migitih grew up; he said to the old woman, "Where is my mother?" he says; "where is my father?" says Migitih. 22. The old woman says, "Don't say (that)," says the old woman. 23. Migitih says, "I want to know." 24. The old woman says, "Good; Bear killed your mother." 25. Migitih says, "Where is Bear?" he says. 26. "Don't say (that)," says the old woman, "Bear (is) a Yumugiwal; he will kill you." 27. Migitih says, "I will kill him; give me the bow with arrows."

28. The old woman gave him the bow with arrows. 29. "Good," says Migitih, "tomorrow I will see Bear." 30. Migitih went in the mountains; he arrived on the top of the mountains. 31. Migitih climbed a big rock. 32. He is standing on the top of the rock. 33. Then he said, "Come, Bear, I want to see you." 34. Then Bear came out from his own hole. 35. Then he saw Migitih. 36. Bear began to grab Migitih; he extended his arms, wanting to grab him. 37. Then Migitih said, "Just a moment," Migitih says. 38. Then Bear stood stock still. 39. Then Migitih says, "Open your mouth." 40. Then Bear opened his mouth very far. 41. "Close your eyes, Bear," says Migitih. 42. Then Migitih took out the arrow-straightener from next to his belly; it is very hot, just like fire; he threw it in the mouth of Bear. 43. Then it went in the stomach of Bear. 44. Bear ran far away. . . . Bear died; Migitih killed Bear. 45. Migitih got down from the rock; he went to see Bear. 46. Migitih skinned him; he grabbed the skin; he arrived at his own house. [413]●

47. The old woman saw the skin of Bear; Migitih is saying, "There is the skin of Bear." 48. "Good," says the old woman. 49. Migitih says to his own mother's mother, "More Yumugiwal are living in the mountains; I want to go to see (them)." 50. The old woman is saying, "The Yumugiwals live there." 51. "Tomorrow I will go to see (them)," (says Migitih).

52. Migitih went; he arrived; in the house are living one old woman, and Coyote, and the Cannibal Woman. 53. Migitih killed the Cannibal Woman. 54. "Good," says Coyote; "the Cannibal Woman (is) a Yumugiwal; she kills people."

55. Then Migitih came to his own house. 56. The old woman is saying, "Did you kill Yumugiwal?" says the old woman. 57. "Yes," says Migitih. 58. "Yumugiwal are finished," says the old woman. 59. "Good," says Migitih. 60. Already it got ended.

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections 263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather 258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass 137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal 824 depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks [272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball, 278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for 757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this [262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs 263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias 824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise 264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people ● [445] had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave [753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they [774 might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers poten- [609] tial enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uṃa·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
431 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
●[415] "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
487 day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

482 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp
●415 equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (pongon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack
372 basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 Carrying net.- Men used carrying net (tambahal)
415 exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men,
482 women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers
854 used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

Between ages of 5 months and year, child
[71] "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work to do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in Tübatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

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324

Fig. 7. Flaked artifacts from Andress collection. a, white quartz strike-a-light, 1 5/8 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; b, c, obsidian arrowheads, 1½ in. long, 5/8-in. wide at shoulders; d, red flint arrowhead, 1 in. long, 1¼ in. wide; e, arrowhead from Nichols peak (see text); f, g, h, red flint artifacts, lengths respectively, 3¼ in., 2 3/4 in., 1 7/8 in., widths at top, respectively, 1¼ in., 1½ in., 1 in., either spearheads (FP), unfinished arrowheads (SM), or knife blades (?).

411 wooden foreshaft used; for waterfowl, cane arrows had sinew wrapped thickly around joint where foreshaft entered cane mainshaft, so as to produce bulge which made arrow skip over water in flight, [171] similar to Owens Valley Paiute arrows for ducks (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3d). Specimen 1-19809 consists in part of 2 unfeathered arrows with cane mainshafts 46 in. long, foreshafts 4 1/2 in. and 2 in. long; such arrows might have been used by boys or else are simply, as collector has noted, very poor specimens.

● 415 Quiver.- Sacklike quiver (ma·šat, also term for sack), made from whole untanned antelope, coyote, or wildcatskin with hair left on; men going hunting carried quiver in carrying net,

[p. 28(b)]

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

411 Arrow release.- Man shot either standing or kneeling; if kneeling, weight rested on left knee, which touched ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz;
18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to
[171] Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term), used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc., consisted of flaked obsidian blade about 5 in.
[171 long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens
317] Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j), except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted knives aboriginal (SM).

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades,
[171] an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber, Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about
[317] 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buck-
[462] skin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right hand; this awl essentially man's tool.
Women used smaller awl (wĭŋabĭt), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kĭče'apĭl) surmounted with small lump of asphalt, when making coiled baskets.

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibĭ·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·num) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
● 415 longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

285 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for
824 various types twined ware made from whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots, roots of tree yucca, outer bark of willow. Tules used considerably for baskets, mats; there are few tules in either Kern or South Fork valleys now, but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

292 Coiled baskets included:

171 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled
285 Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 (b) Sifter (wa·t) or small tray; slightly
285 concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

(c) Parching tray (ša·giš); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers. [525] This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

(d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in. wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others [252] smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

415 285 in. high, 6 1/2 in. in diameter at top, 4 in. at base. Used by individuals for drinking soup; also used for shaping biscuits of acorn mush (p. 18).

(f) Meal basket (ponol); was about 16 in. high, flat-bottomed, with sides which curved inward toward top; latter about 6 in. in diameter. Used as container for freshly ground chia seeds, etc. (Fig. 8b.)

(g) Mortar hopper (hoyanut, PN); was made from old cooking basket with bottom cut out; height, diameter varied, depending on size of mortar; some hoppers 6-8 in. deep, 16 in. in diameter across top. Attached permanently to mortar with asphalt; PN had seen hopper attached to small portable stone mortar used for mixing tobacco and lime; FP had seen Bob Rabbit, widowed Kawaiisu rain doctor, using hopper on mortar hole in log at piñon camp, "where there was no stone." Hopper helped prevent small seeds from flying out of mortar during pounding.

[317]

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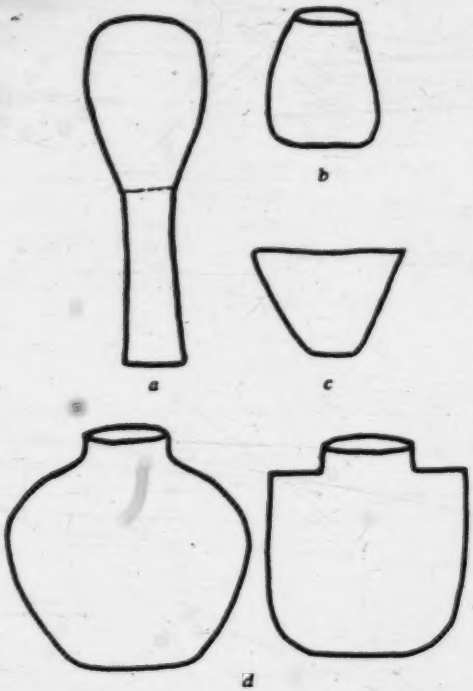

Fig. 8. Basketry and pottery shapes. a, tule tray for drying sweets; upper part, body of tray, lower part, handle end which was folded over at broken line. b, coiled basket used for storing small seeds. c, pottery bowl in Andress collection, height 4 in., width at mouth 4½ in., thickness ¼ in.; surface find in mts., Tübatulabal area. d, bottleneck money jars (1-20952, 20953).

415 285 (h) Money jar (ukulušt) or "Tulare bottleneck" (fig. 8d); most elaborate basket type; specimen 1-20951, 20953 (O. T. Mason, 479, pls. 193, 194), made by FP's mother, ornamented around

[P. 31(b)]

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
[237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in.wide at
[171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tÝbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
[482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Lug basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on up-
[252] curve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to winnow piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
[222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

415 285 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 2 willow rods (pi·mun) sewn around top for reinforcement; 2 cloth lugs attached to rim on opposite sides. Seeds, berries collected in this basket as they were knocked off bush with seed beater.

415 285 482 (b) Burden basket (wa·niht); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket, about 29 in. deep, 26 in. in diameter at top. Warp and weft of peeled willow shoots; basket banded with oak rod attached to rim with split willow shoots. Two pieces of willow, 3 in. long, sewn on inside of basket horizontally 9 in. below rim and 6 in. apart; lengths of twine attached to these pieces of willow to make 2 loops (pu·niwa·n) 6 in. long, which came through basket and hung down on outside; pack strap attached to these 2 loops. On some baskets 3 willow bands encircled basket on outside as reinforcement, being put on at top, 1/3 and 2/3 of way down. Specimen 1-19815, small burden basket made by PN, is 20 in. deep, 23 in. in diameter at top; has 2 willow rods around top, with top rod left bare except at intervals where it is stitched to rod underneath it. Rod sewn on inside basket for attaching twine loops. Uses have been mentioned (ante).

[171] (c) Water bottle (iwat); resembled that of Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55e), but had flat base (all informants). Made in 2-ply diagonal twining with warp of whole peeled willow shoots, weft of split willow shoots; 2 loops attached to side as on burden basket, with long string which passed over carrier's forehead, fastened to loops. Bottle pitched inside and out (see section on Glue, Pitch, Asphalt); stoppered with roll of grass (pa·nišwa·n). Small girls packed little water bottles "like the one in the picture" (Handbook, ibid.); adults larger ones, some 16 in. tall, on trips into dry country. Large bottles, often 17 in. in diameter, used to store water in at dry piñon camps and as water containers at hamlets.

[171] Tule baskets and traps were all of 2-ply diagonal twining; soft tule baskets such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50c) not manufactured among Tübatulabal.

Tule objects included:

227 285 (a) Conical trap; some 4 ft. deep, 3 1/2 ft. wide at top, made similar to burden basket; this trap set below fall in river, secured between 2 sticks as among Owens Valley Paiute [171] (Steward, 1933, 251); set in evening and left overnight.

[171] (b) Tubular trap (wa·mat); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), but made from tules; this staked down in smooth water; "when a big fish got inside, it couldn't turn around to get out" (SM).

[171] (c) Conical scoop (či·dišt); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33b), but lacking inner cone and made from tules; used to scoop up stupefied fish from pools.

285 415 (d) Tule tray (ši'i·bɨ·l u·ẓi·l); shaped something like seed beater but with broader

285 415 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

[492] (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules. In contrast to twined ware, all of which was plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had designs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

531 Either informants had forgotten them, or else few designs had names; when shown some 26 designs taken from Tübatulabal basketry collections, SM recognized 3 (fig. 9) which had descriptive names, king snake design (pokpo·go´no·lo·wum),

a b c

Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wum), rattlesnake design (cĭmĭndiŋlo·wum), "a hard pattern" (ES). [532] Human figure design aboriginal (SM); pictographs of human figures in territory tend to confirm this, although Kroeber holds human figures on baskets result of American influence (Kroeber, Handbook, 541). ES recognized several Yokuts designs (Kroeber, Handbook, 533, fig. 47, nos. 1, 8, 15, 16) which she had seen on Tübatulabal baskets, but did not know names for them. [171]

285 Mats.- Mats (paht) were made from whole dried trimmed tules, which were soaked before being woven; mats 3-5 ft. wide, of varying lengths, made in plain twined weave with each series of tule weft elements spaced about 3 in. apart. Top, bottom edges finished with tule braid (ta·ža·bil). Specimen 1-21064, large tule mat used for house covering, has braid edge, as has fragment of mat 1-28574; specimen 1-28575, also fragment, has wrap edge. Large mats used to cover walls, floors of living houses, to sit on while working outside, to sleep on. Small tule mats bordered with tule braid, but lacking weft bandings, used on both types baby cradles; hood for baby's second cradle also of tules.

281 286 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihnibĭ·l) made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

[p. 33(a)]

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat)
415 made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses
[436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women
[462] used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·gul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork Valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

T 323 [171] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

T ● 415 Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso T [532] woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); FN denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 756 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.

177 [32] Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

[p. 84 (6)]

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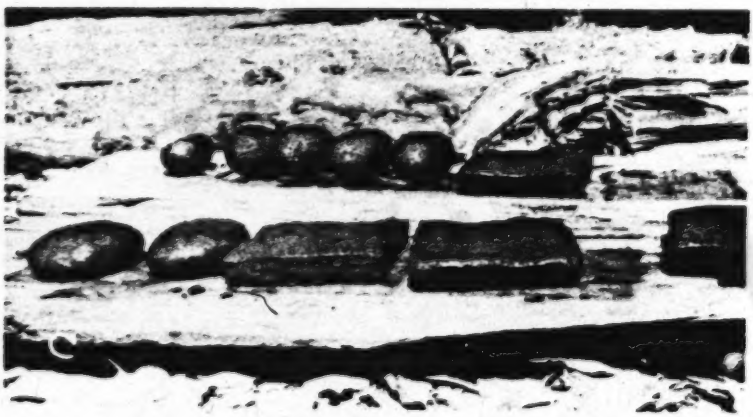

[p. 89]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts
Tubatulabal NS22

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[115]
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[415]

Las'-yeh, now aged about 95 and last surviving full-blood of the Bankalachi Tribe from near Glennville, Eastern Kern County.

and helped record the names of many village sites and natural landmarks. On the site of present Kernville was the Bankalachi village of *Tulonoya*. Another Bankalachi village, *Pitnaniu*, was located where Isabella is now. Where Bodfish is now was the village of *Tumoyo*. *Haukaniu* was located where the old mining village of Keyesville was established. *Mawsow* (ow as in cow) was the Bankalachi name for a village about a mile and a half above the forks of Poso and Little Poso Creeks. It was

226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] [227] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·šṭ) 7-8 ft. long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth

[321] water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks (wele·hanišṭ) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrap-

[283] ping of native twine which was given coating of asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (tï·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 476 ●417 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to

[462] corral, beat water with long willow poles so that all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

226
417

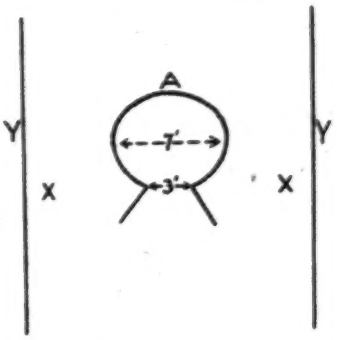

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

Another method of obtaining fish in large
226 quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·l) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from
[171] drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly
411 harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes.
[251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

824 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly
137 in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punɣil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maŋi·l) from blue oak (maŋi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
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PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

● 421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
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[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

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768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to

[262] eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibɨ·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tüba-
487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
● 422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštĭh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštĭh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hĭštĭh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštĭh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštĭh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštĭh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

● 423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). FN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, FN).

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159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[253] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do, they just moved all around; they'd camp under
173 some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

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424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs, outfit either buried with him or passed on by in-
538 heritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither
423 band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here,
[551] but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish, muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdzu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here
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Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

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428 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband
768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

● 425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. There, it is said, I was born; it is (where) I am living (now); my father says (this); and there, also, my older brother, it is said, all (of us siblings) were born. 2. Then, it is said, I grew up already; it is said I wandered about already. 3. Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me. 4. Then, it is said, I am crying. 5. Then, it is said, my mother is sick. 6. Then, it is said, I am crying very much when I am hungry. 7. Then, it is said, I took from there to here a little blanket. "Here, sit down, mother," I say, it is said; "No," she says. 8. Then, it is said, I eat food.

9. From there I grew up already. 10. Then I am learning already. 11. Then my father made my bow. 12. Then I am hunting. 13. Then I am killing wood-rats; (I) used to eat those birds, everything. 14. I used to bring to my own father (whatever I shot). 15. Then, "Good," says my father. 16. (I) used to kill everything, rabbits, cottontails, and also quail, and also pigeon. 17. Then I bring that to my own father. 18. And also I used to cause fish to swallow (bait). 19. I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip). 20. Then my mother boils those (fish); we used to eat them all the time.

21. Then father used to teach us. 22. "Wander about well(-behaved); steal nothing and also do not be nasty to the old men when you see (them); if you believe (my words), then you will get old." 23. "Good," we say, "then we are wandering about well(-behaved) all the time." 24. "Surely I got old already because I believe the talk of my own father." 25. Then he used to tell us myths in the evening when it was winter, (about) Coyote, (about) everything. 26. "Then go ye and bathe in the morning, when the Morning Star comes out; twice ye will dive in." 27. Then he says, "Good." 28. "Nothing will prick you; but if you will not bathe, then wood will prick you." 29. Surely, we used to bathe in the dark (before dawn); the water is very cold; we break the ice when we bathe; then (it is) good. 30. We do everything good all the time.

31. Then from there one Mexican came and arrived. 32. Then he says, "Would that your offspring would go watch over my pets (goats)." 33. "Good," says my father. 34. Then he took us; there we went and arrived at his house; and his pets (are) many. 35. Then we look after (them) every day and also we gather firewood in the evening when we arrive (at camp). 36. Then we used to run away when we were tired out; we come back toward our own house. 37. Then when we arrived, father used to scold us. 38. "Why did you come back?" he says. "(Because) we were tired." 40. Then he goes and puts us back again. 41. Presently we are coming back in the same way. 42. Then we do not go for a long time. 43. Then after a while the Mexican came and arrived. 44. "I already sold those, my own pets," he says; "and I left some," he says, "my present to your offspring," he says, "and ye come get (them)," he says. 45. "Good," says my father. 46. Then we went from there to go get (them). 47. Then we took (them) from there to here. 48. We brought (them) there (where) I used to look after (them). 49. Then from there we sold them.

50. Then from there I went to school. 51. Then I did not know the language of that teacher. 52. Then (there is) one Mexican; when I do not understand the language, then the Mexican tells me. 53. Then from there we went; then from school we went in the evening toward Weldon. 54. Then one man went and caught up to us there. 55. He is coming on horseback. 56. Then he talked to us, "Cold," he says. 57. Then we all say, "Cold!" too. 58. We do not understand what that means. 59. Then the man looks at us. 60. From there we came back in the evening toward our own house. 61. Then from there we are coming to school. 62. I went to school one year. 63. Then that teacher whipped me because I do not hear (i.e., understand) what she means. 64. She whipped me. 65. Then I got mad. 66. Then I tore my own book. 67. From there I went toward my own house. 68. Then from there I worked; I never went to school again.

426 Borrowing of clamshell money frequent in wintertime, "to pay for dry meat"; in summer "they didn't do that, because they had lots then, lots of seeds." No interest charged; borrower "just brought back whatever amount he had borrowed" (SM).

462 Division of labor.- Men and women both actively contributed to solving problem of basic subsistence, but along some lines of endeavor connected with subsistence there was well-established division of labor on sex basis. Men hunted, skinned their kill and packed home meat; speared fish, made corrals, and obtained salt. Women might help them in minor way during coralling of fish or at rabbit drives, but these essentially masculine enterprises. Women gathered vegetable foods, tobacco, prepared such for consumption; procured wood and water necessary for roasting, boiling various foods. They manufactured salt from salt grass and sweets from cane. Pounding of foodstuffs markedly woman's task and was frequently mentioned as hardest of her domestic occupations. On whole, men's duties usually called for expenditure of appreciable amount of vigorous, but sporadically applied exertion; women's tasks lighter, but lasted longer, more continuously pursued. Practically qualitative differences in physical capacities of men and women recognized by Tübatulabal, but this recognition remained largely unconscious, as myth given below shows. Also other factors, such as environmental considerations and age of men particularly, regulated matter of sexual division of labor; manner in which these several factors operated illustrated in customary activities of men, women when gathering piñons and acorns. At piñon harvest adult men and boys climbed trees to knock off cones, while women gathered cones from ground, prepared brush beds for roasting them and worked with men in taking nuts out of cones. Men [887] did some hunting at piñon grounds, as MM's autobiography shows (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227), but SM said few deer ranged to E where piñons abundant, so men did not occupy themselves with hunting much at this time, although old men might do some trapping. At acorn grounds, however, where deer came to feed on acorns and were plentiful, men hunted almost exclusively while women gathered acorns, which fell from trees and only needed to be picked up and dried (SM).

Another example of interplay of various factors which guided sex regulation of labor illustrated in tending and pruning of tobacco plants. [887] Ordinarily all this was done by women, but it was not unusual for old couples to work together pruning and harvesting plants (see Autobiography of FP); this part of tobacco process required greatest amount of physical activity. Rarely, if ever, though, did old man run counter to basic pattern and help his wife pound or "cook" tobacco.

Why hunting man's work, preparation of food

NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

Kawaiisu NS13 Chumash NS7

T 756 754 American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

T [426]

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawaiisu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz crystals used for making thunder showers in summer and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dewclaw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, although there were no clouds in the sky when he began" (FP).

756 789 821 791 C 821 789 [823 415] [276] K 821 789 791 T K

Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just made rain lots"; however, when women went to gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain now, because the white people won't pay him to do it" (FP).

821 789 791 T C

An interesting extension of rain doctor's activities as SM knew them from his Chumash stepfather, briefly described. At new moon, in month "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

824 821 789 791

[p. 64(6)]

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
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428 768 was, however, mainly burnt, destroyed, or given away at owner's death or at burning later. Quantity of property destroyed at burnings varied; in event all not destroyed, some of man's property might find its way into his brother's or sons' hands, some of woman's into her sister's or daughter's keeping; husband did not inherit any property from wife or vice versa. FP complained that after her husband's death, SM, her husband's brother, tried to get some of his brother's property; "that was the way they used to do; they'd take everything away from the widow."

428 556 768 If man left 3 sackfuls shell money at his death, son "might save out 2 of them from his father's burning and keep them" to help establish himself as a rich man; this was all right, "because that relation (deceased) would know the son was going to burn that money again later on" (i.e., when son himself died). Man's bow, arrows usually not burnt because "they were hard to make"; deceased woman's mortars, metate, mullers, sometimes necklace, some of her baskets might also be saved by her relatives.

221 484 Movements and trade.- From Feb. through middle of Aug., food-gathering activities kept Tübatulabal shifting about in family groups in lower altitudes (2000-4000 ft.), chiefly in lower and upper Sonoran life zones, in valleys, foothills, river canyons. From Aug. to middle of Nov., groups moved into higher altitudes (5000-6000 ft.), first E to piñon grounds on w. slopes of Sierra Nevadas in Transition zone, then W to acorn grounds in Greenhorn mts. in upper Sonoran zone; family groups or individuals might also go on trading trips after piñon harvest. During short winter season from middle of Nov. to Feb., family groups returned to valley-foothill region in lower and upper Sonoran zones and men did some hunting, fishing, and procured salt from desert, but at this season people "mainly stayed home, not doing anything" (SM) and lived in small hamlets (fig. 11).

487 484 Adults, in couples or small groups, also traveled quite a bit outside home area (SM); Powers, 1875, met a Palagewan at Tule R. reservation who had visited Hopi (Powers, 394). Desire to trade, to hunt, fish, or gather food in certain areas, to play games, obtain services of shaman among reasons mentioned for taking trips. To E, Tübatulabal went as far as Randsburg on Mohave desert; to S, SW to Tejon in Tehachapi mts. and to Chumash villages near Ventura on Pacific coast; to W as far as Tulare lake, in central San Joaquin valley. As girl FP had camped on desert (see Autobiography of FP); SM as boy of 9 had been to Tejon ranch and Ventura with his father; in going to Chumash villages near Ventura, route lay through Walker's basin to Caliente, thence to Yokuts village, Lapau, then to Tejon, thence via Comanche creek to 2 Chumash villages, makakak and alko·laupal, near Ventura. Trip took 2 days on foot to Tejon, 2 more days from Tejon to Ventura (SM). MM's narrative of trip from Tejon to Caliente confirms former part of this

756 Aesthetics). Other animals as wolf, lizard, hum-
825 mingbird, frog also helped witch in actual practice of craft (FP).

756 Although inheritance of shamanistic power in
428 family lines denied by SM, FP pointed out that among Tübatulabal all shamans for past 4 generations had belonged to one family; Jose Chico, Bill Viejo Chico, 2 brothers, both shamans; Jose's daughter, makiewint, was witch; 2 of Bill Viejo's daughters are witches.

754 Witchcraft.- All illness, insanity, caused by evilly disposed shamans; "if there had been no a·ʒowa·l, people would have lived forever" (SM). Instances of witchcraft legion; witches killed young children with their power, "if they wanted to give the parents hard luck"; often killed close relatives, parents, siblings' children, for what reason unascertained. Bill Viejo Chico announced at fiesta he was "going to kill all the children"; other instances witches boasting of power openly, threatening victims referred to. In 1933 witch held to have caused death of Tübatulabal woman's son so that mother of dead man would have to pay witch for having her face washed before she could eat meat.

Shaman practicing malevolent powers went out to mts. and talked to his animals; animals went to prospective victim, spoke to latter in dream; next morning victim would be sick, and illness would increase daily, because witch talking to animal every night, thus causing victim to "dream bad." Examples of bad dreams were: MM dreamt he was cow, pursued by bull. He climbed tree; while in tree he changed into human form, saw bull, also as human, at foot of tree. Then both changed again into animals; bull gored cow's leg. Immediately after having had this dream MM became very ill. If he had dreamt bull killed cow, he would have died. SM dreamt rattlesnake bit him; this dream also sent by witch. Several other examples of bad dreams recorded (see Autobiography of FP; Voegelin, 1935 b, 215). In general, to dream of Coyote portended misfortune; Coyote witch's helper par excellence, often sent to make persons ill. If one dreamt Coyote bit one, sickness followed. To dream of witch injecting pain in certain part of body caused that region to become affected. To dream of witch, even though witch did not send dream, enough to cause illness.

754 Witches might also send ghost of dead relative,
775 traveling in dust spout as among Miwok (Merriam, 1909, 433), to sicken person; "the whirlwind strikes one, enters one's head, and one dies" (SM); FP had this happen to her. Lights, which could be seen traveling fast at night, sometimes sent by witches to look for victim; MM, from home in foothills, some 25 yrs. ago, saw 2 lights racing over floor of valley; lights approached gate of rancheria, retreated. Capture of person's soul by witch one cause of insanity (SM). Air shot, such as used in shamans' contests, not used by witches to sicken victims.

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so
[487] every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; Legora's children used to go to school from there
[221] in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

● [428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

T Y 796 276

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

I Y [833]

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

T Y [285 431]

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
591 were married; my people were living up there, making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
● [432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomĭp was visiting
781 my grandmother at yĭtiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anaŋgayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomĭp, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

132. Then Tugayal said to Coyote, "It is enough already," he says. 133. Then Coyote believed him. 134. They came from there. 135. There it is ended. 539X

3. COYOTE AND BEAR

1. Many people are living, and also Coyote. 2. Then they are going hunting every morning. 3. Then Bear goes the other way; Bear behaves like that every morning and does not bring anything in the evening, and those people bring deer in the evening. 4. Then Coyote (says), "And where (does she go)? This Bear goes along doing nothing," says Coyote. "She brings nothing in the evening. I will observe you" (remarks the chief, Coyote, to himself).

5. Then they again went in the morning, those people. 6. Then Bear took leave. 7. Then Coyote stayed in his own house. "Ye go ahead," says Coyote (to the people). 8. Then Coyote went from there in the tracks of the Bear. 9. Bear went up the mountain. 10. Then from there again she went up another mountain. 11. Coyote is present, Coyote is coming on her tracks. 12. Again from there Bear went up a mountain. 13. Three mountains; from there she descended downward. 14. Then (there are) many trees. There Bear entered (the forest), there she slept.

15. Then Coyote is already coming close. 16. Then Coyote heard her; she is snoring. 17. "So there you are; you come (here) when you come to sleep," says Coyote. 18. Then Coyote sneaked straight ahead. She is snoring when Coyote arrives. 19. Then Coyote saw her; Bear is parting her thighs. Coyote closed his own mouth (with his hands because he is surprised) when he saw Bear parting her thighs. "Hmmm," says Coyote, "such a big one," says Coyote. 20. Then Coyote threw his own apron this way. 21. There Coyote copulated with her. 22. Then Coyote finished.

23. From there Coyote immediately went. 24. Then Bear woke up. 25. She saw the tracks of Coyote. "I will kill you; right away from there I go to the tracks of Coyote" (remarks the Bear to herself). 26. Coyote is running. 27. Already he crossed two mountains; already Bear is coming close. 28. "She will kill me, too," says Coyote. 29. Already he came close to his own house. 30. Then Bear is coming close. 31. Then Coyote entered in his own house. 32. And also Bear entered on his tracks. 33. Then Coyote went out in back. 34. Then Bear grabbed Coyote when he went out. 35. Then she pulled off his tenderloin. 36. From there Coyote ran away. 37. Then from there Bear went to her own house.

38. Then the people arrived in the evening. 39. There Coyote is sitting here and there in his own house. 40. Then from there Coyote took his own beads. 41. Then Coyote went there to one man. 42. Then Coyote threw (the beads to the man) when he arrived. 43. "I am buying one tenderloin of deer," says Coyote. 44. "Good," says the man. 45. Then he gave (Coyote) one tenderloin of deer. 46. Then Coyote took it toward his own house. 47. Then Coyote tried it on. 48. Then (it is) too long. 49. Then Coyote took it back off again. 50. Then Coyote bit the end (of the tenderloin). 51. Then he put it back on again. 52. Then (it is) a little too long yet. 53. Then again Coyote bit it. 54. Then he put it back on again. 55. Then it fitted well. 56. Then Coyote travels about all over. 57. It is ended there. 539X 432●

4. BAT AND HORSEFLY

1. Bat is living (with) Horsefly, the older brother of Bat, and also his wife, and his mother-in-law, and one little girl child. 2. So they are hunting every day. 3. Bat is killing deer. 4. Then they take leave and hunt again. 539X

5. Then Horsefly, being interrupted in going, saw the deer. 6. The (Horsefly) says to the Bat, "Right here the deer on that other side (of the canyon) is chewing his cud." 7. "Where?" the Bat is saying. "Tell (me) when I am lifted on your shoulder, (for) I do not see him," the Bat is saying. 8. Then (Bat) grabbed the cactus (and) rubbed his own eyes with the cactus. 9. Then Bat saw the deer. 10. "Good," Bat is saying, "sit down right here."

598. From there we took leave. 599. We went and arrived there at Independence (where the man was jailed). 600. Then from there we asked that sheriff. 601. "Is it rightly said that the prisoner is living here?" we are saying. 602. Then that sheriff is saying, "Yes." 603. Then Chogil spoke, "We are wanting to talk to him," he is saying. 604. Then, "Good," he is saying. 605. Then we went inside. 606. We saw that prisoner there. 607. "Hello, hello," he is saying to Yukaya, "and who is this?" he is saying. 608. "It is my friend," I am saying. 609. "Good," he is saying. 610. "We are coming to see (you)," I am saying. 611. "But I am already judged," he is saying, "I am given six months," he is saying. 612. Then I told Chogil. 613. Then Chogil spoke, "Good," he is saying, "let me ask this sheriff." 614. Then Chogil asked. 615. Then the sheriff spoke, "He can't get out now," he is saying, "he is given six months," that sheriff is saying. 616. Then Chogil is saying, "Good." 539 X 159

617. Then we took leave from there. 618. We went and arrived there at Bishop, there at the house of my friend. 619. Then, "Hello," my friend is saying when (we) are arriving, "and who is (this)?" he is saying to Chogil. 620. "It is my friend," I am saying. 621. "And is (this) his wife?" he is saying. 622. "Yes," I am saying when he is speaking. 623. Then that man took Chogil and also his *wife* in his hand. 624. "You come in," he is saying to us. 625. We stayed there at his house for two days.

626. From there we came back again. 627. We came and arrived here, back again. 628. Then also, when arriving here, we worked again. 629. Then from there Chogil spoke, "Pretty soon I go back to my own house," he is saying. 630. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 631. Then from there he takes leave. 632. Chogil (and his wife), they go back toward their own house. 633. Then Chogil spoke when taking leave, "I shall come again," he is saying, "in another summer," he is saying, "then also we shall work," he is saying. 634. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 635. Then from there they took leave.

636. Then when Chogil had finished taking leave, I cut firewood all winter. 637. Then from there I finished my own cutting. 638. Then one man wrote to us. 639. Then, "You come to the dance," he is saying, "we shall make a dance," he is saying, "at Christmas." 640. Then when writing to him, "Good," we are saying. 641. Then from there we took leave. 642. We went and arrived there at Tejon; (it was) already very late. 643. (There are) many people when we arrived, many girls. 644. Right away we danced all night. 645. We came from there in the morning. 646. Then our machine became bad. 647. Then we approached the river (at the bottom of Kern Canyon). 648. Then we are coming and ascending the steep place. 649. Then our machine stopped. 650. Then from there it ran backward. 651. Then it hit the rock there. 652. Then it turned over. 653. Then I jumped out on the ground. 654. Then, while jumping, I lifted Mickey out. 655. Then those two men, our partners, they came and fell down. 656. Our machine is lying there. 657. Then from there we put it up back again. 658. Then (it is) well; nothing (is) bad; pretty soon that windshield broke apart. 659. Then it ran again. 660. From there, also, we came. 661. Then we arrived at our own houses. 662. Then we stayed at home. 539 X 159 [313]

663. Then from there we went toward Walker pass to gather pine nuts when they got ripe. 664. We are gathering pine nuts there. 665. Many people came and arrived there. 666. Then, sure enough, my wife came and arrived there. 667. "So, you are gathering pine nuts here?" she is saying. 668. "Yes," I am saying when she is speaking. 669. Then she stayed there with me. 670. From there we are all gathering pine nuts. 671. Then, having finished gathering pine nuts, we came from there toward my house. 672. We stayed there a while. 539 X 159 222

673. From there we went toward Tule. 674. "Let us go sell pine nuts." 675. Then we took leave. 676. We took six bags, and also tobacco. 677. Then we went and arrived there at Tule. 678. Then we saw many people. 679. Then they are saying to us, "What are you bringing?" 680. "Pine nuts," we are saying. 681. "That is good food," they are saying, "but our money (is) nothing," they are saying. 682. Then they bought a little. 683. "The money (is) gone," they are saying. 684. Then from there we went toward Visalia. 685. We 539 X 159 432 ●

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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went and arrived there in the evening. 686. Then from there the next day we went toward the living-place of the Indians; it is the same—their money is gone. 687. (There are) many girls. 688. Then I presented them some pine nuts. 689. "Good, good," they are saying. 690. They are laughing. 691. "You (are) a good man," (they) are saying. 692. From there also we went toward Fresno. 693. We went and arrived there. 694. From there, also, we went in the morning toward the Indians. 695. (There are) many Indians. 696. There also we sold a little bit. 697. Then one old woman bought tobacco. 698. From there we went toward Northfork (a northern affluent of the San Joaquin River) far away in the mountains. 699. We went there in the big mountains. 700. The very steep road has meanness. 701. Then my father is afraid. 702. There we went and arrived at Northfork. 703. We slept there. 704. Then from there we went the next day toward the house. 705. The money (is) gone. 706. Then they bought a little. 707. We stayed there three days. 708. Then, coming to buy pine nuts, those people are arriving. 709. Many women are coming, coming to buy pine nuts. 710. Then, "You go later on in future, many people will come later on," (the women) are saying. 711. "No," we are saying, "we shall go (now)." 712. "No," those women are saying, "stay a while longer," they are saying.

713. Then from there the next day we came back again toward our own house. 714. We had already been gone a long time. 715. We arrived at our own house. 716. Then from there my wife went toward her own house. 717. Then after that I stayed at home; we stayed at home (i.e., Mickey and Yukaya, who are inseparable).

249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bottomless form, similar to those used in making [177] adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop 435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; [438 constituted, both in aboriginal times and to some ex-439] tent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 299).

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tüba-
487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštĭh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštĭh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hĭštĭh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštĭh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštĭh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštĭh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

J 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PW denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 ●436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to

[262] eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibY·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

237 cular mat (ši·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 [42] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·ɣul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tübatulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.
487 Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also give indications of groups with whom there has been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).
582
648

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and
422 in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

● 436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·ngil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštɨh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštɨh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·ngil = 1 cent, hĭštɨh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštɨh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštɨh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštɨh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would T Y 517 dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

● T Y ● 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

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[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

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487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

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249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bot-
[177] tomless form, similar to those used in making adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop
435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls
● [438 and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; consti-
439] tuted, both in aboriginal times and to some extent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

[p. 37(a)]

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yYtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[769] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
[285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
● 438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 591 [252] go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

of tanned buckskin with lacing like that on skirts at top of shoulders and from armholes down sides, and with 10 to 12-in. laced slit in front from neck downward, worn against cold (FP).

Bearskin robes with hair left on may have been worn occasionally, but were "too heavy" (SM). Feather, squirrelskin capes never made; sea-otter capes not obtained in trade though SM had seen them worn by Chumash at Ventura.

Shamans engaged in curing, competitive contests, and dancers wore skirts (wi·la·t) made same style as Owens Valley Paiute, Koso skirts (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7d; Kroeber, Handbook, 508, pl. 42a). Some dancers also wore bands of yellowhammer feathers around waist (FP).

Men when hunting in winter kept fingers warm, limber by putting them inside wildcatskin quiver, which had hair left on inside and was worn slung across chest.

Headgear and footwear.- Men went hatless; women wore coiled basketry cap (pongat) when using pack strap for carrying loads, but not habitually; these caps round at top, came down nearly to eyebrows. Hair nets not used. Men rarely seen now outdoors without hat; women wear them less frequently; FP habitually wore black cloth stocking cap resembling basket cap in shape. Some 60 years ago FP's aunt (Koso) made coiled hats of same material used for basketry cap, but patterned hats like "store hats"; sold these to several Tübatulabal men who wore them "all the time" (FP, SM).

Shamans and dancers wore feather headdress consisting of fillet (še·mapun) of eagle down, and crown (anambul) of magpie (?) feathers, similar to Owens Valley Paiute dancer's headdress (Steward, 1933, 347, pl. 7a, b).

Moccasins (wahcibi·l), made from tanned buckskin taken from neck region of deer "where the hide is thick" (SM); made to extend well above ankle (fig. 3). FP in cutting out model in cloth

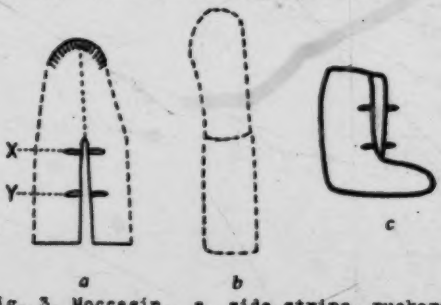

Fig. 3. Moccasin. a, side strips, puckered at toe ends; thongs at x and y; seams occur along dotted lines. b (upper half), sole, (lower half), back strip. c, completed moccasin.

(Mus. cat. no. 1-28226) first cut out sole, then sewed straight piece of cloth 6 in. long, 3 1/2 in. wide onto back section of sole and then 2 straight pieces 12 in. long, 4 in. wide on sides and front of sole, puckering 2 pieces at toe end.

[p. 22 (b)]

302 [765] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. [824] [388] (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit [515] of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ïihabï·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair [296] every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for several days. At dances women put loose eagle [301] down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wïŋït) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native [413] string to form flat, narrow brush. This hairbrush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, [177] long shell cylinders (hobo'apïn) made from columnella of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (nangawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibï·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga´t);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·num) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 58) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bottomless form, similar to those used in making [177] adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop 435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls [438 and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; constituted, both in aboriginal times and to some ex- ● 439] tent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 299).

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tüba-
487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

● 439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
431 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštɬh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).

435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštɬh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hĭštɬh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštɬh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštɬh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštɬh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

105 peculiar to it; the period of greatest leisure was encompassed by the winter months. This was the time when the day's work was short, and of no great moment, when stored acorns and piñons, dried fish and flesh, were relied on for food, when long nights could be whiled away in story telling and making ingenious string figures that represented such well-known mythological characters as Hawk flying, or Bear in a house.

During the heat of summer both clothing and housing were at a minimum among the Tübatulabal. Men often went naked; in colder weather men and women wore knee-length double aprons made of tanned deerskin, crude leather shirts, and rabbitskin blankets draped over their shoulders. Women were tattooed slightly, and sometimes applied red paint to their faces as a bleach to lighten the skin. Both sexes ordinarily went hatless; when traveling they wore clumsy fitting moccasins, but mainly went about barefoot. Rawhide sandals were used, but only for a special purpose; men wore them when tending the crackling brush fires on which piñon cones were piled in order to force open the scales of the cones. During the summertime a willow roof, supported by four crotched poles and usually lacking side walls, served as the principal form of shelter. On piñon expeditions several families camped together, sleeping inside a circular brush enclosure, such as was also often used for dances. Hunters often utilized dry cavern-like recesses between two huge boulders for a night's lodging in the mountains. What care the Tübatulabal gave to house building was mainly expended on the domed tule- and brush-covered houses they occu-
105 pied during the winters. When such a house was
●462 to be built, the man of the family obtained the willow poles and set them up in the form of a circular framework; his wife and children collected the tules to cover this framework. Such a division of labor was typical for the Tübatulabal. Men performed the more strenuous, but often irregularly recurrent tasks; women's labor involved a daily routine of duties that were time-consuming, but less strenuous than those of the men. It was always a man's work to handle the bow, woman's to make use of the pit mortar in which acorns and seeds were pounded. This matter was decided long ago, in a contest held during the mythical age, when all the birds and animals were human in form and lived as human beings do now. The humorous series of events that led to the contest arranged by Coyote which set this precedent for the division of labor are narrated in a well-integrated myth given in full in the following monograph. This myth is known at present only for the Tübatulabal, but variants of it will doubtless be found to occur in the mythologies of neighboring tribes when these mythologies become better known.

Besides her work connected with gathering and preparing plant foods it was also woman's task to weave the several varieties of twined and

105 462 coiled baskets that she used as implements and food containers, and to fashion the few pots used in cooking. Her basketry work was often as fine and well-executed as her pottery was coarse and crude. Some women even went so far as to play with their technique in basketry making, and fashioned coiled jars out of long strands of strung piñons, while camping at the piñon grounds. These "piñon jars" were made in a coil technique, and were similar in shape to the small-mouthed, round-shouldered display type of jar that the Tübatulabal used to keep their clamshell disk currency in. After being made, a piñon jar was filled with loose nuts and brought home from the piñon grounds; eventually it and its contents were shelled and eaten.

105 That the Tübatulabal, in common with a few Yokuts groups, the Western Mono, and the Owens Valley Paiute, had pottery at all is somewhat of an anomaly; as a usual thing people engaged in a seminomadic, hunting-gathering type of culture lack pottery, or if they make it, have obviously borrowed the trait from near-by groups having a more complex culture. Concerning the crude gray-black unpainted ware made by Tübatulabal women, one guess about its origin might be that pottery making was a trait borrowed by the Tübatulabal from certain southern Californian groups with which the Tübatulabal have had trade contacts since early historic times at least. This facile explanation with its "common-sense" basis falls wide of the mark, however; investigation of the problem analytically soon establishes the fact that Tübatulabal pottery differs markedly from that of southern California. That the pottery-making complex as practiced by the Tübatulabal probably derived ultimately from the Southwest was suggested several years ago by Dr. Gayton;[7] a recent study of the distribution of the practice of molding and baking clay artifacts in western North America made by Heizer offers convincing evidence in support of Dr. Gayton's assumption. From northern Arizona to central [171] California there is an almost unbroken line of continuous distribution of true pottery ware;[7a] this shows whence Tübatulabal pottery derived.

The trips the Tübatulabal made beyond the borders of their own area led them, in early historic times at least, to points a hundred miles or more west and southwestward, and somewhat shorter distances north and eastward. Men and women went on such trips, afoot, in couples or in small groups, to trade and obtain certain natural resources they had need of, that their own area lacked. Being mainly at peace with their immediate neighbors, the Tübatulabal were able to pass through alien territory with a minimum of risk from sudden attacks. By a system of silent trade they exchanged the piñons, balls of prepared tobacco, and other commodities they had brought with them, for lengths of white clamshell disks which passed as currency among all

[7]Gayton, 1929, 250. [7a]Heizer, 44.

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893,
241 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in
511 extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cow-
[463] boys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of
● [462 garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens,
231] geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the
[222] nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell,
177 cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

[p. 10(b)]

226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] [227] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·ăt) 7-8 ft. long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth [321] water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks (wele·haništ) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrapping of native twine which was given coating of [283] asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (tï·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 476 417 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt upon one method of communal fishing, although it is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to corral, beat water with long willow poles so that [462] all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

824 (Gray) Greene; Lycum cooperi Gray; Marrubium
137 vulgare L.; Malacothrix californica DC.; Melilotus indica All.; Mimulus gluttatus D.C., M. cardinalis Dougl.; Mirabilis laevis (Benth.) Curran; Montia perfoliata (Donn) Howell; Nama demissum Gray; Oenothera alyssoides and O. alyssoides T. & G. var. decorticans Jepson, O. bistorta Nutt., O. caespitosa Nutt., O. contorta Dougl., O. pallida Lindl., O. palmeri Watson, O. scapoidea T. & G.; Pallaea and romedaefolia Fee; Penstemon laetus Gray, P. palmeri Gray, P. breviflorus Lindl.; Phacelia tanecilifolia Benth., P. hispica Gray var. cicutaria McB.; Platystemon californicum Benth.; Polygonum persicaria L.; Ranunculus aquatilis L.R. var. cymbalaria Pursh.; Rumex crispus L., R. hymenosepalus Torrey; Senecio douglasii DC.; Sidalcea malvaeflora Gray; Sisymbrium incisum Engelm.; Sphaeralcea (Malvastrum) exile (Gray) Jepson; Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC.) Rydb.; Stephanomeria exigua Nutt. var. pentachaeta Hall, S. virgata Benth.; Tropidocarpum gracile Hook.; Vaccaria vulgaris Host.

This list probably represents only small fraction of indigenous plants available to Tübatulabal, of which they made no use; it serves to illustrate, in concrete fashion, selective processes at work, among people of hunting-gathering culture, in their utilization of their floral environment, and negative rôle which part of that environment played in their culture.

Plants put to other ethnobotanical uses, for curing, house building, etc., referred to in discussions of these subjects.

222 Gathering of plant food.- When acorns ripe,
● [462] "all the people except very old persons and young children went together to get them" (SM); women chiefly collected them while men hunted, trapped.
251 Acorns gathered from ground in small conical baskets, transferred when baskets full to large basket, in which they were brought back to camp and spread out on deerskins, tule mats for 3-4 days to dry, this preventing acorns from sweating when cached; then stored at acorn grounds, in elevated caches. Acorns gathered near home packed back to hamlets, cached near houses.

222 When berries ripe on shrub (opo·bol), Rhamnus
824 californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, which grows in foothill floral area, "the people knew piñons were ready to be gathered in the mts. So some men went out first to see where the piñons were good; just any men went; they decided, and then everybody went to the places where these men said the nuts were plentiful" (SM). All inhabitants of
[887] hamlet or of several hamlets went together; sometimes very old persons might not stay at piñon camp when weather became too cold, but return to hamlet alone. Piñons gathered when cones reached maturity, but before they had opened; men, boys knocked cones off trees with staves or pulled down branches with "shepherd's crook" staff; men, women picked up cones, put them in conical lug baskets which were emptied into larger conical

824 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when
222 sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on
824 this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time to determine whether heat from burning brush had
222 caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time
251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted
●462 from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down
252 sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand,
[262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on
264] stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which berries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-5 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

411 bow was 68 in., width at grip 1 3/4 in., at tips
[176] 3/4-in. SM denied that Tübatulabal formerly ever bowed in grip; FC very probably had introduced this feature.

Boys used small plain willow bows and willow
● [462] arrows "before they began regular hunting" (SM). Bows, arrows made by men only.

Arrows.- War arrows (pa·hal) were 34-36 in. long, with wooden foreshaft (wawpit), some 8 in. long, made from hard wood set into cane mainshaft made from stalks of cane (paha·bĭ·l), same variety as that from which women obtained sweets (p. 19). Mainshafts also sometimes made from wood. Cane mainshaft (u·gat) straightened by being gently rolled at joints in round groove and over shallow incisions of heated stone arrow straightener (u·gišt). Mainshaft notched at upper end for insertion of bowstring; foreshaft split at end for insertion of arrowhead. War arrows had 3 vanes, square-trimmed, 1 in. wide, set on spirally and attached at each end with sinew; "if only 2 feathers were put on, the arrow didn't shoot straight, it went sideways" (SM). FC's arrows nevertheless had 2 vanes, set on spirally. Feathers from eagles, crows, owls,
[324] 3 varieties of hawks among those used. Arrowheads (kĭyi·l) were flaked from obsidian (tu·gu··pĭl tĭnt, black rock), obtained near Mt. Whitney (SM); from bluish gray rock procured in mts. (SM), at Koso (FP); from a red rock (flint?) obtained near Tejon or on Mohave desert. Stone "cooked" first in fire, then broken into small
[412] pieces (FP). Deer-bone awl used to flake arrowheads; palm of left hand protected with piece of buckskin. Heads varishaped (fig. 7), "because some men liked this kind, some that" (ES), but all heads shouldered. Beautifully shaped head (fig. 7), 3 1/4 in. long, 1 in. wide at top, found by FC on old battlefield on Nichols peak, in s. border of TÜbatulabal area; SM said this
[317] probably head for war arrow, as heads for such often 6 in. long(!). Asphalt (tu·šanat) used to set heads into foreshaft; no mention made of sinew lashings. Poison (pohil), source of which was unknown to informants, said to have been used on both war, hunting arrowheads (MM); only on hunting arrowheads (SM).

Hunting arrows (šu·mu·na·l), for use on large game, similar to war arrows save that they were 48 in. long, with 9-in. wooden foreshaft and were often tipped with smaller, black obsidian heads which were inserted rather loosely into foreshaft so that shaft fell out after animal was shot, leaving head firmly embedded; or if shaft did not fall out, it could be pulled out easily, head then cut out with stone knife.

Arrows of foregoing type used with sinew-backed bow; with willow bow cane arrows (šu·mu··na·l), 40 in. long, 2-3-vaned, tipped with wooden foreshaft, point of which had been sharpened by rubbing on rough rock, used to shoot rabbits, etc. For birds, shorter cane arrows with pointed

415 which was used later to pack back deer; if going to war, man carried quiver slung over left shoulder and tied under right arm with twine.

411 Arrow release.- Man shot either standing or kneeling; if kneeling, weight rested on left knee, which touched ground; squatting position (Kroeber, Handbook, 822, pl. 78) never assumed for shooting (SM). When standing man held bow perpendicularly; if kneeling, horizontally; primary release used in both positions (SM).

Spear.- Although SM denied spears used in warfare, MM, FP both said they were, the spear (ku·yi·l, FP) being a 4-ft. shaft of any sort of hard wood, tipped on end with an obsidian head some 10-12 in. long (MM). This head was "sharp on both edges" (FP); what may have served as spear heads are shown in outline (fig. 7f-h), although SM when shown the red flint originals, from the collection of Miss Shirley Andress, said they were unfinished arrowheads.

TOOLS

412 Knife.- Knives (pigat) used for skinning large
324 game, etc., flaked from obsidian or red quartz;
18 in. (?) long, unhafted, similar in shape to
[171] Owens Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3i). General utility knife (same term), used for cutting buckskin, shaping bow, etc., consisted of flaked obsidian blade about .5 in. long, set in wooden handle; similar to Owens
[171 Valley Paiute knife (Steward, 1933, 261, fig. 3j),
317] except that Tübatulabal set blade in handle with asphalt, did not lash it with sinew. Hafted knives aboriginal (SM).

Adz, wedge, maul.- Informants could give no information on adz, wedge, or maul; presumably these lacking. SM did not know whether trees ever felled, and if so, how; stone axe apparently lacking. Holes in wooden mortars made by burning out wood; stone mortars chipped out; "the gray stone was soft" (SM).

412 Scraper.- Entire lower leg bone of deer used as scraper (iši·bišt) to dehair skins.

Awl.- In sewing moccasins, sacks, quivers, etc., and in flaking arrowheads, knife blades,
[171] an awl (niŋa'adol) similar to Miwok awl (Kroeber,
Handbook, 806, fig. 67h) used; this awl about
[317] 4 in. long, made from leg bone of deer topped with lump of asphalt; when used, strip of buck-
[462] skin (ma·pu·ništ) wound around palm of right hand; this awl essentially man's tool.

Women used smaller awl (wiŋabït), shaped like man's awl, but made from spine of barrel cactus (kïče'apïl) surmounted with small lump of asphalt, when making coiled baskets.

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener
[171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near
324 Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802,4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
●462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from
177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibi·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·nun) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed by shamans in shooting contests.

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 16a, b).

Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wĭnapĭ·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šĭ·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šĭ·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

[177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could [462] manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·gul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

426 Borrowing of clamshell money frequent in wintertime, "to pay for dry meat"; in summer "they didn't do that, because they had lots then, lots of seeds." No interest charged; borrower "just brought back whatever amount he had borrowed" (SM).

462 Division of labor.- Men and women both actively contributed to solving problem of basic subsistence, but along some lines of endeavor connected with subsistence there was well-established division of labor on sex basis. Men hunted, skinned their kill and packed home meat; speared fish, made corrals, and obtained salt. Women might help them in minor way during coralling of fish or at rabbit drives, but these essentially masculine enterprises. Women gathered vegetable foods, tobacco, prepared such for consumption; procured wood and water necessary for roasting, boiling various foods. They manufactured salt from salt grass and sweets from cane. Pounding of foodstuffs markedly woman's task and was frequently mentioned as hardest of her domestic occupations. On whole, men's duties usually called for expenditure of appreciable amount of vigorous, but sporadically applied exertion; women's tasks lighter, but lasted longer, more continuously pursued. Practically qualitative differences in physical capacities of men and women recognized by Tübatulabal, but this recognition remained largely unconscious, as myth given below shows. Also other factors, such as environmental considerations and age of men particularly, regulated matter of sexual division of labor; manner in which these several factors operated illustrated in customary activities of men, women when gathering piñons and acorns. At piñon harvest adult men and boys climbed trees to knock off cones, while women gathered cones from ground, prepared brush bed for roasting them and worked with men in taking nuts out of cones. Men [887] did some hunting at piñon grounds, as MM's autobiography shows (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227), but SM said few deer ranged to E where piñons abundant, so men did not occupy themselves with hunting much at this time, although old men might do some trapping. At acorn grounds, however, where deer came to feed on acorns and were plentiful, men hunted almost exclusively while women gathered acorns, which fell from trees and only needed to be picked up and dried (SM).

Another example of interplay of various factors which guided sex regulation of labor illus- [887] trated in tending and pruning of tobacco plants. Ordinarily all this was done by women, but it was not unusual for old couples to work together pruning and harvesting plants (see Autobiography of FP); this part of tobacco process required greatest amount of physical activity. Rarely, if ever, though, did old man run counter to basic pattern and help his wife pound or "cook" tobacco.

Why hunting man's work, preparation of food

462 Why hunting man's work, preparation of food
773 woman's, rationalized in Coyote myth, recorded in English from MM; shorter variant was given in Tübatulabal by SM (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). This myth, told in answer to query whether women ever hunted, may have wide distribution, but so far no parallels to it have been recorded among Californian or Great Basin tribes, although Dr. A. H. Gayton tells me that she has found mention that sexes were originally separated, in mythology of Navaho, Yana, Miwok, and Assiniboine. The myth is as follows:

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539 Myth of Contest to Determine Division of Labor

Before Indians lived on this earth, there were many different kinds of animals and birds living here; Chicken Hawk, Sparrow Hawk, Mt. Lion, Bear, Coyote, Eagle. Eagle was the chief. And all of these were men; there were no women, it is said.

These men hunted rabbits every day; but Coyote stayed home every time they went hunting, and hauled wood for his companions. He brought wood to each man's camp; that's all Coyote did all the time.

And when the men were tired of hunting rabbits, they hunted deer for a change. The next day, when all of them went to hunt deer, they went farther off than when they hunted rabbits; they went away up in the mts.

Up on the mts. the hunters saw smoke rising from a peak, opposite where they were standing. They said, "Perhaps somebody is living over there; perhaps there are people there." One hunter said, "I think we should tell Coyote about this, when we get home tonight." That's what he said.

In the evening the men returned home; every one of them had a deer. And Coyote had the firewood piled up at each man's camp. Each man cut a little piece of meat and gave the meat to Coyote; every man did this. Coyote ate that meat for his supper. After supper the men told Coyote, "We saw smoke from the top of that mt.; we saw it across on another mt., a long way off." And Coyote said, "Perhaps there is somebody living over there; let's send somebody over there tomorrow, to find out."

So the men chose one man to go, Road Runner (the chaparral cock). They said, "This fellow, Road Runner, can travel fast." Next morning Road Runner started, after breakfast; the rest of the men went off to hunt again. But Coyote stayed home to haul wood for the camps.

Road Runner went way up on the mt.; and as he went he saw a lizard running close beside him. Road Runner got close to Lizard; he grabbed Lizard and swallowed him. Perhaps Lizard was Road Runner's "life" and that was why Road Runner swallowed him.

Over on the mt. where Road Runner was going there were many women-creatures; lots of women, Eagle-Woman, Coyote-Woman, Mt. Lion-Woman, and

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many others. And all those women were sitting around a big pit mortar bed that had lots of mortar holes in it; lots of women were sitting down there pounding piñons. There were no men, only women there. Suddenly one woman said, "Oh! The edge of my vagina is pulsating." All the women laughed; soon another woman said, "Oh! mine is too." Then one of the women said, "Maybe somebody is coming; perhaps a man is coming." And all the women said, "Perhaps." Then one of those women looked and saw a man coming. She said, "You see; I told you. Somebody is coming, coming from over there now."

Road Runner saw those women sitting down there at the pit mortar, all of them. So he went down there; he said, "Hello."

"Hello," said all the women; and they asked him what he was doing up there in the mountains.

Road Runner said, "My companions saw your smoke yesterday, from across on that mt. And they told me to come here and find out whether people were living here. All of them are men over there," Road Runner said.

"And here there are no men," the women told Road Runner; "here all are women."

Soon all the women got up; they called to Road Runner, "Come on; come on down to our house," they said, and Road Runner went with them. When they arrived at their house they told Road Runner, "Come in."

They selected a cooking basket and they mixed ground chia seeds with water in the basket, until the basket was almost full, and then they gave the chia gruel to Road Runner to eat. Also they gave him a piece of deermeat.

Road Runner drank the chia; he drank it all, and when he was through eating he sat down for awhile. After awhile the chia made him sick; he felt like vomiting, and he vomited; he vomited lizard and the chia. Lizard chased all those women; they got up and ran when he chased them. "What kind of food does this man eat?" they said. Lizard was alive.

Then Road Runner recovered and those women returned after he recovered. Mountain Lion-Woman went into the house and brought out chia seeds, tied up in a little bag. She said to Road Runner,

"When you get home give this to Mt. Lion."

Road Runner replied, "All right."

And another woman, Chicken Hawk-Woman, came out of the house with the same thing, a little bag, with acorns in it. She gave the bag to Road Runner. "When you get home you give this to Chicken Hawk," she said. Road Runner said, "All right."

Each of the women gave a little bag of food to Road Runner for each man over there at the camp. Road Runner told each one, "All right." The last woman to come was a big fat woman; she too had a little bag of seeds, and she said to Road Runner, "You give this to Coyote."

Then the women said, "In 3 days we will come over to your camp; 3 days from now we will all

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come over." Road Runner replied, "All right." Then he returned home; he had a large load to pack home.

Over at the hunters' camp Coyote kept watching all the time for Road Runner; Coyote was in a hurry, he wanted to spy Road Runner first. Every little while Coyote went up on a hill and looked to see whether Road Runner was coming. Then in the evening he saw Road Runner returning. Coyote went to meet him; he wanted to learn what Road Runner had discovered over there.

Coyote said to Road Runner, "Did you find out about things over there?" And Road Runner replied, "Oh, you'd better wait; you don't want to be told now; you wait." But Coyote came alongside of Road Runner and whispered,

"Hurry up! You'd better tell me!"

Road Runner said, "Wait until all our companions come home. Then you will find out," he said.

Soon the hunters returned to camp, in the evening. After supper they all gathered together; they were going to learn what Road Runner had discovered, now.

Road Runner said, "There are all women over there where I went; lots of women. Each woman gave me a little bag," he said, "and they told me to give each one of you a bag," Road Runner explained. Then he gave each hunter what a woman had sent by him. He told the hunters, "These women said they were going to come over here in 3 days."

"Good, good, good!" said Coyote.

In 3 days' time the women came. Each woman had a pack; one woman had acorns, one chia, one piñons -- all the different sorts of seeds to eat. And each woman had a bow and arrows; all of them had arrows, all those women. Road Runner went to meet the women; he went to tell each woman where each man's camp was situated. He said, "There's Mt. Lion's house over there; Mt. Lion lives over there." So Mt. Lion-Woman went over to Mt. Lion's house.

"There's Chicken Hawk's house over there; that's Chicken Hawk's house," said Road Runner. Chicken Hawk-Woman went over to Chicken Hawk's house.

Each of the women went to the house of the man who was of her own kind, as Road Runner directed. At last only one woman was left; oh!, a big woman; she came to Road Runner and he said, "There's Coyote's house, way over there." So the big, fat woman went to Coyote's house.

The next day all the men went hunting and all the women went to grind acorns and chia. The hunters returned in the evening; the women had everything cooked and ready for them when the hunters came home for supper.

The following day the women told the men, "We are going to go hunting now; you men go and grind some acorns."

When the women returned in the evening, each one of them had a deer; every one of the women

[p. 54 (a)]

462 773 539 had a deer. Some of the men had finished their work and had come home before the women returned, but some of the men were still over by the pit mortar, cooking acorns; they didn't know very much about cooking acorns, those men.

At sundown, Coyote had not returned home; he was still up at the pit mortar, leaching acorn meal. Coyote felt aggrieved; he was angry, too. When sundown came and Coyote had not yet come home, Coyote-Woman went over to the pit mortar to help him. Finally Coyote and his wife finished leaching the acorns, and returned home too.

Next day all the men went up on the hills to hunt, and all the women went to the pit mortars to grind acorns and seeds. All the men went to hunt deer and this time Coyote went, too. He didn't haul any more wood; he went hunting. When the men had gotten far up on the mt., Coyote said, "You men wait. We're going to talk about those women." So the men stopped.

"Those women have bows and arrows and they hunt; they send us over to the pit mortars to grind acorns," Coyote said. "That's not right. I think women better handle the mortar and pestle," Coyote said. "That's just right for them; that's a woman's job, not a man's," Coyote said. "Tomorrow we're going to talk it over; we will have a big talk. We are going to shoot at a target. If those women win, then they can handle the arrow. If we win, then we can keep on hunting and handle the arrow, and the women will handle the pestle, all the time."

Everyone said, "All right. We'll do that."

When they returned home in the evening, after supper Coyote called to everyone to gather together; he told all the men and women to assemble, and then he said, "We are going to have a big talk here. Tomorrow we are going to shoot at a target; if you women win then you can handle the arrows, and we men will handle the pestle and grind acorns. But the way it is now, you women going hunting and we men grinding acorns - that's not right. That's women's work," Coyote said. "Tomorrow morning I am going to set up a target; we will shoot at it."

The women said, "All right."

That night Coyote couldn't sleep. At midnight he got up; he went way up on top of the mt. and built a fire. Then he returned home, and when he came back he said, "You people get up now; the morning star is up; get up now, hurry!"

Road Runner got up; he looked and said, "Oh, that's not the morning star over there; that's a fire you built up there on top of the mt., you devil," Road Runner told Coyote.

Coyote called out again, "Hurry up!" But everyone went back to sleep again. When daylight really came everyone got up; after breakfast Coyote set up a target, and then he called out, "Everybody line up to shoot. Get ready!"

One of the women, Mt. Lion-Woman, was a good shot; she was pretty hard to beat shooting.

Each couple lined up in a double column; each

●462 773 539 woman was standing beside her mate, and each pair were going to shoot together, both at the same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart, over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 527 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a big time" for his induction; "everybody came; they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to all the people; he told them to put their money down to give to people who were sick or poor, and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP). New chief bore part of expenses for this feast; people present also contributed money and food; no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, as-
[702] sembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his
[728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief him-
[754 self did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sick-
627] ness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among
[171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to
578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely
576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his
[525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people;
[574] "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported
462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tübatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, košumye-he-hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kmni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, 624 office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing [838 from father to son; women, transvestites never 462] clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the-big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served 624 more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka-wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ku-dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all 761 deaths except those incurred during war believed 756 to have been caused either by witchcraft or 627 poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. [579 Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred 177] in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recov-
[262] ered from effect of taking drug, and could by then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

7. YIHAWAL STEALS GIRL

1. (This is) not a myth. People, the pioneers, (had already) come here. 2. Once a man and also his wife are living, and also her child, a little girl, and also her mother-in-law. 3. Then the man goes and hunts, and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns. 4. Then her child is crying all the time when her mother goes pounding.

5. Then also in the evening the little girl cries. 6. Then her mother left her. "Right here take her and go away, Yihawal," (the mother) says. 7. From there her mother went toward the house. 8. She went and arrived at her own house. 9. Then her mother-in-law asks, "Where is the little girl?" 10. Then from there her mother went and ran back again.

11. The little girl is not there. 12. Yihawal took her here and went away. 13. Back again (the mother) came and ran toward the house. "Nothing there," she says. 14. From there, then, they both went. 15. There they met the man. 16. "What is it you are looking for?" (he asks). 17. "I left the little girl here," her mother says; "perhaps Yihawal has already taken her here and gone away."

18. Yihawal took her to his own house. 19. Then Yihawal hunts every day. 20. He brings many mountain quail in the evening. 21. Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits, and also he stirs chia seed in the cooking-basket. 22. Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket. 23. That woman eats (the contents of the cooking-basket). 24. He fixes her blankets for her. 25. He blankets that (woman). 26. His blankets (are) good ones. 27. He strung (them of) the skin of the mountain quail.

28. Then Yihawal said, "Already your relatives begin to make fiesta. Better let me take you there." 29. Then from there he took her. 30. He put her there, close to the house. 31. "Don't you tell (how you were brought up)," he says, "for three days," he says. 32. Then, "Good," says the woman.

33. From there he went to his own house. 34. Then she went and arrived outside her own house. 35. She hears the crying (of the fiesta). 36. Then her mother came out there outside (the house) (and) saw there that woman while she stands there. 37. Then (the mother) went toward her. 38. "Who are you?" she says. 39. "I stand (here), your child. You left me and went away to your pounding."

40. Then her mother took her inside the house. 41. Then her mother became silent. 42. Then all the people came, when they came to see her. 43. They are talking to her. 44. "Where (were) you, you who have traveled?" (they ask). 45. She does not tell. 46. Then they also (more people) are coming; they are coming and asking her.

47. Then after a while, she told. 48. "I (am) the one who lived there," she says, "in the home of Yihawal." 49. Then from there she went and fell dead when she had finished saying it. 50. Then there her child runs away. 51. He went, he went, so they say. 52. There it got ended.

8. END OF THE MYTHICAL AGE

1. Many people are living. 2. Then Coyote says to Eagle, "Pretty soon we get scattered. Different people will come," he says. 3. "Good," they (the people) say when he says (this). 4. Coyote (is) chief. 5. "Where will you live?" he says to Eagle. 6. "On Lelet" (a mountain peak south of Weldon). 7. "And you?" Coyote says to Bat. 8. "Indeed, I shall wander at night." 9. "And you?" Coyote says to Lizard. 10. "Indeed, I shall live on rocks." 11. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Grasshopper. 12. "Indeed, I shall wander in the valley." 13. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Fish. 14. "Indeed, I shall live in the water," Fish says. 15. "And you?" (Coyote) says to Sage Hen. 16. "Indeed, I shall live in the sagebrush."

17. Eagle (asks) Coyote, "Where will you live?" 18. "Indeed, I shall live in the valley; I will eat beetles and also grasshoppers." 19. There it is ended.

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 241 511 [463] [462] 231] [222] 177 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

69. Then we went in the home of Peterson to cut posts. 70. There we made camp at the bottom of the mountain. 71. Then that next day my father cut juniper posts. 72. Then I used to make bread at noon and also in the evening. 73. When he arrives in the evening, he is eating that bread and also rabbit. 74. We cut many (posts). 75. We win a unit of money (ten cents) for one post. 76. Then I carry the posts on my own back. 77. I piled (them) there on the level place. 78. He (father) stayed there all summer in order to cut (posts). 79. Then in the evening I went to get water. 80. The water is there far away. 81. When it got dark already, then I came back, fetching water from there to here. 82. Then I got lost, coming back. 83. I took the downward way. 84. From there I got lost; there I yelled; then nobody (answered). 85. Then I cried. 86. Then I ran; I am dangling my own pail when crossing (the canyon). 87. Then my father talked there. 88. "Where are you going?" 89. "I got lost," I am saying, "the water which I got ran out." 90. "Come," (father) is saying, "let's go fetch water," he is saying. 91. From there we came back in order to fetch water from there toward our own camp. 92. We stayed there all summer. 93. Then we finished. 94. Then we came back in our own house. 95. Then when winter comes, we go back again in order to go and cut firewood. 96. Then we went away from everything. 97. Then there we cut (wood) all winter. 98. (There is) only much juniper firewood. 99. We finished there. 100. Then we came back toward our own house. 101. Then we arrived in our own house. 102. Then we are just living. 103. (There is) no work.

104. Then we used to play. 105. We are playing tag in the bull-pine trees; we are climbing (the trees); we are chasing each other. 106. Then we make one boy "it." 107. And we are not playing on the ground (but) in the bull-pine trees. 108. That one (who is "it") chases us. 109. Then to catch us he touches someone. 110. Then that one stays "it" next. 111. Then we are running away up (in the trees). 112. We are jumping in different places in the branches of the bull-pine tree. 113. Then some are falling down (and) are running away from the branches of the bull pines. 114. Some are hanging on the branches of the bull pines. 115. We are playing during the day.

116. And then again we are playing different games after that. 117. We are playing quoits; with the shoots of the bull pine, we are making the quoit; with it we play quoits. 118. Then we are cutting sticks; having finished making the quoit. 119. We are fixing the target. 120. We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins. 121. Five or six boys gamble with those quoits. 122. Some (are) proficient. 123. Then one is shooting first. 124. Each one (has) three quoits. 125. Then one is shooting first at that target. 126. Then he is shooting close. 127. Then next another one is shooting. 128. Then he is shooting on top of that quoit. 129. Then from there again another one is shooting. 130. Then he throws that quoit this way. 131. From there again another one is shooting. 132. Then he pushes aside those (which had been placed by the other boys). 133. Then there he is holding that target (i.e., he is closest to it); he is winning. 134. We are playing during the day.

135. Then, when we want to practice shooting at a target, we are going and gathering canes. 136. We are making many canes into arrows. 137. We are making arrows well. 138. We are putting feathers on them. 139. Then, having finished (the arrows), we are making the target. 140. We are tying the brush (for a target). 141. We are practicing shooting at that. 142. Then whoever is hitting it, then that hitter is hiding that target (which he hit) under the ground. 143. Then, "Shoot," (one of the boys) is saying to you. 144. Then you are shooting (at the target now concealed in the ground). 145. Right there you are leaving your own arrow (having shot it in the ground at the concealed arrow). 146. Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next. 147. Then he is hitting that target because he knows his own hiding place (better than the other who only knows the general spot in which he placed the target). 148. Then he pulls out that (hidden target) with his own arrow (which is firmly shot into the concealed target). 149. Then from there again he hides for him (another player) that one, that target under the ground. 150. "Now shoot," he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting. 151. "Leave your arrow right here," he is saying.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

857
152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539 X
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 X
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 159
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 524
lasts a long time. 857

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 X
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 159
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 526
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then 857
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 X
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 224
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are [251]
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We 226
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working [464]
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 X
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt-
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 159
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 222
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer 857
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 159
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there 527
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the [225]
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they 624
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

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NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large
[231] game; deer, antelope never corralled and killed; large game never chased over cliffs; dogs not used for hunting (SM). Antelope chased by one hunter toward second man concealed behind bush or
[349] pile rocks; Waterman has picture of pass where trail leads from South Fork valley to Kern valley, showing loose rocks which "are remains of small structure and pit, where lurking hunters shot antelope, which were run through the pass by beaters" (Mus. cat. no. 15-6258).

●476 Once a yr. in July Tübatulabal joined with
224 Kawaiisu, Tejon, Ventura Indians, Yokuts for antelope drive (Kroeber, Handbook, 528) in Yokuts territory on plains near Bakersfield. As many as 500 men took part; in drive men stood in circle, 6 ft. apart; circle was from 2-4 mi. in diameter at beginning of drive; men walked inward, driving antelope before them; when circle had shrunk to a few hundred feet in diameter, 10 men (Kroeber,
[411] Handbook, 529, says 2 men from each tribe) stepped inside, shot antelope with flint-tipped arrows. No antelope drives held in Tübatulabal area.

224 Mt. sheep shot with bow and arrow; "easier than deer to kill"; often sighted on rocky promontories along n. edge of South Fork valley, W of Onyx. Grizzlies and brown bears shot in summer with bow and arrows; never attacked in caves or shot from trees, but SM had seen latter done at Tejon. Mt. lions shot while on ground; killed after being treed.

476 Rabbits obtained on valley floors by firing
224 dry brush; 20 or more men stood in circle outside burning brush; as rabbits fled men shot them with bow and arrows. Another method was to use nets (wa·na·l), propped up loosely on sticks on level ground; 15-20 men formed straight line parallel to net 1/4 mi. or so away from it and advanced beating sagebrush with sticks, driving rabbits before them. When rabbits encountered net, vertical props fell down; rabbits became entangled and were clubbed with straight sticks or shot with bow and arrows; crescentic rabbit sticks not used. Those rabbits in rear that succeeded in jumping over fallen net became entangled in second net placed short distance ahead of first one. No boss for drive; rabbits collected, evenly divided by throwing each participant a rabbit until pile exhausted. Rabbits also shot by young boys, men, singly or in small groups, with bow and arrows.

224 Woodrats, squirrels, small birds trapped with rock trap (togo·'i·nit) exactly like Havasupai rodent trap (Spier, 1928, 113, fig. 4). For Tübatulabal trap shallow hole 3-4 in. deep dug between upright post and base of rock; acorn impaled on lower stick as bait; when stone slab fell, bird or rodent caught in hole underneath flat rock surface, but not crushed. Men set out 15-20 such traps, especially at piñon grounds during harvest; visited them every 2 days (SM).

224 Small willow blinds like Yokuts model (Kroeber,
349 Handbook, 524, pl. 45), but lacking stone platform, large enough to admit 2 men, built near

226 obtained from unaugmented Kern, near present town of Kernville.

Fishing techniques and use of certain localities for fishing varied according to height of streams and temperature of water; location of few fish camps noted (p. 40). In spring before water too warm, fishing carried on at sites on augmented Kern. At rapids near w. end of gorge "there were lots of fish; the Tolowim (Bankalachi) used to camp there to fish, also the Tejon Indians (Yokuts) and Pahkanapil too. Sometimes the Monilabal and Palabatal (Yokuts groups) came up there to fish" (SM). Groups of Tübatulabal also camped at rock paintings farther upstream; fish harpooned from rocks mainly at these locations as water swift-running, with many pools.

[411] [227] Pronged harpoon California type (Kroeber, Handbook, 86) consisting of pole (mi·št) 7-8 ft. long, with pair 6-in. foreshafts; toggleheads (wili·li·nist) 1 1/2 in. long, carved from deer bone; heads sharply pointed, barbed. Later in summer fishing activities shifted higher up river to sites on unaugmented Kern and to mt. lakes and streams. Round nets made of native twine, with 3-4 in. meshes and lacking handle, were used, being held up on each side by 2 men standing in water (FP); SM denied use of nets. Large nets, similarly made, stretched across stream, held up by 4 men (PN, FP). Net sinkers not used (FP, PN). Tule basket trap (wa·mat), similar to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), used in smooth [321] water. Fish taken in nets speared (PN). Fishhooks (wele·haniš) were said to have been 2-piece, with single bone barb made from shank bone of deer. Barb filed to point on rock, blunt end attached at 45° angle to base of shank with wrapping of native twine which was given coating of [283] asphalt to make it fast. Line made from native twine, smeared with asphalt; attached to end of long willow pole (wipšat). Earthworms, grasshoppers used for bait (ti·hat). Fishhooks and pole "not used very much" (SM); post-white (?). No double hooks, gorgets used.

226 Bulk of communal fishing in streams, rivers
●476 done to obtain fish for drying. Informants dwelt upon one method of communal fishing, although it
417 is no longer practiced. Fish corral (pa·nil) built in shallow, fast-running water (fig. 2), "when there were lots of fish running." Wall of corral 2 1/2-3 ft. high; built up of large stones filled in with willow branches; diameter of round enclosure 7 ft., width of opening to corral 3 ft. Men went about 2 mi. downstream from corral, threw stones in water to drive fish upstream. Two men, stationed on either side of gateway to corral, beat water with long willow poles so that [462] all the fish would swim into corral. Inside corral 2, 3 men bailed out fish, throwing them up on bank to women who collected them in large pile. Each participant in undertaking shared equally in distribution of fish, which was effected in same manner rabbits apportioned after drive (p. 13).

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wÏsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
[476] dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yÏtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
845 to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yÏtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uya·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
431 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
[415] Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
487 "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning, taking water with him in a basketry water bottle. He returned home the same evening or the next day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. Another route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish, but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño, Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750); food taboos related specifically to meat (including fish), grease, and cold water. However, as it was only with meat and fish that salt was used, practical result was that observers of meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking center post and with framework consisting of 4 large posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft. apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush; after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made trips to their granary and drew upon contents as needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes set up near dwelling house to use for acorns gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of circular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft. deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks or grass and small stones. During winter men made trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin sacks.

Families generally had storage house near family dwelling; this storage house as large and made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons, acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed [342] tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [534 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round 527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en- 535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens 482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed 492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams 501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

352 deer sinew (tohi·lĪŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, wo"ld have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated.
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bĪ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
[221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individualr made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern,
●481 (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with FP's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

501
481 baskets not used for ferrying; breast stroke used chiefly in swimming (SM).
231 Horses mounted on right side; bridles made of
492 native twine, saddles of tules.

WEAPONS

411 Bow chief weapon; spears may have been used in warfare; clubs not used, "because men didn't get that near to each other when they fought" (SM); spear thrower, shield, armor not used; aboriginal use of slings denied.

Bow.- Both for war and hunting large game, used sinew-backed bow (a·lit tupani·l), made from juniper (wa·dul), Juniperus californica Carr., var. utahensis Engelm., foothill floral area; bows also occasionally made from tamarack (išwa'adul). Such bows were "hard to make," and "took a long time to shape" with flint knives; furthermore one could not "get a good piece of wood for a bow every day" (SM, ES). Method of manufacture was to select suitable piece of wood, cut it, peel bark off immediately and shave bow into shape with knife, then warm bow in hot ashes or hold it over fire and flatten 2 ends over knee. Next, cord tied taut from one end to other, over back of bow, thus bowing length of wood in arc opposite to that in which it would bow when used. Tied thus, bow left to season for 6-8 days; was then untied and 2 1/2-in.-wide strip of water-wetted sinew (tupani·l), from backbone of deer, glued on to back of bow and overlapping edges glued down on sides. At 2 ends of bow, ends of sinew backing wrapped around wood several times to form knobs which prevented bowstring from slipping; neither end of bow notched for stringing. After sinew had dried, bow wrapped at grip (po·ho·nil) with strip of buckskin. Bowstring (piho·lit) of sinew, 3-ply, rolled into cord on knee (SM). Sinew-backed bows were some 48 in. long, 2 in. wide, 1/2-3/4 in. thick at grip; back and under side flattened, edges rounded; ends about 1 in. wide, 1/4 in. thick and either slightly re-bowed, or straight.

For hunting small game plain bow (a·lit) with rounded edges, made either of willow or juniper, used. Bowstring for such made from native twine. SM said such bows were about 45 in. long, 2 in. wide at grip; specimen 1-19808, of willow, is 50 in. long. In 1932, FC had willow bow he had made, which MM said was similar to bows TÜbatulabal used formerly for shooting rabbits; FC had made his from green willow, first shaping it with knife, then bowing it in at grip by laying length of willow on 2 flat rocks which were set some 16 in. apart, so when weight was put on top of central section of willow it bowed downward between the 2 rocks. Ends were rebowed by placing flat rocks beneath and on top of each tip and suspending rock from underneath unfinished bow at points 8 in. inward from ends. Thus weighted, bow was left to dry and season for 8 days. Length of this

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o-wati-š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child
[862] of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when
[841] latter seated. If mother became pregnant while child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
● 481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins over-
[597] worked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u·-
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomĭp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people
[481] went. There were 4 camps of people over there. We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomĭp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomĭp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of box-thorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[262] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from
349 greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 2), [p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.--Analyst]

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots of them, at a spring. He made a little brush house and sat inside that house; when the doves came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't see him inside the house and he shot them with bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring half a sackful to camp; those doves were good and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone; there was no one else with us. We traveled all night on that desert; it was moonlight. There are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring, we wanted to drink that water there. So we stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a hill above the spring a little way off; we ran the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
[171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then, lots of them; they chase women, right away when they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the summit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested a little, because we were tired. It was sunup when we got to the summit. Then we came down to Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid and ran over on a little hill where we watched them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people living there. We were going home to omomïp from there, but they told us my mother had left omomïp to gather chia seeds and that nobody was home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody from omomïp was over at Scodie's mt., so that same day we went over there. We were very tired, but we couldn't stay over at omomïp all alone, with nobody in the house. We found my mother all right.

My grandmother came back from over on the desert a week after we got back. That girl who came home with me that time is still living; she lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady. She looks young yet; the Indians never used to get old-looking for a long time in the old days;
[262] these young people do now though because they eat everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wišimlït (SM's

[p. 74(a)]

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251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type (Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking center post and with framework consisting of 4 large posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft. apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush; after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made trips to their granary and drew upon contents as needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes set up near dwelling house to use for acorns gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of circular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft. deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks or grass and small stones. During winter men made trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin sacks.

Families generally had storage house near family dwelling; this storage house as large and made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons, acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. [276] While they sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. [342] Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
● 482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

[p. 26(a)]

482 415 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (poŋgon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 372 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 415 Carrying net.--Men used carrying net (tambahal) exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 482 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men, women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 854 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

[71] Between ages of 5 months and year, child "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work to do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in TÜbatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

352 deer sinew (tohi·lɪŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
● [482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bɪ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
[221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with FW's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and SM's that men, women, children were all good
[221] swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree (a·wilibi·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't); cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft. lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
●482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn, horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·nun) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water bottles made watertight by putting handful of red earth of same variety used for face paint, plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth, and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch also smeared over outside of bottle with small stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth, mixed with little water, was smeared on top and mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used in combination with the pitch, made water "taste sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter" taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also visited at Ventura, and one of the things they brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM). This commodity used in variety of ways, some of which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon, to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar. Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was softened by melting; often applied with small stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

415 shoulders with red yarn and mt. quail crests.
285 Specimen 1-20955 (O. T. Mason, pl. 41) lacks
[237] quail-crest decoration. These jars varied in size; base and mouth equal in diameter; specimen 1-20952 is 6 1/2 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at shoulder, 3 1/2 in. wide at base, mouth; specimen 1-20951 is 9 1/4 in. high, 5 1/2 in. wide at
[171] shoulder. Shapes of Tübatulabal bottlenecks in Museum collection (fig. 8d) differ noticeably from those of Yokuts specimens (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50a); most of Tübatulabal specimens have straight or rounded sides instead of flaring ones and rounded instead of horizontal shoulders; however, informants immediately identified 2 Yokuts baskets in Handbook as money jars. Split stalks of deer grass used as foundation; specimen 1-20952 has 22 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Used solely as containers for strings of clamshell-disk currency (SM).

(i) Piñon jar (tÿbat ukulušt); had as foundation 2 strands of piñons strung on native twine; sewed with twine. These jars similar in shape to money jar; made by women while at piñon
● [482] camps (SM, ES). Strung piñons, a delicacy, put inside these jars for transportation back to hamlets.

Plain twined baskets included:

(a) Log basket (ča·mušt), which was small conical openwork twined basket, 16-18 in. high, 10-12 in. wide at top; used for collecting piñon cones from under trees; cones later dumped in large conical pack baskets.

(b) Ovate winnowing tray (pu·'išt); specimen 1-19816, made by PN, is 22 in. long, 20 in. wide at widest point; specimen 1-19817 is 14 in. long, 12 in. wide, and is mended with yucca root in 2-rod diagonal twining at bottom end on upcurve. Such tray put to variety of uses: to win-
[252] now piñon meats from shells, to roast shelled piñons on, to pile manzanita berries on during cider making, etc.

(c) Seed beater (wa·lat); had scoop in plain openwork twining; hand end of scoop of 2-ply, handle of 3-ply, diagonal twining. Warp and handle material of peeled willow shoots; cactus roots used for weft in diagonally twined sections. Seed beaters comparatively long when new, although they might be used until handle became mere stub; specimen 1-19818 has scoop 11 in. long, 8 in. wide at center; handle 8 in. long, 4 in. broad at scoop end; specimen 1-19819 has scoop 12 in. long, 9 in. wide, with handle 6 in. long; specimen 1-19820 has smaller scoop, 8 in.
[222] long, 7 in. broad, with handle 7 in. long, 4 in. wide at base. Beaters used to knock small seeds, berries into conical seed basket.

[171] Trays for suspension, such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50b) not manufactured by Tübatulabal (SM).

Diagonal twined baskets included:

(a) Seed basket (wili·'iništ); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket; specimen seen in field measured 16 1/2 in. in height,

[p. 32(a)]

415 285 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 2 willow rods (pi·mun) sewn around top for reinforcement; 2 cloth lugs attached to rim on opposite sides. Seeds, berries collected in this basket as they were knocked off bush with seed beater.

415 285 488 (b) Burden basket (wa·niht); conical, 2-ply diagonal closely twined basket, about 29 in. deep, 26 in. in diameter at top. Warp and weft of peeled willow shoots; basket banded with oak rod attached to rim with split willow shoots. Two pieces of willow, 3 in. long, sewn on inside of basket horizontally 9 in. below rim and 6 in. apart; lengths of twine attached to these pieces of willow to make 2 loops (pu·niwa·n) 6 in. long, which came through basket and hung down on outside; pack strap attached to these 2 loops. On some baskets 3 willow bands encircled basket on outside as reinforcement, being put on at top, 1/3 and 2/3 of way down. Specimen 1-19815, small burden basket made by PN, is 20 in. deep, 23 in. in diameter at top; has 2 willow rods around top, with top rod left bare except at intervals where it is stitched to rod underneath it. Rod sewn on inside basket for attaching twine loops. Uses have been mentioned (ante).

[171] (c) Water bottle (iwat); resembled that of Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55e), but had flat base (all informants). Made in 2-ply diagonal twining with warp of whole peeled willow shoots, weft of split willow shoots; 2 loops attached to side as on burden basket, with long string which passed over carrier's forehead, fastened to loops. Bottle pitched inside and out (see section on Glue, Pitch, Asphalt); stoppered with roll of grass (pa·niŝwa·n). Small girls packed little water bottles "like the one in the picture" (Handbook, ibid.); adults larger ones, some 16 in. tall, on trips into dry country. Large bottles, often 17 in. in diameter, used to store water in at dry piñon camps and as water containers at hamlets.

[171] Tule baskets and traps were all of 2-ply diagonal twining; soft tule baskets such as Yokuts made (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 50c) not manufactured among Tübatulabal.

Tule objects included:

227 285 (a) Conical trap; some 4 ft. deep, 3 1/2 ft. wide at top, made similar to burden basket; this trap set below fall in river, secured between 2 sticks as among Owens Valley Paiute [171] (Steward, 1933, 251); set in evening and left overnight.

[171] (b) Tubular trap (wa·mat); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33a), but made from tules; this staked down in smooth water; "when a big fish got inside, it couldn't turn around to get out" (SM).

[171] (c) Conical scoop (či·dišt); similar in shape to Pomo trap (Kroeber, Handbook, 172, pl. 33b), but lacking inner cone and made from tules; used to scoop up stupefied fish from pools.

285 415 (d) Tule tray (ši'i·bĭ·l u·ẓi·l); shaped something like seed beater but with broader

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.

a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PM).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winiit) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long,
● 482 made of willow or hard wood, "when packing some-
887 thing heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while [537] narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation.

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, TÜbatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1/v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

159 The following autobiography was taken in English from FP, her daughter LT interpreting, in 1933. FP gave the autobiography within a space of 2 weeks; a day or so after our last session together she went to Bakersfield for shamanistic treatment; on the return trip she was run over by a car and killed.

When first asked to tell the story of her life, FP demurred, saying she "had never been anywhere, just stayed in the South Fork valley all her life." The autobiography she gave is little more than an outline, which she was beginning to fill in with increasing amounts of detail, however, during the last few days I worked with her.

For the sake of clarity I have arranged the material in chronological order; parts of it were not so dictated. A photograph of FP is given in pl. 1b.

An autobiography of MM, FP's husband's brother's son, the Mike Miranda of the following pages, was obtained in text by Dr. C. F. Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

I was born about 2 yrs. after the soldiers killed all those Indians over at Kernville (1863); my older brother was still being kept in a cradle then and I was born about 2 yrs. later.

159 My mother used to tell me about the massacre;
173 Jose Chico pulled my father out from those men and the soldiers didn't kill him; he ran away. There was one man who was shot in the eye, but he had power and recovered. Lots of men were killed. The fight started over the Indians' killing other people's cattle; Jose Chico interpreted for the white men and the Indians; he was the man who took my father out. There were 3 men saved when the soldiers shot at the Indians.

159 One man had an amulet, a bearclaw with beads
173 on it. He was running and he got out of breath
751 and dropped that claw; then he was killed. The people found it afterward. If he hadn't lost his power he would have escaped all right. Another man had rattlesnake for his pet. He was badly hurt; his insides were all cut up; when the people saw him after the massacre there was a rattlesnake lying on top of him, and that snake made that man get all right. Rattlesnake was his pet and took care of him. That man's name was hi·ay·ši·l; he was a Monilabal (Yokuts). He got all right again; my father saw him when he was helping bury those dead Indians; he saw that rattlesnake come and help him. PN has a rattlesnake for her pet, too; perhaps she got it from dreaming. She never took jimsonweed, I know.

159 I was born at omomIp (no. 6, fig. 11). My
163 mother had 8 children; most of them died before
165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

159 When I was a little girl I used to go with my
● 482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy
857

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

482 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp
415 equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (poŋgon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack
372 basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 Carrying net.- Men used carrying net (tambahal)
415 exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men,
482 women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers
854 used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

Between ages of 5 months and year, child "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work
[171] to do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in Tübatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E [317 ●484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 824 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 824 Niceties in matter of diet extended to preparation of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because [276] they gave a better flavor" (FP,ES,SM).

[p. 11(b)]

428 was, however, mainly burnt, destroyed, or given
768 away at owner's death or at burning later. Quantity of property destroyed at burnings varied; in event all not destroyed, some of man's property might find its way into his brother's or sons' hands, some of woman's into her sister's or daughter's keeping; husband did not inherit any property from wife or vice versa. FP complained that after her husband's death, SM, her husband's brother, tried to get some of his brother's property; "that was the way they used to do; they'd take everything away from the widow."

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Woman's sifter worth 8 hïštïh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling
484 around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
591 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we
[245] returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left; he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money
484 over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

159 ing over; everybody here stopped going. The last
484 time we went to Visalia we left Annie and Irene
up at Onyx and then they went to Riverside, to
school down there.

159 I was feeling good all that time. We always
221 used to go live at Canebrake in the summer, and
753 then we'd come down to the Mack ranch in winter,
so that Esther and Johnnie could go to school at
Weldon. At the Mack ranch though I began to
dream bad again; I'd see one woman whom I don't
know, holding my head. That's why my ear hurts
now; I have been sick like that for 4 yrs.

159 Then we had to leave our house at the Mack
ranch. A white man wanted to live in that house.
We moved up to Rafael Chico's place; they kept
asking us at the Onyx rancheria, "Why don't you
move up here, to Rafael's?" But there were too
many drunken men around up there; they would come
and fight inside the houses. We didn't like that.
And those witches live too close to Rafael's. I
was sick all the time up there. We lived there 2
months; I coughed, coughed all the time. So 2
yrs. ago last April we moved down here (near
Weldon) from there. When we moved down here I
got well. But last summer I got this cough again,
only not so bad as I have it now. I can't do
much now; I can't make tobacco this year, because
I'm too sick. We got lots last year; enough to
last this year too, I think. I got some chia seeds
last year too, over by the little hill in Charley
Andress' meadow. But it's too hot to go cut the
tobacco this year, and kneeling hurts me. I'd
like to go to that Indian doctor they have over
at Bishop; there's a good one over there. Maybe
Legora and I will go over this fall. If I could
see that doctor I think I'd be all right again.

Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut.
February 20, 1936.

[p. 80(b)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

PERSONAL ANECDOTES

23. JOURNEY FROM TEJON

1. Once we came from Tejon to South Fork. 2. Already we (began to) come at six o'clock in the morning. 3. Straightway we came to the mountains. 4. "Don't you go there in the tall mountains, (there) are many bears," they say. 5. "Good," we say when it is being said. 6. I (am) with my wife. 7. We came on foot. 8. Then we came to the middle of the mountains. 9. At three o'clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty. 10. There we are standing; (there is) no water (of) our bringing. 11. Then from there we looked down the canyon. 12. Then I saw cottonwood trees in the canyon. 13. Then I said to my wife, "I don't know but that water is standing there," I say. 14. From there we went toward the canyon. 15. We arrived there by the cottonwood trees. 16. Nothing; the water is dried up. 17. From there we took leave. 18. We are already very thirsty. 19. (It was) far away (before) we went and arrived in the valley. 20. Already it is getting dark. 21. From there we came toward Caliente, (which was) far away yet. 22. From there we had to go about twenty miles. 23. Already we are getting tired. 24. In spite of this, we are coming. 25. Then we came and arrived at Caliente; at eleven o'clock at night we arrived. 26. There we slept.

539X
484●

24. DEER HUNT

1. Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiyam in the big mountains. 2. Then I went and arrived on top of the mountain. 3. From there I tracked the deer. 4. He went far away; he crossed the ridge in the canyon. 5. I am going (after) his tracks standing (there). 6. Far away he came out on the summit. 7. I am coming (after) his tracks standing (there). 8. There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going. 9. Then I, in a sitting position, aimed at him right away. 10. Far away he went and sat down half a mile (away). 11. Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him. 12. He came and dropped down dead. 13. Then from there I went when I saw him. 14. There I skinned him. 15. Then I packed him. 16. From there I came toward home. 17. I (am) the one who packs the deer. 18. Then, "Good," says the old man, when he sees it, "pretty soon we get full," says the old man.

539X
224

25. FIESTA NEAR BISHOP

1. Once in Bishop I (am) the one who lived. 2. Then the fiesta got fixed. 3. Then I went from there; (there are) many people. 4. From every place people came. 5. Then they danced, and (there is) hand-game, and (there is) much gambling. 6. (There are) many people. 7. We are dancing every night. 8. (There are) many women; (there is) much copulation. Six days dancing occurred. 9. Then they quit their own dancing; from there they went and went, the people. 10. From there I went toward Bishop. 11. It is all.

539X
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26. TRIP TO ISABELLA

1. Yesterday we went toward Isabella. 2. Then it is very hot; (there is) no wind. 3. Then we came back from there. 4. Then the wind blows on us when we return. 5. Then we arrived in our own house. 6. Then we ate when we arrived. 7. Then, having finished eating, I went from there toward Chogil's. 8. Then the wife of Chogil is cooking when we arrived. 9. Then Chogil fed us again. 10. Then from there we came back. 11. Then we ate again when we arrived. 12. Then we got very full. 13. Then I did not yield to my own sleep when I was full. 14. Then, when it was the middle of the night, I slept.

539X

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uma·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
431 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
[415] "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
487 day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
[482] about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

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159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; [487] Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake [221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

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MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
● 492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

[p. 26(a)]

501
481 baskets not used for ferrying; breast stroke used chiefly in swimming (SM).
231 Horses mounted on right side; bridles made of
●492 native twine, saddles of tules.

WEAPONS

411 Bow chief weapon; spears may have been used in warfare; clubs not used, "because men didn't get that near to each other when they fought" (SM); spear thrower, shield, armor not used; aboriginal use of slings denied.

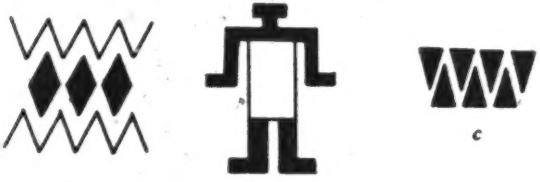
Bow.- Both for war and hunting large game, used sinew-backed bow (a·lit tupani·l), made from juniper (wa·dul), Juniperus californica Carr., var. utahensis Engelm., foothill floral area; bows also occasionally made from tamarack (išwa'adul). Such bows were "hard to make," and "took a long time to shape" with flint knives; furthermore one could not "get a good piece of wood for a bow every day" (SM, ES). Method of manufacture was to select suitable piece of wood, cut it, peel bark off immediately and shave bow into shape with knife, then warm bow in hot ashes or hold it over fire and flatten 2 ends over knee. Next, cord tied taut from one end to other, over back of bow, thus bowing length of wood in arc opposite to that in which it would bow when used. Tied thus, bow left to season for 6-8 days; was then untied and 2 1/2-in.-wide strip of water-wetted sinew (tupani·l), from backbone of deer, glued on to back of bow and overlapping edges glued down on sides. At 2 ends of bow, ends of sinew backing wrapped around wood several times to form knobs which prevented bowstring from slipping; neither end of bow notched for stringing. After sinew had dried, bow wrapped at grip (po·ho·nil) with strip of buckskin. Bowstring (piho·lit) of sinew, 3-ply, rolled into cord on knee (SM). Sinew-backed bows were some 48 in. long, 2 in. wide, 1/2-3/4 in. thick at grip; back and under side flattened, edges rounded; ends about 1 in. wide, 1/4 in. thick and either slightly re-bowed, or straight.

For hunting small game plain bow (a·lit) with rounded edges, made either of willow or juniper, used. Bowstring for such made from native twine. SM said such bows were about 45 in. long, 2 in. wide at grip; specimen 1-19808, of willow, is 50 in. long. In 1932, FC had willow bow he had made, which MM said was similar to bows Tübatulabal used formerly for shooting rabbits; FC had made his from green willow, first shaping it with knife, then bowing it in at grip by laying length of willow on 2 flat rocks which were set some 16 in. apart, so when weight was put on top of central section of willow it bowed downward between the 2 rocks. Ends were rebowed by placing flat rocks beneath and on top of each tip and suspending rock from underneath unfinished bow at points 8 in. inward from ends. Thus weighted, bow was left to dry and season for 8 days. Length of this

285 415 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

[492] (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules. In contrast to twined ware, all of which was plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had designs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

531 Either informants had forgotten them, or else few designs had names; when shown some 26 designs taken from Tübatulabal basketry collections, SM recognized 3 (fig. 9) which had descriptive names, king snake design (pokpo·go´no·lo·wun),



a b c

Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wun), rattlesnake design (cĭmĭndiŋlo·wun), "a hard pattern" (ES). [532] Human figure design aboriginal (SM); pictographs of human figures in territory tend to confirm this, although Kroeber holds human figures on baskets result of American influence (Kroeber, [171] Handbook, 541). ES recognized several Yokuts designs (Kroeber, Handbook, 533, fig. 47, nos. 1, 8, 15, 16) which she had seen on Tübatulabal baskets, but did not know names for them.

285 Mats.- Mats (paht) were made from whole dried trimmed tules, which were soaked before being woven; mats 3-5 ft. wide, of varying lengths, made in plain twined weave with each series of tule weft elements spaced about 3 in. apart. Top, bottom edges finished with tule braid (ta·ža·bil). Specimen 1-21064, large tule mat used for house covering, has braid edge, as has fragment of mat 1-28574; specimen 1-28575, also fragment, has wrap edge. Large mats used to cover walls, floors of living houses, to sit on while working outside, to sleep on. Small tule mats bordered with tule braid, but lacking weft bandings, used on both types baby cradles; hood for baby's second cradle also of tules.

281 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihnibĭ·l) 286 made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yÍtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

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352 deer sinew (tohi·lĭŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

●501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bĭ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
[221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with PN's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

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Horses mounted on right side; bridles made of native twine, saddles of tules.

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4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia and Kadanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 241 ●511 [463] [462 231] [222] 177 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among younger women to leave area and seek education, 177 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; 167 young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[24] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game 511 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned 222 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rab- 224 bits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal 226 plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal, 222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower 224 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. 226 Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills; [512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

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[25] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

302 [765] [824] [388] [515] [296] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ïihabï·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for [301] several days. At dances women put loose eagle down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wïŋït) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native string to form flat, narrow brush. This hair- [413] brush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apïn) made from colum- [177] nella of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (nangawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (tïngi·l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

Women pounding meal, etc., at pit mortars on hot days piled up scrub oak or willows to height of 4-6 ft. around mortar bed, in order to have shade while working.

343 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu·šaht)
171 resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Hand-
515 book, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tübatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft.
515 deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made
515 between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders
372 (po·'anapï'l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

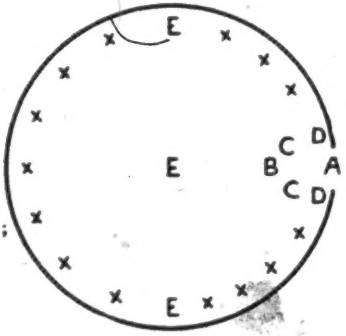

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [534] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, [171] although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, a

no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

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Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

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● 516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation.

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, Tübatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

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517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[534]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[534]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyi

533 773 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

532 173 [776] Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hi'lwal) who are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM). Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS22

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159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always
wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead
man's clothes, because they were burned, but his
horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they
can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut
my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off
so that it came down a little way over my shoul-
ders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black
too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never
used to wash their faces after a relative had
died, until they ate meat again; they bathed,
but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son
helped me get that money to eat meat again; I
paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a
cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia
and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked
bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after
that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk;
she went up to him and she said, "You killed my
father; now I'm going to kill you." He was
frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened
he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't
kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said
that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed
and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yĭtiyamup; Legora and Willie
and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down
all the time and make baskets. Not very many women
made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too.
Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with
a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't
ever talk to my son again. That man had poison;
something, I don't know what; all those Tule
reservation people have poison and they all know
about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian
poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison
up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches
living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they
say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that
she has it up here now. They put it in your food,
in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything
like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk
and slept outside on the ground all night. It was
cold; it was in November and there was frost on
the ground. November was the same month my hus-
band was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed adminjstered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

524 534 Bull-roarer.- Bull-roarer (kú·lišt, lit., instrument for playing, i.e., toy) made from stalk of Spanish bayonet, Yucca whipplei Torr., foothill, desert floral areas. Stalk dried, split in half, section 8-10 in. cut off, attached at center (sic) to 4-ft. length of native twine; stick handle lacking. Boys' toy (SM).

TOBACCO

137 249 Two species of tobacco (šo'ogonht), Nicotiana bigelovii Wats. and N. attenuata Torr., grow wild on floors of Kern and South Fork valleys and on slopes of lower foothills, at elevation from 2500-2800 ft. Of 2 species, N. bigelovii commoner than smaller-leaved N. attenuata, but native term is same for both and 2 species grow side by side, sometimes less than 1 ft. apart. At various points in South Fork valley not yet under cultivation wild tobacco plants are concentrated in 1- or 2-acre patches or fields (šo'ogonhtiŋ ugan), sparsely interspersed with low clumps of brush and turkey mullein; from such fields (pl. 3) tobacco was and still is (1933) being gathered for use by Tübutulabal women.

249 Tending and preparation.- Tobacco patches never burned over in fall; although ES drew my attention to half-burned clump of brush situated in patch she and FP were "working" in 1932, saying tobacco seemed to grow better where ground had been burned over, she and SM both said tobacco patches were never fired in order to produce better stands of plants next year. "The rain is what makes the plants grow" (SM).

In spring, about June 1, when plants 18-24 in. high, and beginning to blossom, women working singly or in groups of 2-3 began tending wild tobacco. This first tending consisted in snipping off, with thumb and index finger of right hand, side shoots and occasionally tips of plants. Hardy plants, mainly of bigelovii species, which did not have too many small shoots clustering around base of main stalk, selected for attention; after woman had pruned plant she would sometimes, but not always, wrench off some of large leaves which grow flat on ground around base of plant, and occasionally she would uproot weed growing close by plant. Selection of plants to tend made more or less at random from among numerous healthy specimens surrounding women workers; according to MM it was owing to this that later, several pruned plants were overlooked at final harvesting of crop. At first pruning of their 1932 crop ES and FP worked from 6 a.m. to around 10 a.m.; all trips to tobacco patch made early in morning, to take advantage of comparative coolness for, although pruning itself not difficult, it necessitates almost constant stooping over plants in full glare of hot midsummer sun. Also sun makes tobacco "strong" and sticky

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575),
[177] fragment of tule matting with braided edge (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi·mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

T
524 Play began with right-hand man on one row, who
525 held stick in hands behind back; his 3 partners had no sticks, "just sang" (SM). False call on part of guesser, the left-hand man on opposite side, made by pointing from one to other side of person holding stick, at same time watching individual closely; true call made by clapping and pointing with hand. At true call player with stick opened hands, held them in front of him; if guesser had missed, his side forfeited counter and same side again hid stick, but if guess correct counter (?) and stick given up to guessers and right-hand man on winning side hid stick. When he lost, player next to end man on opposite side hid stick, which passed to each man in turn. Men who were watching stakes joined in singing for one or other side; often wives of players sang for husbands' side also. Each side played for counters until pile exhausted, then 2 sides played until one had won all counters; winners then took stakes and game started afresh.

T
Y
524 Fingermark game (ša·hil) played by Yokuts at
525 Tejon, but not by Tübatulabal, described by SM. This game played by men only, with 2 sides of 4 players each. Each side held basketry sifter (wa·t); 2 men, one on each side, held sifters in front of their right hands and with 3 middle fingers of right hand they simultaneously made one of 6 combinations of marks (fig. 12) on ground in front of them, behind the trays; then

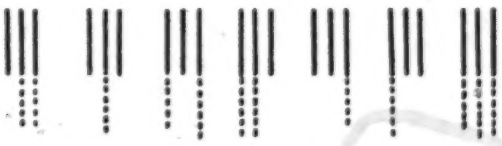

Fig. 12. Combination of marks for fingermark game. Solid lines, marks always made; broken lines, optional marks.

simultaneously they held up trays and showed what marks they had made. If guessing side failed to duplicate opponents' marks latter side took money (counters?). When player tired of making marks he passed tray on to his left-hand neighbor.

T
524 No guessing of hidden fingers (Kroeber, Handbook, 540).

Women's basket dice game (wi·ša·išt) played by 8 women with large flat tray and 8 (SM), 6 (FP), dice (wi·ša·išt) consisting of half walnut shell filled with greasewood pitch in which were set varying number of bits of white shell (Kroeber, Handbook, 598, fig. 54; Culin, 168, fig. 208). Betting was on number thrown face up; if all blanks thrown, turn passed to next player. No songs accompanied this game.

Women's stick game (kuča·ništ) played on ground; 8 (SM), 6 (FP), small pieces cane colored
T red on one side thrown; no songs.

526 Hoop-and-pole game (howi·l) played with buckskin-wrapped hoop (tu·gu·lišt), 15 in. in diameter with hole in center 4 in. in diameter. Poles

526 (hali·wišt) made from willow, 6 ft. long, pointed on one end. Two lines of willow brush piled up
[525] about 20 ft. apart; 2 players, men and onlookers placed bets with third man before game commenced. Women never played; "it was too hard a game for women" (SM). One player started hoop rolling toward opposite brush fence, then both players shot at hoop with poles; if one man slid pole through rolling hoop he won and new game started immediately; if hoop came to rest with pole touching top or side of it, this counted a point for owner of pole; 6 points made game. Very popular game, played "every day" (SM).

● 524 Shooting game (po·ʂil) played with small marks (po'ozišt) made of pieces of tule well wrapped in bit of buckskin described by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

526 Men's shinny game (pa·wa·šil) played with
525 single oak shinny stick (pa·wa·šišt), curved at lower end, and oak ball (homoyišt); goal posts (mu·giništ) for each end of field consisted of 2 posts set 10 ft. apart, with nothing strung between them; distance between 2 sets of posts about 600 ft. Each team composed of 5 men; no umpire; 2 men on each team guarded their team's goal posts; when one team succeeded in getting ball through opposing team's goal, game ended; stakes collected and divided between members of winning team; in reply to my question whether bets wagered on this game, ES replied with fine scorn, "Certainly they bet; they wouldn't run on a hot day for nothing!" Shinny contests often intertribal affairs, held between Kawaiisu-Tejon Yokuts at Tejon; Kawaiisu-Chumash in Kawaiisu territory; Tübatulabal-Chumash at Tejon, etc.

524 No information obtainable on racket game, noted for Yokuts (Culin, 595). Descriptions of several games played by boys 35 yrs. ago given by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

Toys.- Acorn tops (pu·lu·'iništ), made from maul-oak acorns, used by boys; same as top figured by Kroeber (Handbook, 449, fig. 41a), except that Tübatulabal top was spun on pointed stick which protruded from bottom as well as top of acorn; upper end of stick twirled between hands and then pushed forward to spin on ground (SM).

Dolls and animal figurines made from red clay by children (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227); boys played with small bows and arrows, bull-roarer (see section on Musical Instruments).

538 Telling of myths.- Occasions for telling myths (tɪ'ɪbinuga'adwal) in winter often of social nature; persons gathered after supper at house of old man or woman who had reputation for narrating stories well; when it grew dark old person, who owned certain myths, would tell these until about midnight; after this his auditors slept until morning star appeared in sky, when they were roused by old people and told to go outside and jump in pool of icy water once (SM); 3 times (MM);

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. [552] Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in [171] hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
591 were married; my people were living up there,
making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931, 1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

857 X
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152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their own houses without their own arrows, when losing.

539 X
159

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It lasts a long time.

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857

539 X
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857

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does the same next.

539 X
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[251]
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[464]

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

539 X
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222
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[262]
[252]

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunting and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them) every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted. 197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us, perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place (a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigating it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

539 X
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[225]
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214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game (will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS12

no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening (late afternoon?) was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´''i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

285 824 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for various types twined ware made from whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots, roots of tree yucca, outer bark of willow. Tules used considerably for baskets, mats; there are few tules in either Kern or South Fork valleys now, but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

Coiled baskets included:

292 171 285 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 285 (b) Sifter (wa·t) or small tray; slightly concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

(c) Parching tray (ša·gišt); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers. [525] This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

(d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in. wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others [252] smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575),
[177] fragment of tule matting with braided edge (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi·mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

T
524 Play began with right-hand man on one row, who
●525 held stick in hands behind back; his 3 partners had no sticks, "just sang" (SM). False call on part of guesser, the left-hand man on opposite side, made by pointing from one to other side of person holding stick, at same time watching individual closely; true call made by clapping and pointing with hand. At true call player with stick opened hands, held them in front of him; if guesser had missed, his side forfeited counter and same side again hid stick, but if guess correct counter (?) and stick given up to guessers and right-hand man on winning side hid stick. When he lost, player next to end man on opposite side hid stick, which passed to each man in turn. Men who were watching stakes joined in singing for one or other side; often wives of players sang for husbands' side also. Each side played for counters until pile exhausted, then 2 sides played until one had won all counters; winners then took stakes and game started afresh.

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524 Fingermark game (ša·hil) played by Yokuts at
525 Tejon, but not by Tübatulabal, described by SM. This game played by men only, with 2 sides of 4 players each. Each side held basketry sifter (wa·t); 2 men, one on each side, held sifters in front of their right hands and with 3 middle fingers of right hand they simultaneously made one of 6 combinations of marks (fig. 12) on ground in front of them, behind the trays; then

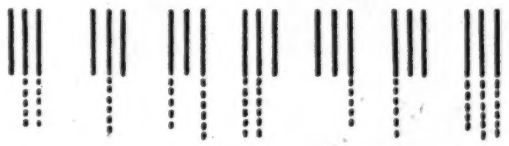

Fig. 12. Combination of marks for fingermark game. Solid lines, marks always made; broken lines, optional marks.

simultaneously they held up trays and showed what marks they had made. If guessing side failed to duplicate opponents' marks latter side took money (counters?). When player tired of making marks he passed tray on to his left-hand neighbor.

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524 No guessing of hidden fingers (Kroeber, Handbook, 540).

Women's basket dice game (wi·ša·išt) played by 8 women with large flat tray and 8 (SM), 6 (FP), dice (wi·ša·išt) consisting of half walnut shell filled with greasewood pitch in which were set varying number of bits of white shell (Kroeber, Handbook, 598, fig. 54; Culin, 168, fig. 208). Betting was on number thrown face up; if all blanks thrown, turn passed to next player. No songs accompanied this game.

Women's stick game (kuča·ništ) played on ground; 8 (SM), 6 (FP), small pieces cane colored red on one side thrown; no songs.

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526 Hoop-and-pole game (howi·l) played with buck-skin-wrapped hoop (tu·gu·lišt), 15 in. in diameter with hole in center 4 in. in diameter. Poles

526 (hali·wišt) made from willow, 6 ft. long, pointed on one end. Two lines of willow brush piled up about 20 ft. apart; 2 players, men and onlookers placed bets with third man before game commenced. Women never played; "it was too hard a game for women" (SM). One player started hoop rolling toward opposite brush fence, then both players shot at hoop with poles; if one man slid pole through rolling hoop he won and new game started immediately; if hoop came to rest with pole touching top or side of it, this counted a point for owner of pole; 6 points made game. Very popular game, played "every day" (SM).

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524 Shooting game (po·ʂil) played with small marks (po'ozišt) made of pieces of tule well wrapped in bit of buckskin described by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

526 Men's shinny game (pa·wa·šil) played with single oak shinny stick (pa·wa·šišt), curved at
525 lower end, and oak ball (homoyišt); goal posts (mu·giništ) for each end of field consisted of 2 posts set 10 ft. apart, with nothing strung between them; distance between 2 sets of posts about 600 ft. Each team composed of 5 men; no umpire; 2 men on each team guarded their team's goal posts; when one team succeeded in getting ball through opposing team's goal, game ended; stakes collected and divided between members of winning team; in reply to my question whether bets wagered on this game, ES replied with fine scorn, "Certainly they bet; they wouldn't run on a hot day for nothing!" Shinny contests often intertribal affairs, held between Kawaiisu-Tejon Yokuts at Tejon; Kawaiisu-Chumash in Kawaiisu territory; Tübatulabal-Chumash at Tejon, etc.

524 No information obtainable on racket game, noted for Yokuts (Culin, 595). Descriptions of several games played by boys 35 yrs. ago given by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

Toys.- Acorn tops (pu·lu·'iništ), made from maul-oak acorns, used by boys; same as top figured by Kroeber (Handbook, 449, fig. 41a), except that Tübatulabal top was spun on pointed stick which protruded from bottom as well as top of acorn; upper end of stick twirled between hands and then pushed forward to spin on ground (SM).

Dolls and animal figurines made from red clay by children (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227); boys played with small bows and arrows, bull-roarer (see section on Musical Instruments).

538 Telling of myths.- Occasions for telling myths (tI'Ibinuga'adwal) in winter often of social nature; persons gathered after supper at house of old man or woman who had reputation for narrating stories well; when it grew dark old person, who owned certain myths, would tell these until about midnight; after this his auditors slept until morning star appeared in sky, when they were roused by old people and told to go outside and jump in pool of icy water once (SM); 3 times (MM);

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, as-
[702] sembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his
[728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief him-
[754 self did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sick-
627] ness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among
[171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to
578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely
576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his
[525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people;
[574] "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported
462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

788 765 173 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the people and hired girls to cook; his relations and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in 788 765 173 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced; they just lifted one foot in front of the other, and went around the fire inside the enclosure, slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them 535 and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil [525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

"In the daytime they'd play dice- and hand- [526] games and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 173 535 765 768 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feathers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 788 No particular person carried the image, feather

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yĭtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yĭtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yĭtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yĭtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 "You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

29. There that woman went and stood. 30. From there she talked. "Why are you following me?" she says to that one, her own husband. "I am bad," she says. 31. There that one, her husband, stood when that one, his own wife, is saying (this). 32. "Good," says that one, his wife, "if you want to go with me, then we will cross the ocean." 33. "Good," says her husband. 34. "And do you see that mountain? We will go out there, and when we get on top then Crow will come to us when he sees (us) going out; Crow will pass by very close to our eyes; 'Caw,' he says here, and goes away; he takes an eye out here and goes away."

35. From there they went on top of the water; in a dustspout. 36. Far away they arrived there on the mountain. 37. Then they went out on top. 38. Then Crow came. 39. Then that man took out his amulet. 40. Then he fastened it on his own head. 41. Then Crow passed by here and went away; "Caw"; when passing by here (Crow) took (the man's) amulet (instead of his eye). 42. From there they went downward. 43. Then that one, his wife, said, "Do you see that valley?" she says. 44. "Yes," says that one, her husband. 45. Then they arrived very close. 46. Then that one, his wife, says, "Go in that house; the house (is) a big one; and I will go the other way. (There are) many houses there, and in the evening I will see you," says that one, his wife.

47. "Good," says that one, her husband. There that one, her husband, arrived in the house. 48. There a man, the chief, lives. "Come in, come in," he says. 49. There the man sat down. 50. Then that chief said, "What are you coming to do here (so) far away?" 51. "I am following my own wife," he says. 52. "Don't say (that), your wife is bad. She may not go back again, but you will see her pretty soon in the evening. People dance (then)."

53. Then already when it became night one man yelled—this one (is) a clown—"Make ye fire immediately, make fire," says that clown. "Come ye immediately, come," the clown says. 54. Then all the people came. 55. Then they danced all night; (there is) hand-game, and also they are dancing, and also, (there is) gambling. 56. Then they quit in the morning.

57. From there they all scattered. 58. From there that man went back again to the chief. 59. Then the chief says, "Do you desire your own wife?" he says. 60. "Yes," says the man. 61. "Well, pretty soon I will call that one your wife and she will go with you," he says. 63. Then the man came. 64. Then the chief said, "Call the wife of this man." 65. Then that man went; there he brought her. "Go with your husband," says the chief. 66. "Good," says the man. 67. "But after three days, then you will touch your own wife," says the chief. 70. "Good," says the man.

71. From there they came. 72. Then they arrived far away. 73. Then also (they) came in a dustspout on top of the water. 74. Then they emerged from the water; they are still coming. 75. There they returned in the dark. 76. There they slept. 77. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 78. Then the man touched his wife. 79. Then he turned away back again. 80. Then they came in the morning from there. 81. Far away they came as it got dark; there again they slept.

82. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 83. Then he turned toward his own wife. 84. Then he touched his own wife; right away he climbed on his own wife; he copulated with his own wife. 85. Then when he had finished copulating, he slept. 86. Then, at daylight, he woke up. 87. Then he saw (something); (a stalk of) yucca is lying alongside of him. 88. There the man got up. 89. There he is standing.

90. "I can't help it now," he says; "the chief told me rightly (that) I should not take that one." 91. From there he went to his own house. 92. He arrived there, at home. 93. Then he tells those people, "I am one who has been a traveler when I followed my own wife far away across the ocean; I arrived there and I brought that one, my own wife, back in vain," he says. 94. "Then that chief told me rightly, but I did not believe him when he says, 'After three days you sleep with your own wife,' the chief says to me in vain, and right away I took that one, my own wife, before three days." 95. "Then she was turned into yucca." 96. "From there I came alone." 97. It stood (ended) pretty soon.

NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

T Yokuts NS29

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[p. 48(a)]

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535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

● [526] "In the daytime they'd play dice-and hand-games and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug
765 a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
768 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feathers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
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3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

69. Then we went in the home of Peterson to cut posts. 70. There we made camp at the bottom of the mountain. 71. Then that next day my father cut juniper posts. 72. Then I used to make bread at noon and also in the evening. 73. When he arrives in the evening, he is eating that bread and also rabbit. 74. We cut many (posts). 75. We win a unit of money (ten cents) for one post. 76. Then I carry the posts on my own back. 77. I piled (them) there on the level place. 78. He (father) stayed there all summer in order to cut (posts). 79. Then in the evening I went to get water. 80. The water is there far away. 81. When it got dark already, then I came back, fetching water from there to here. 82. Then I got lost, coming back. 83. I took the downward way. 84. From there I got lost; there I yelled; then nobody (answered). 85. Then I cried. 86. Then I ran; I am dangling my own pail when crossing (the canyon). 87. Then my father talked there. 88. "Where are you going?" 89. "I got lost," I am saying, "the water which I got ran out." 90. "Come," (father) is saying, "let's go fetch water," he is saying. 91. From there we came back in order to fetch water from there toward our own camp. 92. We stayed there all summer. 93. Then we finished. 94. Then we came back in our own house. 95. Then when winter comes, we go back again in order to go and cut firewood. 96. Then we went away from everything. 97. Then there we cut (wood) all winter. 98. (There is) only much juniper firewood. 99. We finished there. 100. Then we came back toward our own house. 101. Then we arrived in our own house. 102. Then we are just living. 103. (There is) no work.

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104. Then we used to play. 105. We are playing tag in the bull-pine trees; we are climbing (the trees); we are chasing each other. 106. Then we make one boy "it." 107. And we are not playing on the ground (but) in the bull-pine trees. 108. That one (who is "it") chases us. 109. Then to catch us he touches someone. 110. Then that one stays "it" next. 111. Then we are running away up (in the trees). 112. We are jumping in different places in the branches of the bull-pine tree. 113. Then some are falling down (and) are running away from the branches of the bull pines. 114. Some are hanging on the branches of the bull pines. 115. We are playing during the day.

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116. And then again we are playing different games after that. 117. We are playing quoits; with the shoots of the bull pine, we are making the quoit; with it we play quoits. 118. Then we are cutting sticks; having finished making the quoit. 119. We are fixing the target. 120. We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins. 121. Five or six boys gamble with those quoits. 122. Some (are) proficient. 123. Then one is shooting first. 124. Each one (has) three quoits. 125. Then one is shooting first at that target. 126. Then he is shooting close. 127. Then next another one is shooting. 128. Then he is shooting on top of that quoit. 129. Then from there again another one is shooting. 130. Then he throws that quoit this way. 131. From there again another one is shooting. 132. Then he pushes aside those (which had been placed by the other boys). 133. Then there he is holding that target (i.e., he is closest to it); he is winning. 134. We are playing during the day.

135. Then, when we want to practice shooting at a target, we are going and gathering canes. 136. We are making many canes into arrows. 137. We are making arrows well. 138. We are putting feathers on them. 139. Then, having finished (the arrows), we are making the target. 140. We are tying the brush (for a target). 141. We are practicing shooting at that. 142. Then whoever is hitting it, then that hitter is hiding that target (which he hit) under the ground. 143. Then, "Shoot," (one of the boys) is saying to you. 144. Then you are shooting (at the target now concealed in the ground). 145. Right there you are leaving your own arrow (having shot it in the ground at the concealed arrow). 146. Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next. 147. Then he is hitting that target because he knows his own hiding place (better than the other who only knows the general spot in which he placed the target). 148. Then he pulls out that (hidden target) with his own arrow (which is firmly shot into the concealed target). 149. Then from there again he hides for him (another player) that one, that target under the ground. 150. "Now shoot," he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting. 151. "Leave your arrow right here," he is saying.

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152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539 X
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 X
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 159
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 524
lasts a long time. 857

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 X
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 159
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 526
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then 857
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 X
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer.
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 159
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 224
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are [251]
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We 226
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working [464]
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 X
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt-
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 159
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 222
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer 857
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 159
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there 527
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the [225]
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game 224
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed [342] tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, [171] although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 1). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure [illegible]ances, round
● 527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also [illegible] for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

462 woman was standing beside her mate, and each
773 pair were going to shoot together, both at the
539 same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart, over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a
527 big time" for his induction; "everybody came; they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to all the people; he told them to put their money down to give to people who were sick or poor, and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP). New chief bore part of expenses for this feast; people present also contributed money and food; no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

MISCELLANEOUS

20. SPEECH TO BOYS

1. Let me teach ye, boys, and ye listen. 2. If ye will hunt the deer, ye will give a little to the old men. 3. Then the old men say "Good, good," (they) say. 4. You will get old. 5. Ye must not go in anyone's house; that is bad, ye might be given poison in the food. 6. Anyone who wants to drink jimsonweed, I will give it to him to drink; ye will live well; then jimsonweed will preserve ye, ye will not die quickly. 7. While hunting deer ye must take down-feathers; then Yumugiwal will not frighten ye, nor Bear nor Mountain Lion, nor anything there.

8. (Heed this caution, for once) a White Coyote killed a hunter (who was not cautious).

9. When ye are ready to come back, pray to the mountain; it is fitting. 10. Then ye must bring the meat of the deer and present it here and there to the people. 11. Ye must not show disrespect to (animals) while wandering on the mountain. 12. The Rattlesnake, Bear, everything hears; then ye will wander safely. 13. Ye must not kill Rattlesnake; he is bad. Rattlesnake has a meanness which may possibly make ye sick; it is bad (for Rattlesnake) to be killed. 14. Pretty soon (the end) is present.

21. CONCERNING BEARS

1. Old-Timers were in the habit of meeting Bear. 2. Then (they) talk to Bear: "What are you doing in my trail?" and, "Give me room this way," (they) say to that Bear. 3. Then that Bear sits down. 4. From there he makes them move aside. Then they pass by, those people; that Bear hears the talking (as Old-Timers pass by). 5. Everything tells (Bear)—the brush, the rocks, the trees tell him everything. 6. And if you speak disrespectfully of the Bear, he knows it immediately; the tree right there tells him. 7. Then he is mad when somebody talks (of him). "Good," Bear says, "I will meet you," he says. Surely he meets that talker. 8. He kills that one right off. 9. Then Old-Timers do not talk of Bear.

22. THE CLOWN

(*Morning*):

1. Then the clown rounds up the people when he wants to talk to (them). 2. When it is still dark in the morning (and they) are not yet interrupted in eating, "You fellows cook (for the fiesta of the day)," he says. 3. "Then you fellows, having finished eating, will gamble, and will dance and also play hand-games" (says the clown in the first speech of the day).

(*Noon*):

4. Then at noon the clown comes when he comes and talks. 5. "Then you fellows stop awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 6. Then the people quit all their own gambling. 7. Then they, every one, go and eat. 8. "When you fellows have finished eating then you gamble awhile, anything at all," he says, "you play awhile," he says, "do anything you please."

(*Evening*):

9. Then the clown also came in the evening. 10. Then he says to the people, "You fellows quit your gambling for awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 11. "Pretty soon when we have finished eating, we will dance," he says, "we will gamble and also play hand-games; you fellows should dance well," he says. 12. "Then when you fellows want to copulate, you should go toward the open places." 13. Then they are going there all night—in the open places.

PERSONAL ANECDOTES

23. JOURNEY FROM TEJON

1. Once we came from Tejon to South Fork. 2. Already we (began to) come at six o'clock in the morning. 3. Straightway we came to the mountains. 4. "Don't you go there in the tall mountains, (there) are many bears," they say. 5. "Good," we say when it is being said. 6. I (am) with my wife. 7. We came on foot. 8. Then we came to the middle of the mountains. 9. At three o'clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty. 10. There we are standing; (there is) no water (of) our bringing. 11. Then from there we looked down the canyon. 12. Then I saw cottonwood trees in the canyon. 13. Then I said to my wife, "I don't know but that water is standing there," I say. 14. From there we went toward the canyon. 15. We arrived there by the cottonwood trees. 16. Nothing; the water is dried up. 17. From there we took leave. 18. We are already very thirsty. 19. (It was) far away (before) we went and arrived in the valley. 20. Already it is getting dark. 21. From there we came toward Caliente, (which was) far away yet. 22. From there we had to go about twenty miles. 23. Already we are getting tired. 24. In spite of this, we are coming. 25. Then we came and arrived at Caliente; at eleven o'clock at night we arrived. 26. There we slept.

539 X
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24. DEER HUNT

1. Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiyam in the big mountains. 2. Then I went and arrived on top of the mountain. 3. From there I tracked the deer. 4. He went far away; he crossed the ridge in the canyon. 5. I am going (after) his tracks standing (there). 6. Far away he came out on the summit. 7. I am coming (after) his tracks standing (there). 8. There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going. 9. Then I, in a sitting position, aimed at him right away. 10. Far away he went and sat down half a mile (away). 11. Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him. 12. He came and dropped down dead. 13. Then from there I went when I saw him. 14. There I skinned him. 15. Then I packed him. 16. From there I came toward home. 17. I (am) the one who packs the deer. 18. Then, "Good," says the old man, when he sees it, "pretty soon we get full," says the old man.

539 X
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25. FIESTA NEAR BISHOP

1. Once in Bishop I (am) the one who lived. 2. Then the fiesta got fixed. 3. Then I went from there; (there are) many people. 4. From every place people came. 5. Then they danced, and (there is) hand-game, and (there is) much gambling. 6. (There are) many people. 7. We are dancing every night. 8. (There are) many women; (there is) much copulation. Six days dancing occurred. 9. Then they quit their own dancing; from there they went and went, the people. 10. From there I went toward Bishop. 11. It is all.

539 X
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26. TRIP TO ISABELLA

1. Yesterday we went toward Isabella. 2. Then it is very hot; (there is) no wind. 3. Then we came back from there. 4. Then the wind blows on us when we return. 5. Then we arrived in our own house. 6. Then we ate when we arrived. 7. Then, having finished eating, I went from there toward Chogil's. 8. Then the wife of Chogil is cooking when we arrived. 9. Then Chogil fed us again. 10. Then from there we came back. 11. Then we ate again when we arrived. 12. Then we got very full. 13. Then I did not yield to my own sleep when I was full. 14. Then, when it was the middle of the night, I slept.

539 X

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

857 539x 159 526

152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their own houses without their own arrows, when losing.

539x 159 524 857

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It lasts a long time.

539x 159 526 857

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does the same next.

539x 159 224 [251] 226 [464]

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

539x 159 222 857 [262] [252]

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunting and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them) every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted. 197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us, perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place (a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigating it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

539x 159 527● [225] 624

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the clown is saying: "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game (will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

285 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

415 (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules.

[492] In contrast to twined ware, all of which was plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had designs in red, or red and black basketry material;

415 money jars further decorated with row of black

●531 mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

531 Either informants had forgotten them, or else few designs had names; when shown some 26 designs taken from Tübatulabal basketry collections, SM recognized 3 (fig. 9) which had descriptive names, king snake design (pokpo·go´no·lo·wun),

Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wun), rattlesnake

[532] design (cĭmĭndiŋlo·wun), "a hard pattern" (ES). Human figure design aboriginal (SM); pictographs of human figures in territory tend to confirm this, although Kroeber holds human figures on baskets result of American influence (Kroeber,

[171] Handbook, 541). ES recognized several Yokuts designs (Kroeber, Handbook, 533, fig. 47, nos. 1, 8, 15, 16) which she had seen on Tübatulabal baskets, but did not know names for them.

285 Mats.- Mats (paht) were made from whole dried trimmed tules, which were soaked before being woven; mats 3-5 ft. wide, of varying lengths, made in plain twined weave with each series of tule weft elements spaced about 3 in. apart. Top, bottom edges finished with tule braid (ta·ła·bil). Specimen 1-21064, large tule mat used for house covering, has braid edge, as has fragment of mat 1-28574; specimen 1-28575, also fragment, has wrap edge. Large mats used to cover walls, floors of living houses, to sit on while working outside, to sleep on. Small tule mats bordered with tule braid, but lacking weft bandings, used on both types baby cradles; hood for baby's second cradle also of tules.

281 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihnibĭ·l)

286 made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.

a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winišt) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

103 boulder at base of mts. (pl. 6d), 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, SW quarter, [773] sec. 20, T26S, R34E. Coyote broke this long boulder in 3 pieces when Bluejay tried to build a bridge from top of mts. across valley to Nichols peak.

12. hamboyam, Cane creek; general term for cane.

13. punʂi·ba·n, meadow containing pit mortar at base of foothills, 1/2 mi. NW of Onyx, SW quarter, sec. 5, T26S, R35E.

14. lelet, Nichols peak. At end of Mythical age Eagle elected to live on this peak (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207).

15. cu·iyala'a ka·ʂa·ban, Spider's pot; rocky ledges on w. edge of first flat SW of Wel- [773] don, NE quarter, sec. 22, T26S, R34E. Spider had cooked chia mush; he came here and spread it out on a rock for his children to eat.

16. kutu'wi·ban, spring at head of canyon, first flat SW of Weldon, sec. 23, T26S, R34E. Eagle and his wife lived here.

17. ku·či·a·pu·lap, spring, head of second flat SW of Weldon.

18. wa·tiniš, Juniper place; 3 mi. SW of Weldon in foothills on s. edge of South Fork valley at mouths of 2 intermittently flowing streams; SE quarter, sec. 29, T26S, R34E.

19. Cave, 3 1/2 mi. W of Cook peak on Goat ranch; NW quarter, sec. 6, T27S, R34E. Abode of a mythological man-monster.

20. anayupun, flat, 4 mi. NE of Isabella on Murphy ranch; the E and W winds fought here.

21. paʈat, springs 2 mi. NE of Cook peak, E side of wide plain; SW quarter, sec. 24, T26S, R33E.

22. pi·li·wi·ban, mt. (?) near Isabella; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as Piliwinipan, near Whiskey Flat or Kernville.

23. yaha·waban, junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; "just a name; there was no village there" (SM); Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Yahaua-pan as name for village site here.

24. yu·mu·gi·wala'aŋ pa·i·na·'aban, obscure meaning in reference to mythological creatures; junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.

25. palakuč, fishing site on Kern r., 3 mi. SW of confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; NE quarter, sec. 1, T27S, R32E; near Indian [531 mound, now leveled, on Monroe Bechtel ranch. 532a] Pictographs abundant at this site.

26. pi·ta·lap, summit on road from Hot Springs valley to Caliente and Tejon ranch.

27. palakuič, Walker basin.

28. paluntanakamapan, water where it falls; fishing site at rapids near w. end of Kern r. gorge; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as name for Bakersfield.

29. pawačahalap, acorn grounds 3 mi. W of Kernville, in Greenhorn mts.

30. wa·gi·na·pu·ban, Split mt., NW of Kernville; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Wokinapüipan as village site on Kern r.

[p. 40(6)]

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

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[171]

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance;
773 not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earth-
773 quakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

531
532

Fig. 14. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 2.

774
776 seen an old woman going from one spring to another on his rancheria; this old woman lived in and owned one of the springs; at another spring an otter (?), le·uše·p, could often be heard, crying "č, č, č." Man fishing at Kernville had seen small person, pa·nugiš, with human hands, fingernails 2 in. long, pulling at his line in water, whereupon fisherman had fled. Very tall man, black-skinned, was seen one morning standing on rock beside Fay creek; man who saw him went toward him, thinking creature was human being, but when man approached him, creature jumped in water, "where he lived in a large rock, which was his home" (SM). A tall man, poko, who wears a long dress of feathers or fur, lives in large rock by Chimney canyon; imut, another manlike creature, lives in mts.; anaŋgayat lives in deep fissure

285 415 handle (fig. 8a), used for drying sweet substance obtained from cane (p. 19).

[492] (e) Saddles were formerly made from tules.

415 531 In contrast to twined ware, all of which was plain, all coiled ware except piñon jars had designs in red, or red and black basketry material; money jars further decorated with row of black mt. quail crests and, in post-white times, red yarn, inserted around shoulders. Pieces of abalone shell, shell or glass beads not used for decoration.

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Fig. 9. Basket design elements. a, rattlesnake; b, little boy; c, kingsnake.

little boy design (anayhi·lo·wun), rattlesnake design (cImIndiŋlo·wun), "a hard pattern" (ES).

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281 286 Rabbitskin blanket.- Fur blankets (wihnibI·l) made from jackrabbit skins; woven on 4-post frame (fig. 10), chiefly by men. About 12 (SM), 40 (FP) skins needed for blanket, which was "as big as woolen double blanket" (MM), 6 x 8 ft. (SM). Jacks skinned, making cut down belly; fresh skin cut from head to tail into strips 1 1/2 in. wide, about 15 in. long; these rolled

[p. 33(a)]

T 323 [171] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

T 415 Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso T [532] woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); FM denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 756 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.
177 Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with [32] bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

103 boulder at base of mts. (pl. 6d), 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, SW quarter, [773] sec. 20, T26S, R34E. Coyote broke this long boulder in 3 pieces when Bluejay tried to build a bridge from top of mts. across valley to Nichols peak.

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[p. 40(6)]

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyi

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of
● 532 area; these "have always been there; they were painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hi'lwal) who
173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM).
[776] Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

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[171]

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance;
773 not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earth-
773 quakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

774 776 human or animal in form, who dwelt in certain localities; all these humanly shaped beings, together with shaman's animal helpers and many other animals, as bear, deer, coyote, rattlesnake, owl, hawks, etc., referred to generically as yu·mu·gi·wal, term which SM equated with Yokuts tipni (Kroeber, Handbook, 512) when it was used in reference to animals. Belief in these yu·mu··gi·wal entered into many phases of daily life; yu·mu·gi·wal not necessarily malevolently inclined, but all such had to be respected, more or less feared. Included among them were small dwarfs or "brownies" (ya'hI'Iwal) about 3 ft. high, who "looked like Indians." When hunters out camping at night, these dwarfs sometimes threw pebbles at them as they sat around fire; men picked up pebbles, spat tobacco juice on them, threw them back to dwarfs who could be heard sniffing greedily at rocks in dark, licking off tobacco juice. Brownies also occasionally actually appeared to people (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207); "when he was ill, Tony Pablo saw one of these yumugiwal looking in through the window at him; the dwarf had come to see what was the matter with him, but he didn't make Tony sick" (MM). While in jimsonweed trance MM had seen dwarf, who advised him to take second dose of jimsonweed. Pictographs in area (figs. 13, 14) also attributed to these brownies.

Many yu·mu·gi·wal are water spirits; in every spring, pool, river there dwells spirit who owns that particular body of water. One evening SM had

532

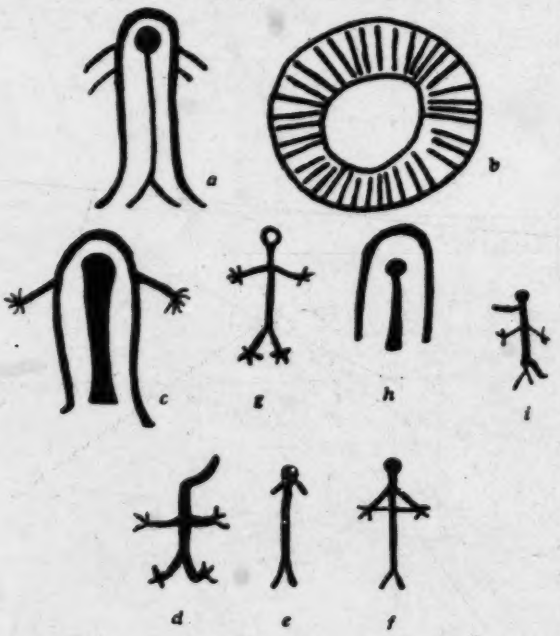

Fig. 13. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 6.

[p. 61(a)]

531
532

Fig. 14. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 2.

774
776 seen an old woman going from one spring to another on his rancheria; this old woman lived in and owned one of the springs; at another spring an otter (?), le·uše·p, could often be heard, crying "č, č, č." Man fishing at Kernville had seen small person, pa·nugiš, with human hands, fingernails 2 in. long, pulling at his line in water, whereupon fisherman had fled. Very tall man, black-skinned, was seen one morning standing on rock beside Fay creek; man who saw him went toward him, thinking creature was human being, but when man approached him, creature jumped in water, "where he lived in a large rock, which was his home" (SM). A tall man, poko, who wears a long dress of feathers or fur, lives in large rock by Chimney canyon; imut, another manlike creature, lives in mts.; anaŋgayat lives in deep fissure

[p. 61 (6)]

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
136 cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yĭta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwĭt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cĭmil), gray squirrel (cawanĭnt), blue squirrel (tĭšĭ'ĭgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bĭ·l), bluejay (a·ɫayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
776 usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
● [533] the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not
224 accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space
[237] cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
276 beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and
[301] when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[534] "I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[534] hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyī

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of
532 area; these "have always been there; they were
173 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hĪ'Iwal) who
[776] are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM). Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

756 latter possessed similar objects, used for rain
177 making in early days, but that such "were buried with owner when he died."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Musical instruments few, simple; 3 varieties rattles used; drum (tamburin, Sp.) lacking; SM had made one at Tejon and brought it home, but "Tübatulabal didn't use them." Musical rasp also lacking.

Rattles.- Split-stick rattle (ka·ba·ba·yništ) made from peeled stalk dry elderberry (ku·hup̣ïl), Sambucus velutina D. & H., foothill floral area, split down center; split ends both same length; total length of specimen made by SM 18 in., length of split section 14 in., handle 4 in. Made by men; used at dances to accompany dance songs (SM).

[171] Cocoon rattle (pa·ʒo·alginišt) similar to Maidu rattle (Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37b); consisted of slender stick about 12 in. long with 4-6 cocoons (či·ko·lolondiŋ hani·n, butterfly's house) tied on upper end. Slit made in cocoon at one end, 2-3 small pieces rock put in, slit end tied with twine and cocoon attached with twine to stick. Old men used cocoon rattles to accompany songs they sang softly to themselves at night after going to bed (SM).

Dewclaw rattle (ša·lišt) consisted of 8 dewclaws (ša·lu·n) threaded through short buckskin thongs knotted at one end and tied to stick about 5 in. long. When rattle shaken, end of stick to which dewclaws attached held downward. This rattle used by rain doctor.

Whistle.- Quill whistle made "from a big feather cut like a [cane] pipe," mentioned by FP; her father had used such (see p. 73). PN agreed quill whistle used, but neither informant could remember name for this whistle or give further details; SM knew nothing about it.

Boys and girls made whistles from short hollow sections of Eriogonum nudum Dougl., foothill floral area (šiko·nišpu·l).

Flute.- Flute (lu·lu'išt) made of peeled elderberry stalk from which pith had been poked out with stick; about 26 in. long; had 6 holes, first of which was 8 in. below mouth end, other 5 spaced at 1 1/2-in. intervals beyond it toward distal end; end blown. Man played flute to himself, for own amusement during daytime; did not take it into sweat house to play; young men sometimes played it when courting (SM).

Musical bow.- Musical bow (pi·bi·wi·ništ, also name for jew's-harp) used occasionally, "not very much"; man plucked bowstring of hunting bow with index finger as he held one end of bow in mouth (SM).

[p. 35(b)]

524 534 Bull-roarer.- Bull-roarer (ku·liš, lit., instrument for playing, i.e., toy) made from stalk of Spanish bayonet, Yucca whipplei Torr., foothill, desert floral areas. Stalk dried, split in half, section 8-10 in. cut off, attached at center (sic) to 4-ft. length of native twine; stick handle lacking. Boys' toy (SM).

TOBACCO

137 249 Two species of tobacco (šo'ogonht), Nicotiana bigelovii Wats. and N. attenuata Torr., grow wild on floors of Kern and South Fork valleys and on slopes of lower foothills, at elevation from 2500-2800 ft. Of 2 species, N. bigelovii commoner than smaller-leaved N. attenuata, but native term is same for both and 2 species grow side by side, sometimes less than 1 ft. apart. At various points in South Fork valley not yet under cultivation wild tobacco plants are concentrated in 1- or 2-acre patches or fields (šo'ogonhtiŋ ugan), sparsely interspersed with low clumps of brush and turkey mullein; from such fields (pl. 3) tobacco was and still is (1933) being gathered for use by Tübutulabal women.

249 Tending and preparation.- Tobacco patches never burned over in fall; although ES drew my attention to half-burned clump of brush situated in patch she and FP were "working" in 1932, saying tobacco seemed to grow better where ground had been burned over, she and SM both said tobacco patches were never fired in order to produce better stands of plants next year. "The rain is what makes the plants grow" (SM).

In spring, about June 1, when plants 18-24 in. high, and beginning to blossom, women working singly or in groups of 2-3 began tending wild tobacco. This first tending consisted in snipping off, with thumb and index finger of right hand, side shoots and occasionally tips of plants. Hardy plants, mainly of bigelovii species, which did not have too many small shoots clustering around base of main stalk, selected for attention; after woman had pruned plant she would sometimes, but not always, wrench off some of large leaves which grow flat on ground around base of plant, and occasionally she would uproot weed growing close by plant. Selection of plants to tend made more or less at random from among numerous healthy specimens surrounding women workers; according to MM it was owing to this that later, several pruned plants were overlooked at final harvesting of crop. At first pruning of their 1932 crop ES and FP worked from 6 a.m. to around 10 a.m.; all trips to tobacco patch made early in morning, to take advantage of comparative coolness for, although pruning itself not difficult, it necessitates almost constant stooping over plants in full glare of hot midsummer sun. Also sun makes tobacco "strong" and sticky

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 516] Tubatulabal U522

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two T Y [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they T Y were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening 515 [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T to entertain others or to practice, a man would Y dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of 517 Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sotoţlo by 323 women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y Money.---The small disc money of clamshells 436 was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" 286 skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y Calendar.---A calendrical system of months 805 based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" 301 for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of [237] sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y Musical instruments.---The flute (uţoi´´i) 534 was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, [171] although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said ● [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

[p. 26(a)]

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-8 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575), fragment of tule matting with braided edge
[177] (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi-mapï-l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:

"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
● 535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and they danced around a fire in a big circle for a long time. A few singers who knew the war songs stood between the fire and the circle of dancers; they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for dances at a burning. During the night of a war dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly, principally to the men. The next morning the men would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

788 "At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
765 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
173 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
535 and went around the fire inside the enclosure, slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug
535 a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
765 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feath-
768 ers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomip, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 ●535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wišt) tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totahoid" dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elabbrate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
●535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (FN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans
[177] were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

535 Social dances sometimes given "just for fun" according to FP, although SM denied this; in summer such dances held outdoors; in winter, inside sweat house (FN), or dwelling house if latter large enough. Not customary to hold dance at end of piñon, acorn harvests (FP, SM), although people "could, if they wanted to" (FP).

788 Minor rituals, elements of ritual.- Several minor rituals have been referred to; they include weather shaman's treatment of seeds (see section on Shamanism), deer hunting ritual (see section on Basic Subsistence), offering of tobacco at eclipse, etc. At strange body of water, before drinking, person put small amount of eagle down on water and said to spirit living in stream (SM), "I am going to drink this water; don't make me sick." Offerings for minor rituals included tobacco, eagle down, shell money; seeds, meal not used. From context of informants' remarks eagle down not attached to ends of stick, although I did not inquire specifically about this. Offerings were left on bare ground which had been brushed clean with hands; no altars; formulas accompanied most ritual offerings.

346 Ceremonial structure for larger rituals and ritual dress have been mentioned; ritual apparatus simple (above). Ritual number 3; dancing proceeded clockwise.
[801]

[p. 71(b)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

29. There that woman went and stood. 30. From there she talked. "Why are you following me?" she says to that one, her own husband. "I am bad," she says. 31. There that one, her husband, stood when that one, his own wife, is saying (this). 32. "Good," says that one, his wife, "if you want to go with me, then we will cross the ocean." 33. "Good," says her husband. 34. "And do you see that mountain? We will go out there, and when we get on top then Crow will come to us when he sees (us) going out; Crow will pass by very close to our eyes; 'Caw,' he says here, and goes away; he takes an eye out here and goes away."

35. From there they went on top of the water; in a dustspout. 36. Far away they arrived there on the mountain. 37. Then they went out on top. 38. Then Crow came. 39. Then that man took out his amulet. 40. Then he fastened it on his own head. 41. Then Crow passed by here and went away; "Caw"; when passing by here (Crow) took (the man's) amulet (instead of his eye). 42. From there they went downward. 43. Then that one, his wife, said, "Do you see that valley?" she says. 44. "Yes," says that one, her husband. 45. Then they arrived very close. 46. Then that one, his wife, says, "Go in that house; the house (is) a big one; and I will go the other way. (There are) many houses there, and in the evening I will see you," says that one, his wife.

47. "Good," says that one, her husband. There that one, her husband, arrived in the house. 48. There a man, the chief, lives. "Come in, come in," he says. 49. There the man sat down. 50. Then that chief said, "What are you coming to do here (so) far away?" 51. "I am following my own wife," he says. 52. "Don't say (that), your wife is bad. She may not go back again, but you will see her pretty soon in the evening. People dance (then)."

53. Then already when it became night one man yelled—this one (is) a clown—"Make ye fire immediately, make fire," says that clown. "Come ye immediately, come," the clown says. 54. Then all the people came. 55. Then they danced all night; (there is) hand-game, and also they are dancing, and also, (there is) gambling. 56. Then they quit in the morning.

57. From there they all scattered. 58. From there that man went back again to the chief. 59. Then the chief says, "Do you desire your own wife?" he says. 60. "Yes," says the man. 61. "Well, pretty soon I will call that one your wife and she will go with you," he says. 63. Then the man came. 64. Then the chief said, "Call the wife of this man." 65. Then that man went; there he brought her. "Go with your husband," says the chief. 66. "Good," says the man. 67. "But after three days, then you will touch your own wife," says the chief. 70. "Good," says the man.

71. From there they came. 72. Then they arrived far away. 73. Then also (they) came in a dustspout on top of the water. 74. Then they emerged from the water; they are still coming. 75. There they returned in the dark. 76. There they slept. 77. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 78. Then the man touched his wife. 79. Then he turned away back again. 80. Then they came in the morning from there. 81. Far away they came as it got dark; there again they slept.

82. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 83. Then he turned toward his own wife. 84. Then he touched his own wife; right away he climbed on his own wife; he copulated with his own wife. 85. Then when he had finished copulating, he slept. 86. Then, at daylight, he woke up. 87. Then he saw (something); (a stalk of) yucca is lying alongside of him. 88. There the man got up. 89. There he is standing.

90. "I can't help it now," he says; "the chief told me rightly (that) I should not take that one." 91. From there he went to his own house. 92. He arrived there, at home. 93. Then he tells those people, "I am one who has been a traveler when I followed my own wife far away across the ocean; I arrived there and I brought that one, my own wife, back in vain," he says. 94. "Then that chief told me rightly, but I did not believe him when he says, 'After three days you sleep with your own wife,' the chief says to me in vain, and right away I took that one, my own wife, before three days." 95. "Then she was turned into yucca." 96. "From there I came alone." 97. It stood (ended) pretty soon.

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation. [537]

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, Tübatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1/v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539] "I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539] hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyi

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of
532 area; these "have always been there; they were
173 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hi'lwal) who
[776] are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM). Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

526 (hali·wišt) made from willow, 6 ft. long, pointed on one end. Two lines of willow brush piled up about 20 ft. apart; 2 players, men and onlookers [525] placed bets with third man before game commenced. Women never played; "it was too hard a game for women" (SM). One player started hoop rolling toward opposite brush fence, then both players shot at hoop with poles; if one man slid pole through rolling hoop he won and new game started immediately; if hoop came to rest with pole touching top or side of it, this counted a point for owner of pole; 6 points made game. Very popular game, played "every day" (SM).

524 Shooting game (po·ʂil) played with small marks (po'ozišt) made of pieces of tule well wrapped in bit of buckskin described by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

526 Men's shinny game (pa·wa·šil) played with single oak shinny stick (pa·wa·šišt), curved at 525 lower end, and oak ball (homoyišt); goal posts (mu·giništ) for each end of field consisted of 2 posts set 10 ft. apart, with nothing strung between them; distance between 2 sets of posts about 600 ft. Each team composed of 5 men; no umpire; 2 men on each team guarded their team's goal posts; when one team succeeded in getting ball through opposing team's goal, game ended; stakes collected and divided between members of winning team; in reply to my question whether bets wagered on this game, ES replied with fine scorn, "Certainly they bet; they wouldn't run on a hot day for nothing!" Shinny contests often intertribal affairs, held between Kawaiisu-Tejon Yokuts at Tejon; Kawaiisu-Chumash in Kawaiisu territory; Tübatulabal-Chumash at Tejon, etc.

524 No information obtainable on racket game, noted for Yokuts (Culin, 595). Descriptions of several games played by boys 35 yrs. ago given by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

Toys.- Acorn tops (pu·lu·'iništ), made from maul-oak acorns, used by boys; same as top figured by Kroeber (Handbook, 449, fig. 41a), except that Tübatulabal top was spun on pointed stick which protruded from bottom as well as top of acorn; upper end of stick twirled between hands and then pushed forward to spin on ground (SM).

Dolls and animal figurines made from red clay by children (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227); boys played with small bows and arrows, bull-roarer (see section on Musical Instruments).

538 Telling of myths.- Occasions for telling myths (tɪ''ɪbinuga'adwal) in winter often of social nature; persons gathered after supper at house of old man or woman who had reputation for narrating stories well; when it grew dark old person, who owned certain myths, would tell these until about midnight; after this his auditors slept until morning star appeared in sky, when they were roused by old people and told to go outside and jump in pool of icy water once (SM); 3 times (MM);

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as [552] means of illustration. Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in [171] hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to
[602] him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs, outfit either buried with him or passed on by in-
538 heritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

●539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[888] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[886] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

462 Why hunting man's work, preparation of food
773 woman's, rationalized in Coyote myth, recorded in English from MM; shorter variant was given in Tübatulabal by SM (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). This myth, told in answer to query whether women ever hunted, may have wide distribution, but so far no parallels to it have been recorded among Californian or Great Basin tribes, although Dr. A. H. Gayton tells me that she has found mention that sexes were originally separated, in mythology of Navaho, Yana, Miwok, and Assiniboine. The myth is as follows:

462 Myth of Contest to Determine Division of Labor
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Before Indians lived on this earth, there were many different kinds of animals and birds living here; Chicken Hawk, Sparrow Hawk, Mt. Lion, Bear, Coyote, Eagle. Eagle was the chief. And all of these were men; there were no women, it is said.

These men hunted rabbits every day; but Coyote stayed home every time they went hunting, and hauled wood for his companions. He brought wood to each man's camp; that's all Coyote did all the time.

And when the men were tired of hunting rabbits, they hunted deer for a change. The next day, when all of them went to hunt deer, they went farther off than when they hunted rabbits; they went away up in the mts.

Up on the mts. the hunters saw smoke rising from a peak, opposite where they were standing. They said, "Perhaps somebody is living over there; perhaps there are people there." One hunter said, "I think we should tell Coyote about this, when we get home tonight." That's what he said.

In the evening the men returned home; every one of them had a deer. And Coyote had the firewood piled up at each man's camp. Each man cut a little piece of meat and gave the meat to Coyote; every man did this. Coyote ate that meat for his supper. After supper the men told Coyote, "We saw smoke from the top of that mt.; we saw it across on another mt., a long way off." And Coyote said, "Perhaps there is somebody living over there; let's send somebody over there tomorrow, to find out."

So the men chose one man to go, Road Runner (the chaparral cock). They said, "This fellow, Road Runner, can travel fast." Next morning Road Runner started, after breakfast; the rest of the men went off to hunt again. But Coyote stayed home to haul wood for the camps.

Road Runner went way up on the mt.; and as he went he saw a lizard running close beside him. Road Runner got close to Lizard; he grabbed Lizard and swallowed him. Perhaps Lizard was Road Runner's "life" and that was why Road Runner swallowed him.

Over on the mt. where Road Runner was going there were many women-creatures; lots of women, Eagle-Woman, Coyote-Woman, Mt. Lion-Woman, and

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many others. And all those women were sitting around a big pit mortar bed that had lots of mortar holes in it; lots of women were sitting down there pounding piñons. There were no men, only women there. Suddenly one woman said, "Oh! The edge of my vagina is pulsating." All the women laughed; soon another woman said, "Oh! mine is too." Then one of the women said, "Maybe somebody is coming; perhaps a man is coming." And all the women said, "Perhaps." Then one of those women looked and saw a man coming. She said, "You see; I told you. Somebody is coming, coming from over there now."

Road Runner saw those women sitting down there at the pit mortar, all of them. So he went down there; he said, "Hello."

"Hello," said all the women; and they asked him what he was doing up there in the mountains.

Road Runner said, "My companions saw your smoke yesterday, from across on that mt. And they told me to come here and find out whether people were living here. All of them are men over there," Road Runner said.

"And here there are no men," the women told Road Runner; "here all are women."

Soon all the women got up; they called to Road Runner, "Come on; come on down to our house," they said, and Road Runner went with them. When they arrived at their house they told Road Runner, "Come in."

They selected a cooking basket and they mixed ground chia seeds with water in the basket, until the basket was almost full, and then they gave the chia gruel to Road Runner to eat. Also they gave him a piece of deermeat.

Road Runner drank the chia; he drank it all, and when he was through eating he sat down for awhile. After awhile the chia made him sick; he felt like vomiting, and he vomited; he vomited lizard and the chia. Lizard chased all those women; they got up and ran when he chased them. "What kind of food does this man eat?" they said. Lizard was alive.

Then Road Runner recovered and those women returned after he recovered. Mountain Lion-Woman went into the house and brought out chia seeds, tied up in a little bag. She said to Road Runner, "When you get home give this to Mt. Lion."

Road Runner replied, "All right."

And another woman, Chicken Hawk-Woman, came out of the house with the same thing, a little bag, with acorns in it. She gave the bag to Road Runner. "When you get home you give this to Chicken Hawk," she said. Road Runner said, "All right."

Each of the women gave a little bag of food to Road Runner for each man over there at the camp. Road Runner told each one, "All right." The last woman to come was a big fat woman; she too had a little bag of seeds, and she said to Road Runner, "You give this to Coyote."

Then the women said, "In 3 days we will come over to your camp; 3 days from now we will all

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come over." Road Runner replied, "All right." Then he returned home; he had a large load to pack home.

Over at the hunters' camp Coyote kept watching all the time for Road Runner; Coyote was in a hurry, he wanted to spy Road Runner first. Every little while Coyote went up on a hill and looked to see whether Road Runner was coming. Then in the evening he saw Road Runner returning. Coyote went to meet him; he wanted to learn what Road Runner had discovered over there.

Coyote said to Road Runner, "Did you find out about things over there?" And Road Runner replied, "Oh, you'd better wait; you don't want to be told now; you wait." But Coyote came alongside of Road Runner and whispered,

"Hurry up! You'd better tell me!"

Road Runner said, "Wait until all our companions come home. Then you will find out," he said.

Soon the hunters returned to camp, in the evening. After supper they all gathered together; they were going to learn what Road Runner had discovered, now.

Road Runner said, "There are all women over there where I went; lots of women. Each woman gave me a little bag," he said, "and they told me to give each one of you a bag," Road Runner explained. Then he gave each hunter what a woman had sent by him. He told the hunters, "These women said they were going to come over here in 3 days."

"Good, good, good!" said Coyote.

In 3 days' time the women came. Each woman had a pack; one woman had acorns, one chia, one piñons -- all the different sorts of seeds to eat. And each woman had a bow and arrows; all of them had arrows, all those women. Road Runner went to meet the women; he went to tell each woman where each man's camp was situated. He said, "There's Mt. Lion's house over there; Mt. Lion lives over there." So Mt. Lion-Woman went over to Mt. Lion's house.

"There's Chicken Hawk's house over there; that's Chicken Hawk's house," said Road Runner. Chicken Hawk-Woman went over to Chicken Hawk's house.

Each of the women went to the house of the man who was of her own kind, as Road Runner directed. At last only one woman was left; oh!, a big woman; she came to Road Runner and he said, "There's Coyote's house, way over there." So the big, fat woman went to Coyote's house.

The next day all the men went hunting and all the women went to grind acorns and chia. The hunters returned in the evening; the women had everything cooked and ready for them when the hunters came home for supper.

The following day the women told the men, "We are going to go hunting now; you men go and grind some acorns."

When the women returned in the evening, each one of them had a deer; every one of the women

462 had a deer. Some of the men had finished their
773 work and had come home before the women returned,
539 but some of the men were still over by the pit mortar, cooking acorns; they didn't know very much about cooking acorns, those men.

At sundown, Coyote had not returned home; he was still up at the pit mortar, leaching acorn meal. Coyote felt aggrieved; he was angry, too. When sundown came and Coyote had not yet come home, Coyote-Woman went over to the pit mortar to help him. Finally Coyote and his wife finished leaching the acorns, and returned home too.

Next day all the men went up on the hills to hunt, and all the women went to the pit mortars to grind acorns and seeds. All the men went to hunt deer and this time Coyote went, too. He didn't haul any more wood; he went hunting. When the men had gotten far up on the mt., Coyote said, "You men wait. We're going to talk about those women." So the men stopped.

"Those women have bows and arrows and they hunt; they send us over to the pit mortars to grind acorns," Coyote said. "That's not right. I think women better handle the mortar and pestle," Coyote said. "That's just right for them; that's a woman's job, not a man's," Coyote said. "Tomorrow we're going to talk it over; we will have a big talk. We are going to shoot at a target. If those women win, then they can handle the arrow. If we win, then we can keep on hunting and handle the arrow, and the women will handle the pestle, all the time."

Everyone said, "All right. We'll do that."

When they returned home in the evening, after supper Coyote called to everyone to gather together; he told all the men and women to assemble, and then he said, "We are going to have a big talk here. Tomorrow we are going to shoot at a target; if you women win then you can handle the arrows, and we men will handle the pestle and grind acorns. But the way it is now, you women going hunting and we men grinding acorns - that's not right. That's women's work," Coyote said. "Tomorrow morning I am going to set up a target; we will shoot at it."

The women said, "All right."

That night Coyote couldn't sleep. At midnight he got up; he went way up on top of the mt. and built a fire. Then he returned home, and when he came back he said, "You people get up now; the morning star is up; get up now, hurry!"

Road Runner got up; he looked and said, "Oh, that's not the morning star over there; that's a fire you built up there on top of the mt., you devil," Road Runner told Coyote.

Coyote called out again, "Hurry up!" But everyone went back to sleep again. When daylight really came everyone got up; after breakfast Coyote set up a target, and then he called out, "Everybody line up to shoot. Get ready!"

One of the women, Mt. Lion-Woman, was a good shot; she was pretty hard to beat shooting.

Each couple lined up in a double column; each

462 woman was standing beside her mate, and each
773 pair were going to shoot together, both at the
539 same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart, over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a
527 big time" for his induction; "everybody came; they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to all the people; he told them to put their money down to give to people who were sick or poor, and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP). New chief bore part of expenses for this feast; people present also contributed money and food; no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyi

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were
532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hi'lwal) who
173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM).
[776] Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 8 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

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[For literary texts, see category 116, the complete source.]

848 married, "child would then have a stepfather, who would treat him as his own child" (SM).

551 553 Names, nicknames.- Name given child week after birth, usually by child's maternal grandmother, but also by paternal grandfather or father; either man, woman named boys and girls. Little formality attached to name giving; person "just told the parents the child's name." Children named for ancestors who had to have been dead at least 2, 3 yrs.; now sometimes named also for living relatives (SM). FP thought people "didn't care whether children were named for relatives or not." Names for males, females not used interchangeably; names not kept secret, often used in direct address; no taboo against pronouncing name of dead. Most names meaningless. Some examples of names follow; Gifford also gives several (Gifford, 1917, 227):

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Men	Women
ɣukaya (MM)	wišimlĭt
še·weh (SM)	čiwa'agum
tiya'bĭ ("Little Bill" Chico, dead)	šo·anuh
po'onol, a type of basket (Jose Chico, dead)	am ba šum (LT)
wo·go·loh ("Old Bill" Chico, dead)	mapali·p
yu·hu·nuc	ča·gum (Petra Miranda)
ne·yil (Tony Pablo)	ačawi·lot (FP, dead)
tu·gayaya·l, a mythical bird (FM)	či·wa·wugum (PN)

551 553 Nicknames bestowed on men, occasionally on women by relatives, friends; had meanings; sometimes used oftener in referring to individual than proper name, but some individuals' nicknames not known generally. A few nicknames were:

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Men	Women
mo'olohy, brown bear (SM)	u·nal, bear
elemgil, greedy	
muhumbišt, owl	
išt, coyote	
tomogul, bumblebee	

855 Childhood.- Young children seldom whipped, but frequently scolded; LT threatened to whip 4-yr.-old daughter with nettles once in my hearing, but was on whole indulgent to child, feeding her whenever she whined for food, holding her on lap frequently, always taking child with her on short trips, etc. MM so markedly indulgent with his adopted son, 8 yrs. old, that SM, MM's father, criticized him for always buying boy [857] candy, giving him what he asked for. Older children of 12-16, both boys and girls, took protective interest in younger siblings, but were seldom left to take care of them for any length

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither
423 band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here, but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of [551] the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish, muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdzu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here [648] again and died here. The Tübatulabal never had any fights with them."

Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

425 Patches of wild tobacco were free to be used
423 by anyone, but once woman had started tending plants in particular patch, plants became hers and sometimes women marked boundaries of their patches with sticks laid on ground. Same woman did not, however, tend one patch year after year (FP). [421] No ownership of eagle eyries, seed areas, piñon or acorn trees (SM, FP).

428 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband
768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

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[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i.e. FRANK MANUEL. - Analyst

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[P. 53b] Tubatulabal NS22

saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

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Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

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F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana'twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na'nak ma ana'telh:n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi''i:t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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[P. 549] Tubatulabal PS72

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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [tɨpnil] day and night until she dreamt." She married Ceče'ɨs, who was Watiˊsti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wuˊni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about nomenclature encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chief's and Shamans, 398.

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM).

[538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

[552] Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

[171]

[648]

848 married, "child would then have a stepfather, who would treat him as his own child" (SM).

551 Names, nicknames.- Name given child week after
553 birth, usually by child's maternal grandmother, but also by paternal grandfather or father; either man, woman named boys and girls. Little formality attached to name giving; person "just told the parents the child's name." Children named for ancestors who had to have been dead at least 2, 3 yrs.; now sometimes named also for living relatives (SM). FP thought people "didn't care whether children were named for relatives or not." Names for males, females not used interchangeably; names not kept secret, often used in direct address; no taboo against pronouncing name of dead. Most names meaningless. Some examples of names follow; Gifford also gives several (Gifford, 1917, 227):

551

Men	Women
yukaya (MM)	wišimlĭt
še·weh (SM)	čiwa'agum
tiṇa'bĭ ("Little Bill" Chico, dead)	šo·anuh
po'onol, a type of basket (Jose Chico, dead)	am ba šum (LT)
wo·go·loh ("Old Bill" Chico, dead)	mapali·p
yu·hu·nuc	ča·gum (Petra Miranda)
ne·yil (Tony Pablo)	ačawi·lot (FP, dead)
tu·gayaya·l, a mythical bird (FM)	či·wa·wugum (PN)

551 Nicknames bestowed on men, occasionally on
553 women by relatives, friends; had meanings; sometimes used oftener in referring to individual than proper name, but some individuals' nicknames not known generally. A few nicknames were:

551

Men	Women
mo'olohy, brown bear (SM)	u·nal, bear
elemgil, greedy	
muhumbišt, owl	
išt, coyote	
tomogul, bumblebee	

855 Childhood.- Young children seldom whipped, but frequently scolded; LT threatened to whip 4-yr.-old daughter with nettles once in my hearing, but was on whole indulgent to child, feeding her whenever she whined for food, holding her on lap frequently, always taking child with her on short trips, etc. MM so markedly indulgent with his adopted son, 8 yrs. old, that SM, MM's
[857] father, criticized him for always buying boy candy, giving him what he asked for. Older children of 12-15, both boys and girls, took protective interest in younger siblings, but were seldom left to take care of them for any length

721 who had no friends, and with the Koso; the Tübatulabal and the Koso once had a big fight at Walker's pass." FC had picked up arrowheads on a battlefield on Nichols peak, which lies on border of Tübatulabal-Kawaiisu areas. As among most California tribes, wars did not last long, nor were [727] fatalities heavy.

[754] Motives.- Motives for making war of usual variety (Kroeber, Handbook, 843), except witchcraft not mentioned by informants. Not every quarrel led to war; when Tübatulabal on one occasion broke formation at communal antelope drive (see section on Basic Subsistence) and Yokuts killed some of Tübatulabal taking part in drive, revengeful actions by their hosts did not lead to Tübatulabal-Yokuts war; "the Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Tejon, and Ventura people who were taking part in the drive just went home right away, and the Tübatulabal didn't keep fighting with the Yokuts because of this" (SM). On other hand, theft of seeds from women by strangers might promulgate series of intertribal raids.

726 Personnel of war parties.- Thirty soldiers
701 (wa·tam), grown able-bodied men, constituted "a big war party" (SM). Night before going to war, soldier could sleep with wife; in morning he rose early, swam; not subject to any food taboos. Soldiers took only arrows with them, no food, because "they didn't go a long way off to fight, and they'd come back in evening." Women did not accompany war parties. Raids staged in usual manner (Kroeber, Handbook, para. 2, 400); if possible men, women, children killed inside houses, after which raiders hurriedly retreated. Little hand-to-hand fighting in open warfare; half of force not left behind for reserves, as is situation mentioned in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 201). All fighting stopped at nightfall, or "when they had no more arrows they quit and came home to make some more" (SM).

701 Leader (nono·i'il) selected by chief, who did
● 553 not himself accompany war parties; leader would be man who had killed one or more foes in previous fights and thus earned title of nono·i'il, previous to his appointment to leadership. After some of Koso had settled in South Fork valley they and [648] Koso across Sierras to E were asked by Tübatulabal to aid latter in war against Yokuts group; these allies not paid for their assistance, but gave help as evidence of their friendliness.

727 Prisoners, war dance.- Prisoners of either sex not taken; scalping, torture denied by all informants. Soldiers took dead enemies' bows and arrows, or "just one arrow" (MM) and displayed these when they returned home; these bows (mugutin a·lin, dead bow) put to practical use by men who had taken them (SM).

726 War dances of incitement, or victory dances
727 after return home not held (SM); FP said no victory dance, but described a round dance, which was

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

and not merely the ordinary term plus a suffix as in the case of relatives by affinity. The terms applied to five such relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relatives were obtained. The suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added in these cases, apparently with some such meaning as "used to be;" for this is the meaning given for the analogous Kawaiisu suffix -puni or -repuni. Doubtless the suffix is added to other Tübatulabal terms of affinity besides the five mentioned, but examples were not obtained. It is not unlikely also that the term nawasu (child's spouse's parent) is changed upon the death of one of the connecting relatives, just as the corresponding Kawaiisu term teeni is changed (see p. 232). The Tübatulabal term kali (father's sister's husband) and its identical-reciprocal take the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ (see p. 222). On this account it is suspected that all other analogous terms for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews by affinity likewise take this suffix. However, information on this point was not obtained.

In the following list m. s. and w. s. stand respectively for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

TÜBATULABAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS[5]

ana. Father (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare kumu (father), abu (mother), and ümü (mother).

kumu. Father (after death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father, stepfather. Reciprocals: tumu (son; daughter; brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather, while yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother.

abu. Mother (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare ümü (mother), ana (father), and kumu (father).

ümü. Mother (after the death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother. Reciprocal: tumu (son; daughter; sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child).

[5] The terms anociwan, kuñan, pauwan, soiyin, tohan, wüñin, and yuguan were always given with the terminal -n, which means "my" (see A. L. Kroeber, Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 262, 1909). The terms agist, amust, hümübic, impaiyis, wasumbis, wo.ict, and ya.ubic were never given with the terminal -n. The remaining terms were given both with and without it, and are here listed without it. In reference, and sometimes in address, the suffix -nuñ, also with the meaning "my," is added to the term as in wasumbisnuñ, tôhanuñ, and kutcinuñ.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 423 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here, [551] but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish, muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdsu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here [648] again and died here. The Tübatulabal never had any fights with them."

Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

425 423 Patches of wild tobacco were free to be used by anyone, but once woman had started tending plants in particular patch, plants became hers and sometimes women marked boundaries of their patches with sticks laid on ground. Same woman did not, however, tend one patch year after year (FP). [421] No ownership of eagle eyries, seed areas, piñon or acorn trees (SM, FP).

428 768 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

428 768 was, however, mainly burnt, destroyed, or given away at owner's death or at burning later. Quantity of property destroyed at burnings varied; in event all not destroyed, some of man's property might find its way into his brother's or sons' hands, some of woman's into her sister's or daughter's keeping; husband did not inherit any property from wife or vice versa. FP complained that after her husband's death, SM, her husband's brother, tried to get some of his brother's property; "that was the way they used to do; they'd take everything away from the widow."

428 556 768 If man left 3 sackfuls shell money at his death, son "might save out 2 of them from his father's burning and keep them" to help establish himself as a rich man; this was all right, "because that relation (deceased) would know the son was going to burn that money again later on" (i.e., when son himself died). Man's bow, arrows usually not burnt because "they were hard to make"; deceased woman's mortars, metate, mullers, sometimes necklace, some of her baskets might also be saved by her relatives.

221 484 Movements and trade.- From Feb. through middle of Aug., food-gathering activities kept Tübatulabal shifting about in family groups in lower altitudes (2000-4000 ft.), chiefly in lower and upper Sonoran life zones, in valleys, foothills, river canyons. From Aug. to middle of Nov., groups moved into higher altitudes (5000-6000 ft.), first E to piñon grounds on w. slopes of Sierra Nevadas in Transition zone, then W to acorn grounds in Greenhorn mts. in upper Sonoran zone; family groups or individuals might also go on trading trips after piñon harvest. During short winter season from middle of Nov. to Feb., family groups returned to valley-foothill region in lower and upper Sonoran zones and men did some hunting, fishing, and procured salt from desert, but at this season people "mainly stayed home, not doing anything" (SM) and lived in small hamlets (fig. 11).

487 484 Adults, in couples or small groups, also traveled quite a bit outside home area (SM); Powers, 1875, met a Palagewan at Tule R. reservation who had visited Hopi (Powers, 394). Desire to trade, to hunt, fish, or gather food in certain areas, to play games, obtain services of shaman among reasons mentioned for taking trips. To E, TÜbatulabal went as far as Randsburg on Mohave desert; to S, SW to Tejon in Tehachapi mts. and to Chumash villages near Ventura on Pacific coast; to W as far as Tulare lake, in central San Joaquin valley. As girl FP had camped on desert (see Autobiography of FP); SM as boy of 9 had been to Tejon ranch and Ventura with his father; in going to Chumash villages near Ventura, route lay through Walker's basin to Caliente, thence to Yokuts village, Lapau, then to Tejon, thence via Comanche creek to 2 Chumash villages, makakak and alko·laupal, near Ventura. Trip took 2 days on foot to Tejon, 2 more days from Tejon to Ventura (SM). MM's narrative of trip from Tejon to Caliente confirms former part of this

352 deer sinew (tohi·līŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bï·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for
[221] spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with PN's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

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● 562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 131 197 177 563 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name; the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten; but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to
[602] him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
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855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mum); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[888] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[886] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

788 787 little balls." In evening grandfather took youth outside, questioned him about what he had seen in trance; boy told old man what life he had obtained, if any. All youths could take ants thus; "many of them did" (SM).

787 788 776 276 Youths of 16 or more also fasted single day, in evening swallowed small ball of tobacco and lime, either in sweat house or outside in hills; sometimes animal appeared to seeker, became latter's pet (SM). FP said younger women also took tobacco for same purpose.

788 765 572 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service. PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

T 788 765 572 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [784] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, ~~Koso~~ lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always
wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead
man's clothes, because they were burned, but his
horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they
can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut
my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off
so that it came down a little way over my shoul-
ders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black
too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never
used to wash their faces after a relative had
died, until they ate meat again; they bathed,
but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son
helped me get that money to eat meat again; I
paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a
cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia
and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked
bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after
that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk;
she went up to him and she said, "You killed my
father; now I'm going to kill you." He was
frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened
he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't
kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said
that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed
and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yitiyamup; Legora and Willie
and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down
all the time and make baskets. Not very many women
made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too.
Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with
a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't
ever talk to my son again. That man had poison;
something, I don't know what; all those Tule
reservation people have poison and they all know
about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian
poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison
up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches
living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they
say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that
she has it up here now. They put it in your food,
in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything
like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk
and slept outside on the ground all night. It was
cold; it was in November and there was frost on
the ground. November was the same month my hus-
band was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibI·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (ü·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·num) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 58) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his [702] [728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to [754] admonish evil shamans when they were causing sick- 627 ness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among [171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to 578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely 576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his [525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; "he would send somebody over to a person's house [574] if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported 462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
●574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 ●574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

[p. 78(a)]

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103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.
32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.
33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.
34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.
35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Rull Run creek.
36. tunabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.
37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.
38. i·wakanun, Long valley.
39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.
40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.
41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

595 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as
837 wo·'iśn.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born,
163 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died be-
165 fore they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or
[578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law
784 in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

[p. 44(b)]

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sickness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

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482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days, then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yĭtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yĭtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yĭtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yĭtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yÏtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman.

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her.

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking.

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in [illegible]." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter.

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. 515. Then my wife is angry all the time.

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, košumye·he·hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kwni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, 624 office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing [838 from father to son; women, transvestites never 462] clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the·big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served 624 more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ka·dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 213, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all 761 deaths except those incurred during war believed 756 to have been caused either by witchcraft or 627 poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. [579 Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred 177] in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting [584] parties; most customary form was so-called marriage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in KM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

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584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MM).

587 583 Man marrying second time did not buy second wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

● 582 835 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord
outside house (SM) or [illegible] (FP); LT had lost
cord belonging to [illegible]son, but no mis-
fortune attributed to [illegible]act.

572 Two unrelated boys [illegible] unrelated girls, when
about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship
857 (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls,
bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult
life. Chums used each other's belongings freely,
lived at each other's homes "as much as they
wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood to-
gether; in later life would never assume face-
washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
● [582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not
obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lec-
tured by old man, woman relative at sundown, out-
side house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to
boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP
gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know
what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be
stingy; give visitors food; when they go home
they will say good things about you. Don't talk
about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare
at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't
eat meat or grease when you have your menses;
drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch
your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if
you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life";
many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys
took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, how-
ever, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in
hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of
FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or
salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6
days; during subsequent periods observed these
taboos for length of period only. If menstruating
woman ate meat, her husband would not see game
(SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick
used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; in-
formants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931
said girl at first menstruation stayed in house,
being put over little hole which had hot rocks
underneath "like the hole a woman used when she
had a baby," but that girl was not covered with
anything; mother or old woman took care of girl.
In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at
childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary
occupations during first period; no pit used.

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tübatulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.
487

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also give indications of groups with whom there has been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).
582
648

From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.
439
422
437

In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).
439
484

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as commodity traded intratribally, in winter especially; in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.
439
773

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells, haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.
[825]

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·ngil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštĭh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštĭh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·ngil = 1 cent, hĭštĭh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštĭh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštĭh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštĭh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlit was making a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they boiled and fried it. I met wišimlit's youngest son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him before, because after wišimlit's man was killed in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was. He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.
582 "Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."
But my mother didn't want me to go with him; he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the mts. near the man's place for a long time. The man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming he would fly close to him, knock him down with his wings; then he would cut that man's load all to pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man, too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he never came back any more. That old man raised him; anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago. The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."
Four men went with him, away up on the S side of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That time my mother said to him, "You're all right." Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and helping us. His mother, wišimlit, didn't pay anything for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlit paid for her and brought her to yitiyamup to be Steban's wife. Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know anything about it. When he came home there was a wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we
came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yïtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yïtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yïtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yïtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying. 539X 159 682 648

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out. 539X 159 682 648

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there. 539X 159 833 837 [582]

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying. 539X 159 636 837

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobibgraphy (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

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159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlIt was making a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they boiled and fried it. I met wišimlIt's youngest son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him before, because after wišimlIt's man was killed in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 584 582 Pete was about the same age that I was. He saw me over there at the fiesta.

"Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."

But my mother didn't want me to go with him; he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 231 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta there was a man who used to get eagles from Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the mts. near the man's place for a long time. The man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming he would fly close to him, knock him down with his wings; then he would cut that man's load all to pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man, too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he never came back any more. That old man raised him; anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 627 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my father told me about. It happened a long time ago. The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."

Four men went with him, away up on the S side of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad doctor.

159 584 582 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete came to our camp and he asked for me again. That time my mother said to him, "You're all right." Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and helping us. His mother, wišimlIt, didn't pay anything for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlIt paid for her and brought her to yItiyamup to be Steban's wife. Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know anything about it. When he came home there was a wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 764 765 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't because Pete had children and the horses belonged to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 768 ents took away the man's possessions instead of letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 765 My husband was killed in November and I didn't eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 626 522 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a long time afterward Legora heard that man tell somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 591 585 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old then. We lived up at yïtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 578 278 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River reservation man living up here. They got into a quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

595 837 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as wo·'iin.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born, 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died before they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or [578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 784 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

[p. 44(6)]

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595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

595 837 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as wo·'liin.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born, 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died before they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

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[578]

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

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[p. 44(6)]

T 788 765 572 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that " in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T ● 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [784] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

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159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yĭtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[763] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
[285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was
591 too far; no one goes over there now for acorns
from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful
[252] right near home. Those acorns that grow up at
Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter.
You have to work with them a long time to get
them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all
right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones
come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with
them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda
574 at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and
438 return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd
just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each
other what we had been doing all the time. I'd
gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of
using acorn meal, but the children all liked
chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler
used to come around all the time to trade baskets
for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from
him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost
me $4 in trade.

159 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone
763 in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he
273 was riding that horse and hit him on the side of
682 his head with his wing. Six months after that my
husband died; he was killed. He went over to
Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with
a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one
saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in
his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody
killed him and then took that money off him, be-
cause the pocket he had it in was cut off with a
knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his
wife down here, working for the Brown company; a
white man came and told him about Pete's being
killed. Then they all left that camp and came up
and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols';
Estefana and another girl went up and got her,
then we waited here all day. They were going to
bring my husband's body over here and bury it
down here, but they kept it over in Kernville
all day. My son had no money to pay a man for
bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man
said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then
that white man gave my son $7. The white men at
Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there
at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville
and that man brought the body over here.

159 When they brought Pete's body back from Kern-
764 ville everybody came and stayed at our place that
765 night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in
Spanish). We all cried; one person would start
crying, then everybody would cry, all night long.
The next morning we buried the body. I burned
all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mat-
tresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save
anything of his. The plates I broke and threw
away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well.
If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have
walked around inside the house, bothering us.
[231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son
and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked
522 bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
● 591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old then. We lived up at yïtiyamup; Legora and Willie
585 and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't e.er talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yĭtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
● 591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; [487] Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake [221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me
159 sick again," she said. She's still frightened
754 because those witches made her sick that time. They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling
484 around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
591 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we
[245] returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left; he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and
484 his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

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221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
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House I

Tübat.♂ (1)	Willy Miranda (3)	Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2)	=Tübat.♀ (4)	Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4)	♀ (9)		Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8)	♂ (10)	plus	=Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
	♀ (11)		
	♂ (12)		

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
[343] a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this
[361] hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

[p. 43(a)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman. 539x 159

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her. 837

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. [195] 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking. 539x 159 578

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter. 539x 159

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. [845] 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that [768] (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. [592] 515. Then my wife is angry all the time.

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many 539x 159 [273]

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[p. 43(a)]

594 611 [591] [614 616 618] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called marriage by purchase. [584] Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

[p. 43 (6)]

584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MM).

587 583 Man marrying second time did not buy second wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

582 835 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

● 595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

595 837 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as wo·'iăn.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born, 163 106 females; 28 females or 22 per cent died be- 165 fore they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or [578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law 784 in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

[p. 44(b)]

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595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child
[862] of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when
[841] latter seated. If mother became pregnant while child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration
[597] than other children. If mother of twins overworked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

● 601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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TÜBATULABAL AND KAWAIISU KINSHIP TERMS

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction 219
Phonetic Transcription 220
Tübatulabal 220
Kawaiisu 228
Comparison 232
Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu 232
Kawaiisu, Kaibab Paiute, and Uintah Ute 244

INTRODUCTION

In November and December, 1915, the [illegible] was engaged in an examination of the tribes inhabiting the eastern and southern slopes of the San Joaquin drainage basin to determine the limits in California of social and ceremonial organization on the basis of dual divisions.[1] Among the tribes visited were the Tübatulabal of the Kern River region in the southern Sierra Nevada and the adjoining Kawaiisu of the Tehachapi Mountains at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Both of these Shoshonean groups lack the dual organization for which the writer was seeking. The kinship systems of these two peoples are of especial interest, however, and the facts about them are presented in the following pages. Important features of these systems are the use of single terms for reciprocal relationships (identical-reciprocals), the use of diminutive suffixes, and the use of terms and suffixes denoting the condition of connecting relatives.

[1] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291-296, 1916.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

and not merely the ordinary term plus a suffix as in the case of relatives by affinity. The terms applied to five such relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relatives were obtained. The suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added in these cases, apparently with some such meaning as "used to be;" for this is the meaning given for the analogous Kawaiisu suffix -puni or -repuni. Doubtless the suffix is added to other Tübatulabal terms of affinity besides the five mentioned, but examples were not obtained. It is not unlikely also that the term nawasu (child's spouse's parent) is changed upon the death of one of the connecting relatives, just as the corresponding Kawaiisu term teeni is changed (see p. 232). The Tübatulabal term kali (father's sister's husband) and its identical-reciprocal take the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ (see p. 222). On this account it is suspected that all other analogous terms for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews by affinity likewise take this suffix. However, information on this point was not obtained.

In the following list m. s. and w. s. stand respectively for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

TÜBATULABAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS[5]

ana. Father (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare kumu (father), abu (mother), and ümü (mother).

kumu. Father (after death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father, stepfather. Reciprocals: tumu (son; daughter; brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather, while yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother.

abu. Mother (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare ümü (mother), ana (father), and kumu (father).

ümü. Mother (after the death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother. Reciprocal: tumu (son; daughter; sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child).

[5] The terms anociwan, kuñan, pauwan, soiyin, tohan, wüñin, and yuguan were always given with the terminal -n, which means "my" (see A. L. Kroeber, Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 262, 1909). The terms agist, amust, hümübic, impaiyis, wasumbis, wo.ict, and ya.ubic were never given with the terminal -n. The remaining terms were given both with and without it, and are here listed without it. In reference, and sometimes in address, the suffix -nuñ, also with the meaning "my," is added to the term as in wasumbisnuñ, tôhanuñ, and kutcinuñ.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

●601 tumu. Son, daughter, brother's child (m. s.), sister's child (w. s.), half brother's child (m. s.), half sister's child (w. s.), husband's brother's child, wife's sister's child. Reciprocals: ana (father), abu (mother), kumu (father, father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father), ümü (mother, mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother), tôhan (father's younger brother, mother's sister's husband younger than father), yugu (mother's younger sister, father's brother's wife younger than mother).

patci. Older brother, older half brother, male cousin older than speaker. Reciprocal: nalawi (younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker).

nalawi. Younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker. Reciprocals: kutci (older sister, older half sister, female cousin older than speaker), patci (older brother, older half brother, male cousin older than speaker).

kutci. Older sister, older half sister, female cousin older than speaker. Reciprocal: nalawi (younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker).

impaiyis. Brother (w. s.), male cousin (w. s.), sister (m. s.), female cousin (m. s.). Reciprocal: impaiyis.

tôhan. Father's younger brother, mother's sister's husband younger than father. Reciprocal: tumu (brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child).

yugu. Mother's younger sister, mother's younger half sister, father's brother's wife younger than mother, stepmother. Reciprocals: tumu (sister's child, w. s.; half sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother, while kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather.

aiyawutawa. Stepson. Reciprocals: kumu (stepfather), yugu (stepmother).

anociwan. Stepdaughter. Reciprocals: kumu (stepfather), yugu (stepmother).

pauwan. Father's sister, mother's brother's wife. Reciprocal: amust (brother's child, w. s.; husband's sister's child).

amust. Brother's child (m. s.), husband's sister's child. Reciprocal: pauwan (father's sister, mother's brother's wife).

kali. Mother's brother, father's sister's husband. Reciprocal: kalibin (sister's child, m. s.; wife's brother's child).

kalibin. Sister's child (m. s.), wife's brother's child. Reciprocal: kali (mother's brother, father's sister's husband). Kalipaiyüñ. Wife's brother's child (after death of wife), father's sister's husband (after death of father's sister). It does not seem likely that the ending -paiyüñ is added to kali with the meaning mother's brother or sister's child (m. s.), as the relationship is one of blood, not marriage.

aka. Father's father. Reciprocal: akabin (son's child, m. s.). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

akabin. Son's child (m. s.). Reciprocal: aka (father's father). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

apa. Father's mother. Reciprocal: apavin (son's child, w. s.). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

apavin. Son's child (w. s.). Reciprocal: apa (father's mother). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

601

agist. Mother's father. Reciprocal: agistbin (daughter's child, m. s.). Inasmuch as utsu (mother's mother) and its reciprocal utsubin (daughter's child, w. s.) apply to collateral as well as to lineal relatives, the term agist and its reciprocal agistbin, being analogous, doubtless apply likewise to collateral as well as lineal relatives.

agistbin. Daughter's child (m. s.). Reciprocal: agist (mother's father). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

utsu. Mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's mother's half sister. Reciprocal: utsubin (daughter's child, w. s.; sister's daughter's child, w. s.; half sister's daughter's child, w. s.).

utsubin. Daughter's child (w. s.), sister's daughter's child (w. s.), half sister's daughter's child (w. s.). Reciprocal: utsu (mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's mother's half sister).

hôki. Grandparent or grandchild (after the death of the connecting relative). Reciprocal: hôki.

saka. Great-grandparent. Reciprocal: sakabin (great-grandchild).

sakabin. Great-grandchild. Reciprocal: saka (great-grandparent).

kuñan. Husband. Reciprocal: soiyin (wife).

soiyin. Wife. Reciprocal: kuñan (husband).

wô.ict. Co-wife, co-husband. Reciprocal: wo.ict.

wasumbis. Spouse's parent, wife's mother's sister. Reciprocals: tasi (son's wife), wüñin (daughter's husband). Wasumpaiyüñ or wasumbisipüniñ. Spouse's parent (after death of spouse).

tasi. Son's wife. Reciprocal: wasumbis (spouse's parent). Tasipaiyüñ. Son's wife (after death of speaker's son).

wüñin. Daughter's husband, half sister's daughter's husband. Reciprocal: wasumbis (spouse's parent). wüniüpaiyüñ or wüniüpüniñ. Daughter's husband (after death of speaker's daughter).

ya.ubic. Wife's brother. Reciprocal: piya (sister's husband).

piya.[6] Sister's husband, half sister's husband, husband's brother, daughter's daughter's husband (w. s.). Reciprocals: tugu (brother's wife), ya.ubic (wife's brother), yuguan (wife's sister, wife's mother's mother). Piyapaiyüñ. Sister's husband (after death of speaker's sister, w. s.).[7]

yuguan. Wife's sister, wife's half sister, wife's mother's mother. Reciprocal: piya (sister's husband, half sister's husband, daughter's daughter's husband).

tugu. Brother's wife, daughter's son's wife (w. s.). Reciprocals: hümübic (husband's sister), piya (husband's brother).

hümübic. Husband's sister. Reciprocal: tugu (brother's wife).

nawasu. Child's spouse's parent. Reciprocal: nawasu.

There are certain relationships about which the statements of informants are unsatisfactory or contradictory. These are discussed in the following paragraphs and table. In the table the terms which I have considered as most likely correct are italicized.

By one informant anociwan was given for daughter, by the same informant and one other for brother's daughter (m. s.), and by a third

[6] One informant applied this term also to wife's brother, wife's sister, and brother's wife (m. s.).

[7] Doubtless the ending -paiyüñ is suffixed to piya used in other ways, and to ya.ubic, yuguan, hümübic, and tugu, following the death of the connecting relative. The above example, however, is the only one obtained.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

•601 informant for wife's sister's daughter. The third informant also gave aiyawutawa for wife's sister's son. In the list on page 222 the meanings of these two terms appear as stepdaughter and stepson respectively, as these are the only positively ascertained meanings.

Mrs. John Nicolas, a Kernville Tübatulabal, gave osambis as the term for sister's child (w. s.). She was very positive about it, and although it was obtained from no one else, it may represent a dialectic difference. An Onyx (South Fork of Kern River) informant, Tom Pope, stated that the people about Kernville, on the main Kern River, used certain terms which were not used on the South Fork. He mentioned as an example the term hôki, which is the term for a grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. According to Mrs. Nicolas, there were two terms for great-grandparents, saka for great-grandfather, ipi for great-grandmother, with reciprocals sakabin and ipibin. Other informants gave saka for both grandparents. This, too, may be a dialectic difference. As shown in the case of the Miwok, such variations in a relationship system may occur within a few miles.[8]

UNCERTAIN USAGES OF TERMS*

Relationship	*Informants*					
	Bill Chico	Petra Miranda	Clotilda L. Gomez	Tom Pope	Mrs. John Nicolas	Indian Henry
Wife's sister's child	kali	——	*tumu*	kalibin	kalibin	aiyawutawa anociwan
Wife's sister	*yuguan*	——	piya	*yuguan*	*yuguan*	tugu
Sister's husband (w. s.)	*piya*	kumobic	*piya*	*piya*	*piya*	kumobic
Brother's wife (m. s.)	——	tumubic	piya	piya	*tugu*	*tugu*
Husband's sister	——	kumoanana	tugu	tugu	*hümübic*	*hümübic*
Wife's sister's husband	——	impaiyis	——	——	patci	piya
Husband's brother's wife	——	anakutcim	——	——	anakutcim	tugu

* After this table was in type the following terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law were secured from Mrs. Mary Imitirio, a Tübatulabal woman living on Tule River Indian Reservation, Tulare County, California: Wife's brother, piya; sister's husband (m. s.), piya; wife's sister, yuguan; sister's husband (w. s.), piya; husband's brother, ya.ubic; brother's wife (w. s.), tugu; husband's sister, hümübic, brother's wife (w. s.), tugu.

601 128 The analysis of the Tübatulabal terms of relationship in the succeeding table is on the basis of the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[9] His eighth category, "Condition of the connecting relative," is here amplified in meaning so as to cover the change of terms for father and mother following the death of one or more of their children (see abu and ümü = mother, ana and kumu = father,

[8] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. Compare the meanings of ate, kole, and teale.

[9] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

in the preceding list on p. 222.) The cross used in the following table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

In the following table the category "Generation" is undoubtedly expressed by more terms than would be the case if fuller genealogical

CATEGORICAL ANALYSIS OF TÜBATULABAL KINSHIP TERMS

Term	Generation	Blood or marriage	Lineal or collateral	Sex of relative	Sex of connecting relative	Sex of speaker	Age in generation	Condition of connecting relative
abu	×	×	×	×	....	....	....	×
agist	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
agistbin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
aiyawutawa	×	×	....	×	....	....	....	....
aka	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
akabin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
amust	×	....	×	....	×	×	....	....
ana	×	×	×	×	....	....	....	×
anociwan	×	×	....	×	....	....	....	....
apa	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
apavin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
hôki	....	×	×	....	....	....	....	×
hümübie	×	×	....	×	×	×	....	....
impaiyis	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	....
kalibin	×	....	×	....	×	×	....	×
kali	×	....	×	×	×	....	....	×
kumu	×	....	....	×	....	....	×	×
kuñan	×	×	....	×	....	×	....	....
kutei	×	×	....	×	....	....	×	....
nalawi	×	×	....	....	....	....	×	....
nawasu	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	....
patei	×	×	....	×	....	....	×	....
pauwan	×	....	×	×	×	....	....	....
piya	....	×	....	×	....	....	....	×
saka	×	×	×	....	....	....	....	....
sakabin	×	×	×	....	....	....	....	....
soiyin	×	×	....	×	....	×	....	....
tasi	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	×
tohan	×	....	×	×	....	....	×	....
tugu	....	×	....	×	....	....	....	....
tumu	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
ütsu	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
utsubin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
ümü	×	....	....	×	....	....	×	×
wasumbis	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	×
wô.iet	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	....
wüñin	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	×
ya.ubie	×	×	....	×	×	×	....	....
yugu	×	....	....	×	....	....	×	....
yuguan	....	×	....	×	×	×	....	....
Terms*	36	31	10	25	17	11	7	11

* Number of terms in which each category is expressed.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

601 evidence were available, for terms of affinity, such as hümübic (husband's sister) and ya.ubic (wife's brother), would probably be found to refer to more than one generation just as do piya (sister's husband; daughter's daughter's husband, w. s.), tugu (brother's wife; daughter's son's wife, w.s.), and yuguan (wife's sister; wife's mother's mother). Even with this reduction, however, the category "Generation" would stand out as one of those most frequently expressed. Probably the category "Condition of connecting relative" really finds expression in far more terms than it appears to in the following table, for, as already mentioned, further investigation will doubtless demonstrate that the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added to all of the terms of affinity upon the death of the connecting relative. If such is found to be the case, the number of terms in which this category finds expression will be doubled.

The fragmentary genealogy on page 227 is presented for the purpose of demonstrating the use of the Tübatulabal relationship terms. The genealogy was supplied by Wanamŭt (number 11 in the genealogy), who is otherwise known as Mrs. Mercedes Linares, and by her daughter Tcaigump (19), otherwise known as Mrs. Clotilda Linares Gomez. Names in italics are those of women.

The following kinship terms were obtained from Wanamŭt (11) and Tcaigump (19) as applied between them and the individuals appearing in the above genealogy:

1 calls 11 hôki (daughter's daughter following death of 1's daughter; 11 calls 1 hôki (mother's father following death of 11's mother). 1 calls 19 sakabin (daughter's daughter's daughter); 19 calls 1 saka (mother's mother's father).

3 calls 11 tumu (daughter); 11 calls 3 ümü (mother following the death of a child). 3 calls 19 utsubin (daughter's daughter); 19 calls 3 utsu (mother's mother).

5 calls 11 tumu (sister's daughter); 11 calls 5 yugu (mother's younger sister). 5 calls 19 utsubin (sister's daughter's daughter); 19 calls 5 utsu (mother's mother's sister).

6, 7, and 8 call 11 tumu (wife's sister's daughter); 11 calls 6, 7, and 8 tôhan (mother's sister's husband younger than father). 19 calls 6, 7, and 8 nothing; no reason was given.

9 calls 11 nalawi (younger sister); 11 calls 9 kutci (elder sister). 9 calls 19 tumu (sister's daughter); 19 calls 9 ümü (mother's older sister).

11 calls 10 piya (sister's husband). 10 calls 19 tumu (wife's sister's daughter); 19 calls 10 kumu (mother's sister's husband older than father).

11 calls 19 tumu (daughter). 19 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child, that is, my brother or sister).

12 calls 11 soiyin (wife); 11 calls 12 kuñan (husband).

14 calls 11 yugu (mother's younger sister); 11 calls 14 tumu (sister's daughter). 14 calls 19 nalawi (younger half sister); 19 calls 14 kutci (older half sister).

601

* By "Fresno Indian" is probably meant a Yokuts from Fresno County.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
● 601 15 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 15 tumu (daughter). 15 calls 19 nalawi (younger half sister); 19 calls 15 kutci (older half sister).

16 calls 11 wasumbis (wife's mother); 11 calls 16 wüñin (daughter's husband). 16 calls 19 yuguan (wife's half sister); 19 calls 16 piya (half sister's husband).

17 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 17 tumu (daughter). 17 calls 19 nalawi (younger sister); 19 calls 17 kutci (older sister).

20, 21, and 22 call 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 20, 21, and 22 tumu (son). 20, 21, and 22 call 19 kutci (older sister); 19 calls 20, 21, and 22 nalawi (younger brother). 20, 21, and 22 call 19's children kalibin (sister's child); 19's children call 20, 21, and 22 kali (mother's brother).

23 calls 11 wasumbis (husband's mother); 11 calls 23 tasi (son's wife). 23 calls 19 hümübic (husband's sister); 19 calls 23 tugu (brother's wife).

24 and 25 call 11 utsu (mother's mother); 11 calls 24 and 25 utsubin (daughter's daughter). 24 and 25 call 19 yugu (mother's younger half sister); 19 calls 24 and 25 tumu (half sister's daughter).

26 calls 11 yuguan (wife's mother's mother); 11 calls 26 piya (daughter's daughter's husband). 26 calls 19 wasumbis (wife's mother's half sister); 19 calls 26 wüñin (half sister's daughter's husband).

27 and 28 call 11 apa (father's mother); 11 calls 27 and 28 apavin (son's child). 27 and 28 call 19 pauwan (father's sister); 19 calls 27 and 28 amust (brother's child).

29 calls 11 saka (mother's mother's mother); 11 calls 29 sakabin (daughter's daughter's daughter). 29 calls 19 utsu (mother's mother's half sister); 19 calls 29 utsubin (half sister's daughter's daughter).

12 calls 24 and 25 agistbin (daughter's daughter); 24 and 25 call 12 agist (mother's father).

KAWAIISU

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601 Forty-three Kawaiisu terms of relationship[10] were obtained; these include ten terms which are exact reciprocals except that they have diminutive suffixes. As with the Tübatulabal system, there are a number of terms which take a suffix, said to mean "used to be," to indicate the death of the connecting relative. In Kawaiisu this suffix

[10] The terms for wife's sister's husband and husband's brother's wife were not ascertained to my satisfaction. The evidence stands as follows:

Relationship	*Informants*			
	J. Nichols	M. Williams	A. Brown	R. Williams
Wife's sister's husband	nawabiu	——	atamwoni	pavini saka.ini
Husband's brother's wife	——	nama.ini	nama.ini	nama.ini patcini nabuzieni

Mrs. Refugia Williams stated that the terms pavini and saka.ini are applied according to the ages of the women concerned, not according to the ages of the two men. This is in line with the Kawaiisu method of classifying aunts and uncles by affinity (see p. 235). Mrs. Williams also stated that the term nabuzieni becomes nabuzirepuni following the death of the connecting relative. The use of the terms brother and sister for these two relationships is paralleled in the analogous Tübatulabal data (see table of "Uncertain Usages of Terms," p. 224).

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

K
601

nekomwhoni. Sister's husband (w. s.), husband's brother. Reciprocal: nebiwhoni (wife's sister; brother's wife, m. s.). Nekumrepuni. Sister's husband (following death of speaker's sister, w. s.), husband's brother (following death of speaker's husband).

wüsimbiani. Husband's sister, brother's wife (w. s.). Reciprocal: wüsimbiani. Wüsibirepuni. Husband's sister (following death of speaker's husband), brother's wife (following death of speaker's brother, w. s.).

teeni. Child's spouse's parent. Reciprocal: teeni. Teerepuni. Child's spouse's parent (following death of speaker's child or speaker's child's spouse).

K
601
128

An analysis of the Kawaiisu terms is presented in the opposite table (p. 233). As in the case of the analysis of Tübatulabal terms on page 225, it is based on the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[13] It is to be noted that the category "Generation" is expressed in all of the terms, a feature which is in sharp contrast with the subordination of "Generation" in the Miwok kinship system, in which it is expressed in only slightly more than one-third of the terms.[14]

The cross used in the opposite table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

COMPARISON

Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu

T
K
● 601
171

Forty terms of relationship were obtained among the Tübatulabal as against forty-three among the Kawaiisu. The following table exhibits numerically the application of the terms in the two languages:

Relationship	*Number of Terms* Tübatulabal	Kawaiisu
Parent	4	4
Child	1	2
Stepchild	2	—
Brother, sister, first cousin	4	4
Aunt, uncle	6*	6*
Niece, nephew	3†	8‡
Grandparent, grandchild	9	8
Great-grandparent, great-grandchild	2	4
Relation by marriage‖	12	11

* Two of the terms for aunt and uncle are also the terms for mother and father following the death of one or more of their children.

† One of the terms (tumu) for niece or nephew is also applied to one's own child.

‡ Two of the terms for niece and nephew are also applied to son and daughter.

‖ This does not include aunts, uncles, grandparents, or grandchildren by marriage, nor does it include any of the step-relations.

900

[13] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

[14] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

The Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu classifications of parents are identical. In both languages there is a special term for father and a special term for mother. These terms are used for no other relationships. Their use, however, for the parents is subject to a restriction, for they are used only as long as all of their children are alive. Upon the death of a child, the surviving children henceforth call the parent by a different term. The new term in the case of the father is that applied to the father's older brother. The new term in the case of the mother is that applied to the mother's older sister. In both languages four terms are used for the parent relationship (see the preceding table). The terms are:

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Father before death of child	ana	muwuni
Father after death of child	kumu	kuguni
Mother before death of child	abu	piyüni
Mother after death of child	ümü	mawüüni

For son and daughter the Tübatulabal have but one term, there being no distinction made as to sex of children. The Kawaiisu, on the other hand, distinguish between male and female offspring.

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Son	tumu	tuwüni
Daughter	tumu	pedüni

T
601

Only Tübatulabal data are at hand in the matter of stepchildren. It appears that the Tübatulabal are far more exact in designating stepchildren than own children. There are separate terms for stepson and stepdaughter, whereas son and daughter are united in one term, there being no distinction as to sex. Aiyawutawa is the designation for stepson, anociwan for stepdaughter. The reciprocals of these terms are not father (ana) and mother (abu), but are instead the terms for father's older brother (kumu) and mother's younger sister (yugu). This identification of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt is one-sided, for the terms aiyawutawa and anociwan are not the terms of the reciprocal nepotic relationship. The nepotic relationship is designated by the term tumu (offspring). On the one hand, the classing of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt and the uniting of own children with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) suggests the levirate. On the other hand, the

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS23

T 601

lack of identification of the stepchildren with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) would indicate absence of the levirate. In other words, from this point of view, the Tübatulabal evidence is equivocal.

T K 601 171

As shown in the table on page 232, the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu both use six terms for uncles and aunts, as follows:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother	kumu	kuguni
Father's younger brother	tôhan	heeni
Father's sister	pauwan	pahani
Mother's brother	kali	cinüni
Mother's older sister	ümü	mawüüni
Mother's younger sister	yugu	nupbieni

It is to be noted that the specialization as to age is on the side of the "parallel" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the same sex. There is an absence of age specialization in the nomenclature of the "cross" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the opposite sex. Both the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu nomenclatures are identical in their treatment of aunts and uncles by consanguinity.

Next we must consider the aunts and uncles by affinity, in other words, the spouses of those listed just above:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother's wife	——	mawüüni
Father's brother's wife older than mother	ümü	——
Father's younger brother's wife	——	nupbieni
Father's brother's wife younger than mother	yugu	——
Father's sister's husband	kali	kuguni
Mother's brother's wife	pauwan	pahani
Mother's older sister's husband	——	kuguni
Mother's sister's husband older than father	kumu	——
Mother's younger sister's husband	——	heeni
Mother's sister's husband younger than father	tôhan	——

Here we find some decided differences between the two systems. The Tübatulabal use six terms, the Kawaiisu only five. The former classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the age of a spouse in relation to the mother or the father of the speaker. The Kawaiisu classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the relative ages of the uncles and aunts, and not according to the age of the spouse. The Tübatulabal scheme suggests double marriage, that is, the marriage of two brothers to two sisters. Noth-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal-NS22
Kawaiisu US13

T
K
601
171

ing, however, is known of the marriage customs of either people, so that it is idle to dwell too much upon the possible forms of marriage suggested by the terminology. A curious feature of the Kawaiisu nomenclature is the identification of father's sister's husband with the father's older brother, the term kuguni being used where one would expect to find cinŭni. To an ardent supporter of the theory of the reflection of forms of marriage in kinship nomenclature this would prove brother-sister marriage, which is of course an absurdity. The identification of father's sister's husband with mother's brother in Tübatulabal is not so unusual. It might result from the marriage of two pairs consisting each of a brother and a sister. A common example of this type of marriage is found in the custom of cross-cousin marriage. Here again genealogies and the statements of informants as to such a form of marriage among either people are lacking.

The reciprocals for aunts and uncles by affinity are the same as for aunts and uncles by consanguinity. All of the terms of consanguinity (except Kawaiisu cinŭni, mother's brother) are also terms of affinity; hence one list answers for both.

Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
Term	Reciprocal	Term	Reciprocal
kumu	tumu	kuguni	kuutcini tuwŭni pedŭni
tôhan	tumu	heeni	heetcini tuwŭni pedŭni
panwan	amust	pahani	pahatcini
kali	kalibin	cinŭni	cinŭtcini
ümü	tumu	mawüüni	mawüütcini tuwŭni pedŭni
yugu	tumu	nupbieni	nupbietcini tuwŭni pedŭni

The preceding list shows that "parallel" nieces and nephews (brother's children, m. s., and sister's children, w. s.) are classed solely as offspring by the Tübatulabal, a condition favoring the existence of the levirate. Among the Kawaiisu the classification is paradoxical, for "parallel" nieces and nephews are not only classified as offspring (son and daughter), but also by a strictly nepotic term which is an identical-reciprocal of the term for aunt or uncle. The classification as offspring seems to be secondary, and taken alone suggests the levi-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

rate. The use of the identical-reciprocal for the nepotic relationship, however, is rather against the presence of that institution. It is possible that the classification of nieces and nephews as offspring is due to Tübatulabal influence. The Tübatulabal resemble their Shoshonean neighbors on the north in their classification of "parallel" nephews and nieces; at least this is true if we may judge from a relationship system collected at North Fork, Madera County.

The following table presents the grouping of brothers, sisters, and first cousins:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Older brother, older male cousin	patci	pavini
Younger brother, younger male cousin	nalawi	saka.ini
Older sister, older female cousin	kutci	patcini
Younger sister, younger female cousin	nalawi	nama.ini
Brother (w. s.), male cousin (w. s.)	impaiyis	——
Sister (m. s.), female cousin (m. s.)	impaiyis	——

The feature common to both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu, as exhibited in the above table, is that cousins are classified as sisters and brothers, a feature found also among the Shoshonean Mono of North Fork. The points of difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu are very clear. The former unite younger brother and younger sister in one term. This is analogous to another usage of the Tübatulabal, who unite son and daughter in one term. The Kawaiisu, however, have distinct terms for younger brother and younger sister. The Tübatulabal grouping of brothers, sisters, and cousins exhibits another feature, which is not found among the Kawaiisu but which is present among the North Fork Mono; namely, a single term for brother or male cousin (w. s.) and for sister or female cousin (m. s.).

Grandparents and grandchildren are grouped in the same manner in both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. These terms are discussed a few pages below in connection with identical-reciprocals and diminutives. The Tübatulabal possess nine terms for the grandparent-grandchild relation; the Kawaiisu possess eight. The ninth term in Tübatulabal is hôki, which is used by either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative.

The Tübatulabal have but one term for great-grandparent and but one for great-grandchild, again paralleling the single term for offspring. The Kawaiisu have two for each of these relationships, as they distinguish sex.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

A comparison of the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in the two languages would be futile, owing to the uncertainty with regard to some of the Tübatulabal terms.

A radical difference in the classification of the grandchild's spouse and the spouse's grandparent is to be noticed. The Tübatulabal classify these relatives as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (see No. 26 on p. 228). The Kawaiisu classify the grandchild's spouse and spouse's grandparent as grandchild and grandparent, respectively. The Tübatulabal classification is similar to the Miwok.[15]

As stated earlier, diminutive suffixes are used by both the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu. At least among the latter people the diminutive suffix is also an endearment, as in piwhatcini (piwha[tci]ni), dear wife. It is also used in connection with the term for child's spouse's parent, teetcini (tee[tci]ni). Informants stated that the use in this case was for the sake of politeness. In the same way a person uses this endearment for the mother-in-law or father-in-law, yehetcini (yehe[tci]ni).

Information obtained from the Tübatulabal as to the use of the diminutive suffix -bin or -vin as a term of endearment requires substantiation. Otherwise the use of the diminutive among the Tübatulabal corresponded to its use among the Kawaiisu, except that it was employed less extensively. The following list exhibits clearly the agreements and disagreements in the use of the diminutives in the two languages. Every term is followed by its reciprocal.

Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Mother's brother	cinŭni	kali
Sister's child (m. s.)	cinŭtcini	kalibin
Father's younger brother	heeni	tôhan
Older brother's child (m. s.)	heetcini	tumu
Father's mother	hutcini	apa
Son's child (w. s.)	hutcitcini	apavin
Mother's mother	kaguni	utsu
Daughter's child (w. s.)	kagutcini	utsubin
Father's older brother	kuguni	kumu
Younger brother's child (m. s.)	kunteini	tumu
Father's father	kunoni	aka
Son's child (m. s.)	kunotcini	akabin
Mother's older sister	mawŭŭni	ŭmŭ
Younger sister's child (w. s.)	mawŭŭtcini	tumu

[15] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. See apasti, kawu, kolina, olo, wokli.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Great-grandmother	nama.itcini	saka
Great-grandson	pavatcini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	patcitcini	sakabin
Mother's younger sister	nupbieni	yugu
Older sister's child (w. s.)	nupbietcini	tumu
Father's sister	pahani	pauwan
Brother's child (w. s.)	pahatcini	amust
Great-grandfather	saka.itcini	saka
Great-grandson	pavatcini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	patcitcini	sakabin
Mother's father	tôgoni	agist
Daughter's child (m. s.)	tôgotcini	agistbin

A glance at the preceding table betrays the fact that the Tübatulabal use the diminutive form for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren and for the sister's child (m. s.). These terms are identical-reciprocals of the terms for grandparents, great-grandparent, and mother's brother, plus the diminutive endings. This condition is matched exactly in the case of Kawaiisu terms, except in the matter of the great-grandparents and great-grandchildren; there, to be sure, the diminutive suffix is used, but a single stem is not used for the two terms of the reciprocal relation, as in Tübatulabal. In Kawaiisu there are six terms for aunts and uncles with reciprocals which are identical except for the addition of the diminutive suffix. With the exception of the case of mother's brother and reciprocal mentioned just above, these are all lacking in Tübatulabal. The difference is perhaps not so great as it appears, however, for in Kawaiisu, as already mentioned, the reciprocals of heeni, kuguni, mawüüni, and nupbieni (which are the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles) may be also the terms for son and daughter (see pp. 229-230) as well as the terms listed above. In Tübatulabal the term used for son or daughter is also used as the reciprocal of the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles (ümü, yugu, kumu, tôhan). This reduces the constant differences between the two systems, in regard to the use of diminutives, to two. The Tübatulabal use pauwan for father's sister and amust for brother's child, w. s.; in other words, two terms with different stems and without the diminutive suffix. The Kawaiisu use pahani and pahatcini for the same relationships; in other words, two terms with the same stem and with the diminutive suffix. The Tübatulabal use of sakan and sakabin for the great-grandparent and reciprocal is analogous to the Kawaiisu use of pahani and pahatcini.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

The Kawaiisu use of nama.iteini and saka.iteini for the great-grandparents and pavateini and pateiteini for the great-grandchildren is different still, for the diminutive suffix is used with both of a pair of reciprocal terms having different stems.

The use of identical-reciprocal terms, plus a diminutive for the younger generation of the pair, seems to be more developed among the Kawaiisu than among the Tübatulabal. The former consistently apply them to the six groups of aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren. The latter consistently apply them to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren and to the single group great-grandparent and great-grandchild. In the classification of aunts and uncles they are inconsistent, identical-reciprocals being used in only one out of the six groups. Informants among the Tübatulabal said that frequently the terms for grandchildren, which are here listed with diminutive suffixes, were used without them. Among the Mono,[16] the northern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, terms for grandchildren and grandparents are also identical, but no diminutive suffix is employed. Viewed from the standpoint of number of uses of identical-reciprocals and diminutives, the Tübatulabal are intermediate between their northern and southern neighbors.

The Tübatulabal terms hôki (grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative), impaiyis (brother or male cousin, w. s.; sister or female cousin, m. s.), nawasu (child's spouse's parent), and wo.ict (co-wife, co-husband) have identical-reciprocals, but never employ the diminutive suffix. Analogous terms among the Kawaiisu are atamwoni (wife's brother; sister's husband, m. s.), teeni (child's spouse's parent), wohoni (co-wife, co-husband), and wüsimbiani (husband's sister; brother's wife, w. s.). The explanation of the non-use of the suffix is to be found in the fact that the terms, with the exception of hôki, apply to individuals of only one generation.

Identical-reciprocal terms are of two types, distinguishable by their meanings. One type, exemplified by Tübatulabal nawasu and wo.ict and by Kawaiisu teeni and wohoni, has identical meanings; for example, the meaning of nawasu and teeni is child's spouse's parent; the reciprocal of each of these terms is also child's spouse's parent. The meanings of identical-reciprocal terms of the second type are distinctly unlike; in fact, the two meanings are the antitheses, one of

[16] Only the Mono of North Fork, Madera County, California, have been visited by the writer.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T K 601 171

the other; for example, the Tübatulabal term aka means father's father; the reciprocal aka or aka[bin] means son's child (m. s.). A Kawaiisu example is the term atamwoni, meaning wife's brother and sister's husband, m. s.

Certain lexical similarities between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms are obvious. The most striking resemblances are best shown by a table. In the case of the Tübatulabal term saka, together with its

Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
kuñan (husband)	kupmani (husband)
patci (older brother)	patcini (older sister)
pauwan (father's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
saka (great-grandparent)	saka.ini (younger brother)
	saka.itcini (great-grandfather)

reciprocal sakabin (great-grandchild), we seem to have an example of out-and-out borrowing, the Tübatulabal using the Kawaiisu term for great-grandfather, which is merely the Kawaiisu term for younger brother plus the diminutive suffix. The reverse hypothesis is possibly the correct one, namely, that the Kawaiisu borrowed the Tübatulabal term for great-grandparent and applied it to the younger brother and then to the great-grandfather. This hypothesis, however, seems an unlikely one.

The following table summarizes the categorical analyses of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms presented in detail on pages 225 and 233. The columns headed "Number" give the number of terms in which each category is expressed. The columns headed "Percentage" express the number of occurrences of a category in percentages of the total number of terms.

	Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Terms	40	....	43	....
Generation	36	90	43	100
Blood or marriage	31	78	23	53
Lineal or collateral	10	25	12	28
Sex of relative	25	63	30	70
Sex of connecting relative	17	43	16	37
Sex of speaker	11	28	16	37
Age in generation	7	18	8	19
Condition of connecting relative	11	28	12	28

The category "Generation" is expressed in all of the Kawaiisu terms as presented in this paper. Inquiry on a genealogical basis

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

might break down this complete expression of the category. In Tübatulabal four out of forty terms fail to express this category; one of these four is the term hôki, which is applied to either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. The remaining three are the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which are applied also to spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, a very different classification from the Kawaiisu which has already been discussed.

The difference in the expression of the category "Blood or marriage" in the two languages is largely due to the difference, just mentioned, in the classification of spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, which among the Kawaiisu are classed as grandparent and grandchild. This difference alone takes eight Kawaiisu terms out of this category. The corresponding Tübatulabal terms for grandparent and grandchild naturally fall under this category, as they all definitely express consanguinity without expressing affinity also.

The other categories are expressed quite similarly by the relationship systems of the two languages, with the exception of the categories "Sex of relative" and "Sex of speaker." The difference in the first instance is the result of the Tübatulabal uniting of great-grandson and great-granddaughter on the one hand and great-grandfather and great-grandmother on the other hand, while the Kawaiisu distinguish two great-grandchildren and two great-grandparents. In the second instance, "Sex of speaker," the difference is due to the use of identical-reciprocals for nepotic relatives by the Kawaiisu and to their non-use, except in one case (kali-kalibin), by the Tübatulabal.

Like the last table, the following table presents a categorical comparison, also in percentages of the number of terms, of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu kinship systems and those presented by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in his paper on the "Classificatory Systems of Relationship."[17] For Dr. Kroeber's Miwok figures those of the writer[18] have been substituted. It is clear that in at least one category, "Lineal or collateral," the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu hold a unique position and have no near approach in any of the other systems here presented, except the Miwok.[19]

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T
K
601
171
128

[17] Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, 1909.

[18] Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

[19] The comparisons in the three succeeding tables must be used with reservation, as a factor of uncertainty has been introduced by differences in the collecting of the data. For Miwok the material is far more detailed than for the other groups.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

T
K
601
171

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Number of terms	24	27	28	34	28	40	43	34	35
Generation	100	78	96	38	79	90	100	88	74
Blood or marriage	100	100	100	76	100	78	53	94	97
Lineal or collateral	100	78	100	18	93	25	28	100	80
Sex of relative	67	78	71	85	61	63	70	53	63
Sex of connecting relative	54	48	50	44	50	43	37	56	60
Sex of speaker	13	11	36	26	43	28	37	29	40
Age in generation	13	15	14	15	14	18	19	35	23
Condition of connecting relative	0	0	0	0	*	28	28	0	3

* This category is expressed in terms denoting relatives by marriage, but the number of such terms is not given. See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote, 1909.

The purpose of the two following tables is to indicate by figures the actual differences between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems and each of the other systems presented in the foregoing table. The figures in these tables are the differences between the percentages in the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu columns of the preceding table and the percentages in each of the other columns of the preceding table. The total at the foot of each column in the succeeding tables is the sum of the percentage differences, that is, the differences in percentages for each category as expressed in Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu and each of the other languages. These totals are the basis of comparison of the systems as wholes. The first table is for the Tübatulabal system, the second for the Kawaiisu. It is to be seen at a glance that the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems resemble each other far more closely than any of the other Californian systems resemble either of these. In fact, the gap between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems on the one hand and the remaining Californian systems on the other hand may be said to be very conspicuous. Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu differ from each other by a total of sixty-one percentage differences, while the nearest approach to this is found between Tübatulabal and Miwok, the total of percentage differences being one hundred and seventeen, nearly twice as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. It will be noted that the Tübatulabal system is not so far removed from the other Californian systems as is the Kawaiisu. The greatest difference between the Tübatulabal and any of the other Californian systems is one hundred and seventy percentage differences, occurring between Tübatulabal and Yuki. The greatest difference

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

TK
601
171

between Kawaiisu and any other system is two hundred and thirteen percentage differences, occurring between Kawaiisu and Luiseño, both Shoshonean groups. The least difference is between Kawaiisu and Miwok, amounting to one hundred and fifty percentage differences. This least difference, however, is nearly two and one-half times as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu.

TÜBATULABAL

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	10	12	6	52	11	10	2	16
Blood or marriage	22	22	22	2	22	25	16	19
Lineal or collateral	75	53	75	7	68	3	75	55
Sex of relative	4	15	8	22	2	7	10	0
Sex of connecting relative	11	5	7	1	7	6	13	17
Sex of speaker	15	17	8	2	15	9	1	12
Age in generation	5	3	4	3	4	1	17	5
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	170	155	158	117	157*	61	162	149

KAWAIISU

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	0	22	4	62	21	10	12	26
Blood or marriage	47	47	47	23	47	25	41	44
Lineal or collateral	72	50	72	10	65	3	72	52
Sex of relative	3	8	1	5	9	7	17	7
Sex of connecting relative	17	11	13	7	13	6	19	23
Sex of speaker	24	26	1	11	6	9	8	3
Age in generation	6	4	5	4	5	1	16	4
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	197	196	171	150	194*	61	213	184

* "Terms denoting relatives by marriage undergo a vocalic change to indicate the death of the connecting relative." See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote. 1909. Dr. Kroeber does not indicate the number of terms so altered, hence the figures in the Yokuts column of the table for the category "Condition of connecting relative" are too large. Likewise the totals of percentage differences between Tübatulabal and Yokuts and between Kawaiisu and Yokuts are too large.

KAWAIISU, KAIBAB PAIUTE, AND UINTAH UTE

K
601
171

A comparison of the Kawaiisu terms with those of the Uintah Ute of northern Utah and Kaibab Paiute of southwestern Utah and north-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

K 601 171
T 601 171

western Arizona obtained by Dr. Edward Sapir[20] shows a very close similarity in sound and spelling, even to the matter of the diminutive suffix. Similarity of the three groups might be expected because of the community of language, for all speak Ute-Chemehuevi dialects. The Tübatulabal, however, do not speak Ute-Chemehuevi, and, furthermore, belong to another of the four primary divisions of the Shoshonean stock;[21] hence their terms of relationship could not be expected to exhibit as strong a degree of resemblance to the Kawaiisu terms as Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms exhibit.

The thirty-two Kaibab Paiute terms secured by Dr. Sapir are listed below. Twelve of these, although very similar in sound and spelling to certain of the Kawaiisu terms, are applied in a quite different manner. (Consult in the following list numbers 4, 10–17, 22–25.)

Kaibab Paiute	*Kawaiisu*
1. moan'ˈ (father)	muwuni (father)
2. piyan'ˈ (mother)	piyŭni (mother)
3. tuwatsin'ˈ (son)	tuwŭni (son)
4. pātcin'ˈ (daughter)	pedüni (daughter)
5. pāvi(tsi)n'ˈ (older brother)	pavini (older brother) pavatcini (great-grandson)
6. tc'ᵃˣqa.itcin'ˈ (younger brother)	saka.ini (younger brother) saka.itcini (great-grandfather)
7. pātsitsin'ˈ (older sister)	patcini (older sister) patcitcini (great-granddaughter)
8. yûp'ian'ˈ (younger sister)	nama.ini (younger sister)
9. namintsin'ˈ (younger sister)	nama.itcini (great-grandmother)
10. toxon'ˈ (grandfather)	tôgoni (mother's father)
11. toxotsin'ˈ (grandchild, m. s.)	tôgotcini (daughter's child, m. s.)
12. qāxun'ˈ (grandmother)	kaguni (mother's mother)
13. qāxutsin'ˈ (grandchild, w. s.)	kagutcini (daughter's child, w. s.)
14. qunun'ˈ (great-grandfather, great-grandfather's brother)	kunoni (father's father)
15. qunutsin'ˈ (great-grandchild, m. s.; brother's great-grandchild, m. s.)	kunotcini (son's child, m. s.)
16. ᵗʷⁱᵗsin'ˈ (great-grandmother, great-grandfather's sister)	hutcini (father's mother)
17. ᵗʷⁱᵗsitsin'ˈ (great-grandchild, w. s.; brother's great-grandchild, w. s.)	hutcitcini (son's child, w. s.)
18. ain'ˈ (father's brother)	heeni (father's younger brother)
19. aitsin'ˈ (brother's child, m. s.)	heetcini (older brother's child, m. s.)
20. pāan'ˈ (father's sister, probably also mother's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
21. pāatsin'ˈ (brother's child, w. s.; probably also sister's child, w. s.)	pahatcini (brother's child, w. s.)

[20] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv, 132–138, 1913; also Dr. Sapir's unpublished data, which are presented in the succeeding lists of terms.

[21] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., iv, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

K
601
171

1. nebiwboni (brother's wife, m. s.; wife's sister)
2. nekomwboni (sister's husband, w. s.; husband's brother)
3. wūsimbiani (brother's wife, w. s.; husband's sister)

The uniting in Ute of the relationships expressed in 1 and 2 is in line with and a natural consequence of the combining of husband and wife in one term (number 33).

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601
171

By way of summary, we find that the Uintah Ute nomenclature exhibits six peculiarities of application which are lacking in Kawaiisu; the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature exhibits twelve; and the Tübatulabal list (although the speech is quite distinct from the preceding three groups), exhibits only ten peculiarities. It seems as though contiguity of territory is responsible for the small number of discrepancies between the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu nomenclatures, just as it doubtless accounts for the features they have in common, such as the terms and suffixes denoting the condition of the connecting relative. On the other hand, community of language doubtless accounts for the similar phenomena among the Uintah Ute and the Kawaiisu. Certainly contiguity of territory does not account for them, for the two groups, at least at the present time, are far removed from each other. But if community of language explains the Uintah Ute nomenclature, what can be said of the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature, which is in a dialect very similar to both Uintah Ute and Kawaiisu? Kaibab Paiute shows more peculiarities when compared to its congener Kawaiisu than does even the extraneous Tübatulabal. Clearly the position of Kaibab Paiute is anomalous. Although linguistically close to both Kawaiisu and Uintah Ute, and geographically intermediate, it displays more than twice as many peculiarities when compared with Kawaiisu as does Uintah Ute. Dr. Sapir remarks with regard to Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms of relationship: "Here, as so often, a cultural dividing line runs clear across a homogeneous linguistic group."[27] The writer would go a step farther and remark that, if our evidence is correct, the northeastern extremity (Uintah Ute) of the group is in closer agreement with the southwestern extremity (Kawaiisu) than either one is with the middle (Kaibab Paiute). Hence the homogeneous linguistic group may be spoken of as trisected rather than bisected.

[27] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv, 137, 1913.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

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602 KIN RELATIONSHIPS--conception of kinship; cultural definition of kinship statuses; kinship symbolism and its extensions (e.g., to kings, to gods); interpenetration of kinship with other aspects of culture (e.g., nepotism); analyses of patterned kinship behavior; incidence and interpretations of stereotyped patterns (e.g., joking, respect, avoidance); categories of kin not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., patrikin and matrikin, general affinal relatives) and relationships among them; etc. Data on relationships between specific secondary and tertiary relatives will be found in separate categories. See also:

Kin groups 61
Functional integration 182
Mutual aid 476
Visiting and hospitality 574
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Marriage restrictions 582
Patterned behavior between primary relatives . 593
Kin relationships within polygamous families . 595
Political nepotism 661
Mortuary functions of kinsmen 784
Sex prohibitions and permissions between kinsmen 836
Changes in social relationships upon birth of child 851
Instruction of children in kinship behavior 867

595 837 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as wo·'lišn.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born, 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died before they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

163 165

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

[578]

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 784 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

[p. 44(6)]

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
● [602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used [231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of these 2

[p. 76(6)]

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yïtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Cane-
brake then, when we first moved up there. The
children grew old enough to go to school, so
[487] every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch;
Legora's children used to go to school from there
in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake
[221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came
up there for the children; then we stayed there
all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old
man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle
had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle
had a little tule house and he used to build a
big fire all the time in the middle of the house,
on the ground. There were big dry logs all around
outside the house. We went up there; everybody
went up to see the corpse. There was just a lit-
tle bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already
owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had
Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then John-
nie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John
Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One
time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we
were sitting outside the house one evening in
summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that
time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his
guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight
toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl.
None of us could catch him. The next day Irene
felt sick; that night she had convulsions and
foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk,
she didn't eat anything. That night, about mid-
night, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I
have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave
us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the
buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu)
doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was
about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock
that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she
wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang;
he danced, hopping all around inside his house;
near daylight he went outside and looked toward
the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here
now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't
see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the
doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches,
those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are
the only 2 witches there are in this country;
there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked
Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doc-
tor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leav-
ing Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doc-
tor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it
out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was
all right again. Two months ago she came up here

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yïtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yïtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me, and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and
[273] got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yïtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yïtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

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171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bY·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made
[415] from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753] them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
[774 might throw something in the food that would make
609] a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

•17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
[171] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted
592 of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

592

House I

Tübat.♂ (1)	Willy Miranda (3)	Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2)	=Tübat.♀ (4)	Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4)	♀ (9)		Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8)	♂ (10)	plus	=Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
	♀ (11)		
	♂ (12)		

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
[343] a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet
[361] no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

[p. 43(a)]

594 ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives
●611 lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family
[591] groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition
[614 of family groups, which do not differ essentially
616 from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife,
618] and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

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583 generation or generation below; informants said
581 man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting
[584] parties; most customary form was so-called marriage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] Less formal matings often occurred at dances;
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2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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TÜBATULABAL AND KAWAIISU KINSHIP TERMS

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	219
Phonetic Transcription	220
Tübatulabal	220
Kawaiisu	228
Comparison	232
Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu	232
Kawaiisu, Kaibab Paiute, and Uintah Ute	244

INTRODUCTION

In November and December, 1915, the writer was engaged in an examination of the tribes inhabiting the eastern and southern slopes of the San Joaquin drainage basin to determine the limits in California of social and ceremonial organization on the basis of dual divisions.[1] Among the tribes visited were the Tübatulabal of the Kern River region in the southern Sierra Nevada and the adjoining Kawaiisu of the Tehachapi Mountains at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Both of these Shoshonean groups lack the dual organization for which the writer was seeking. The kinship systems of these two peoples are of especial interest, however, and the facts about them are presented in the following pages. Important features of these systems are the use of single terms for reciprocal relationships (identical-reciprocals), the use of diminutive suffixes, and the use of terms and suffixes denoting the condition of connecting relatives.

[1] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291-296, 1916.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts N529

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In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

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[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanai in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.---The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.---This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.---This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.---This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.---There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.---A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

[p. 43 (6)]

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin
[197] traits than generally recognized; their mythology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan
[721] territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
●[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

161 mission, which TÜbatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of TÜba-
311 tulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having pene-
[773] trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

423 Whether TÜbatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
● 621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). FN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited TÜbatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, FN).

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.

32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.

33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.

34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.

35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Bull Run creek.

36. tumabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.

37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.

38. i·wakanun, Long valley.

39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.

40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.

41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was
621 composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent 167] Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal 1329

159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena''w in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, 'n'wao, was east of Čena''w. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's·tš was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'w·l ti''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ti''i.[128]

T Y [354]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

462 woman was standing beside her mate, and each
773 pair were going to shoot together, both at the
539 same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart, over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

● 622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a
527 big time" for his induction; "everybody came; they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to all the people; he told them to put their money down to give to people who were sick or poor, and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP). New chief bore part of expenses for this feast; people present also contributed money and food; no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

[p. 55(a)]

●622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his [702] [728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to [754] 627 admonish evil shamans when they were causing sickness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among [171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to 578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely 576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his [525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; [574] "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported 462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

[p. 55(b)]

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Kogo in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, košumye-he-hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kuni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the-big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka-wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ʔu-dbaʒapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 756 627 Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. [579 177] Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

[P.56(a)]

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

● 622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mumal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
● 622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unaugmented Kern, koŝumye-he-huk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Pälagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kuni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the-big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka-wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ku-dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 756 627 Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed.

[579 177] Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community
158 who deliberately set fire to others' property; insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be
[753] watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
● [624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[17] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

MISCELLANEOUS

20. SPEECH TO BOYS

1. Let me teach ye, boys, and ye listen. 2. If ye will hunt the deer, ye will give a little to the old men. 3. Then the old men say "Good, good," (they) say. 4. You will get old. 5. Ye must not go in anyone's house; that is bad, ye might be given poison in the food. 6. Anyone who wants to drink jimsonweed, I will give it to him to drink; ye will live well; then jimsonweed will preserve ye, ye will not die quickly. 7. While hunting deer ye must take down-feathers; then Yumugiwal will not frighten ye, nor Bear nor Mountain Lion, nor anything there.

8. (Heed this caution, for once) a White Coyote killed a hunter (who was not cautious).

9. When ye are ready to come back, pray to the mountain; it is fitting. 10. Then ye must bring the meat of the deer and present it here and there to the people. 11. Ye must not show disrespect to (animals) while wandering on the mountain. 12. The Rattlesnake, Bear, everything hears; then ye will wander safely. 13. Ye must not kill Rattlesnake; he is bad. Rattlesnake has a meanness which may possibly make ye sick; it is bad (for Rattlesnake) to be killed. 14. Pretty soon (the end) is present.

539 X
869

21. CONCERNING BEARS

1. Old-Timers were in the habit of meeting Bear. 2. Then (they) talk to Bear: "What are you doing in my trail?" and, "Give me room this way," (they) say to that Bear. 3. Then that Bear sits down. 4. From there he makes them move aside. Then they pass by, those people; that Bear hears the talking (as Old-Timers pass by). 5. Everything tells (Bear)—the brush, the rocks, the trees tell him everything. 6. And if you speak disrespectfully of the Bear, he knows it immediately; the tree right there tells him. 7. Then he is mad when somebody talks (of him). "Good," Bear says, "I will meet you," he says. Surely he meets that talker. 8. He kills that one right off. 9. Then Old-Timers do not talk of Bear.

539 X

22. THE CLOWN

(*Morning*):

1. Then the clown rounds up the people when he wants to talk to (them). 2. When it is still dark in the morning (and they) are not yet interrupted in eating, "You fellows cook (for the fiesta of the day)," he says. 3. "Then you fellows, having finished eating, will gamble, and will dance and also play hand-games" (says the clown in the first speech of the day).

539 X
624
527

(*Noon*):

4. Then at noon the clown comes when he comes and talks. 5. "Then you fellows stop awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 6. Then the people quit all their own gambling. 7. Then they, every one, go and eat. 8. "When you fellows have finished eating then you gamble awhile, anything at all," he says, "you play awhile," he says, "do anything you please."

(*Evening*):

9. Then the clown also came in the evening. 10. Then he says to the people, "You fellows quit your gambling for awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 11. "Pretty soon when we have finished eating, we will dance," he says, "we will gamble and also play hand-games; you fellows should dance well," he says. 12. "Then when you fellows want to copulate, you should go toward the open places." 13. Then they are going there all night—in the open places.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

857
152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539 X
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 X
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are 159
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 524
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 857
lasts a long time.

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 X
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is 159
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 526
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 857
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 X
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 224
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). [251]
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are 226
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We [464]
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 X
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt- 159
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 222
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 857
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there [225]
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game 624
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[751] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomĭp was visiting
781 my grandmother at yĭtiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anwŋgayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomĭp, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wĭšimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wĭšimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
● 626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yïtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sickness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tübatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, koŝumye-he-huk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kuni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka-wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ka-dbaŝapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 756 627 [579 177] Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. Violent deaths in crowds seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

682 Murders not condoned, either within or outside
721 tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money
671 did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full
425 amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he
422 whose arrow first touched deer could claim it,
578 although another man's arrow might have killed
627 animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle
626 of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of
[837] couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished
[836] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 A good man, man with a big heart, did not be-
577 come angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women
[578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (muśmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
●627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
756 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching
middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over pa-
tient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlIt was making a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they boiled and fried it. I met wišimlIt's youngest son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him before, because after wišimlIt's man was killed in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was. He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.

582 "Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."

But my mother didn't want me to go with him; he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the mts. near the man's place for a long time. The man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming he would fly close to him, knock him down with his wings; then he would cut that man's load all to pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man, too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he never came back any more. That old man raised him; anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago. The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."

Four men went with him, away up on the S side of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That time my mother said to him, "You're all right." Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and helping us. His mother, wišimlIt, didn't pay anything for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlIt paid for her and brought her to yItiyamup to be Steban's wife. Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know anything about it. When he came home there was a wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indi-
ans had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in
1893). The Indian agent gave my father and
mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to
Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there
with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband
and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he
was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you
live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay
some other place." So we all moved down to
yĭtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yĭtiyamup
by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My
sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake
sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-
in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold
me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad
about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and
got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all
the people," he said, and one woman came and hit
him over the ear. They had built a fire in the
middle between 3 houses that were there, on some
level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went
over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him
to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our
house at yĭtiyamup. I left there then and went
back to my parents' home. They were living at
u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yĭtiya-
mup with him, but his mother didn't like her be-
cause she drank too much and went around with
many men. That woman stayed a long time at the
rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso
valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess
he was jealous; that's why that woman left him
and went to Tule River reservation. She married
over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling
around here; first he went down to the Jesus
ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He
talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we
prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there
where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We
all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week
he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 "You'd better get your man back; if you don't you
aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The
priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told
everybody to come there for a week; he told
everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying.

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out.

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there.

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying.

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. [552] Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater [171] extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

721 who had no friends, and with the Koso; the Tübatulabal and the Koso once had a big fight at Walker's pass." FC had picked up arrowheads on a battlefield on Nichols peak, which lies on border of Tübatulabal-Kawaiisu areas. As among most California tribes, wars did not last long, nor were [727] fatalities heavy.

[754] Motives.- Motives for making war of usual variety (Kroeber, Handbook, 843), except witchcraft not mentioned by informants. Not every quarrel led to war; when Tübatulabal on one occasion broke formation at communal antelope drive (see section on Basic Subsistence) and Yokuts killed some of Tübatulabal taking part in drive, revengeful actions by their hosts did not lead to Tübatulabal-Yokuts war; "the Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Tejon, and Ventura people who were taking part in the drive just went home right away, and the Tübatulabal didn't keep fighting with the Yokuts because of this" (SM). On other hand, theft of seeds from women by strangers might promulgate series of intertribal raids.

726 Personnel of war parties.- Thirty soldiers
701 (wa·tam), grown able-bodied men, constituted "a big war party" (SM). Night before going to war, soldier could sleep with wife; in morning he rose early, swam; not subject to any food taboos. Soldiers took only arrows with them, no food, because "they didn't go a long way off to fight, and they'd come back in evening." Women did not accompany war parties. Raids staged in usual manner (Kroeber, Handbook, para. 2, 400); if possible men, women, children killed inside houses, after which raiders hurriedly retreated. Little hand-to-hand fighting in open warfare; half of force not left behind for reserves, as is situation mentioned in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 201). All fighting stopped at nightfall, or "when they had no more arrows they quit and came home to make some more" (SM).

701 Leader (nonо·i'il) selected by chief, who did
553 not himself accompany war parties; leader would be man who had killed one or more foes in previous fights and thus earned title of nonо·i'il, previous to his appointment to leadership. After some of Koso had settled in South Fork valley they and
● [648] Koso across Sierras to E were asked by Tübatulabal to aid latter in war against Yokuts group; these allies not paid for their assistance, but gave help as evidence of their friendliness.

727 Prisoners, war dance.- Prisoners of either sex not taken; scalping, torture denied by all informants. Soldiers took dead enemies' bows and arrows, or "just one arrow" (MM) and displayed these when they returned home; these bows (mugutiŋ a·lin, dead bow) put to practical use by men who had taken them (SM).

726 War dances of incitement, or victory dances
727 after return home not held (SM); FP said no victory dance, but described a round dance, which was

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:

"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and they danced around a fire in a big circle for a long time. A few singers who knew the war songs stood between the fire and the circle of dancers; they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for dances at a burning. During the night of a war dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly, principally to the men. The next morning the men would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
● [648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
● [648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither
423 band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here,
[551] but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish, muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdzu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here
● [648] again and died here. The Tübatulabal never had any fights with them."

Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

425 Patches of wild tobacco were free to be used by anyone, but once woman had started tending
423 plants in particular patch, plants became hers and sometimes women marked boundaries of their patches with sticks laid on ground. Same woman did not, however, tend one patch year after year (FP).
[421] No ownership of eagle eyries, seed areas, piñon or acorn trees (SM, FP).

428 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband
768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tüba-
487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·ŋgil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hÿštÿh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hÿštÿh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·ŋgil = 1 cent, hÿštÿh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hÿštÿh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hÿštÿh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hÿštÿh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying.

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out.

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there.

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying.

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of ●648 the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

131 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern 101 River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water-fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan
[721] territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
● [657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

[P. 54b] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T Y 796 668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, T Y [302] two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

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Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

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576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community
158 who deliberately set fire to others' property; insane persons (tohoyi·wut) "just had to be
[753] watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
[624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[171] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day
● 674 everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

[p. 76(b)]

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

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159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u·-
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
●682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomïp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies t[illegible] the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomïp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomïp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[262] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 2b). [p. 73(b)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.--Analyst]

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 ● 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
● 682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yïtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying.

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out.

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there.

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying.

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

● 683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after
622 obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
754 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over patient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when patient was being brought to them (see Autobiog-
787 raphy of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

● 684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

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576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

● 685 158 [753] SM had never heard of any member of community who deliberately set fire to others' property; insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 [624] [837] At fiestas during dances at night, if woman slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 [171] Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time, however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

721 who had no friends, and with the Koso; the Tübatulabal and the Koso once had a big fight at Walker's pass." FC had picked up arrowheads on a battlefield on Nichols peak, which lies on border of Tübatulabal-Kawaiisu areas. As among most California tribes, wars did not last long, nor were [727] fatalities heavy.

[754] Motives.- Motives for making war of usual variety (Kroeber, Handbook, 843), except witchcraft not mentioned by informants. Not every quarrel led to war; when Tübatulabal on one occasion broke formation at communal antelope drive (see section on Basic Subsistence) and Yokuts killed some of Tübatulabal taking part in drive, revengeful actions by their hosts did not lead to Tübatulabal-Yokuts war; "the Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Tejon, and Ventura people who were taking part in the drive just went home right away, and the Tübatulabal didn't keep fighting with the Yokuts because of this" (SM). On other hand, theft of seeds from women by strangers might promulgate series of intertribal raids.

726 Personnel of war parties.- Thirty soldiers
● 701 (wa·tam), grown able-bodied men, constituted "a big war party" (SM). Night before going to war, soldier could sleep with wife; in morning he rose early, swam; not subject to any food taboos. Soldiers took only arrows with them, no food, because "they didn't go a long way off to fight, and they'd come back in evening." Women did not accompany war parties. Raids staged in usual manner (Kroeber, Handbook, para. 2, 400); if possible men, women, children killed inside houses, after which raiders hurriedly retreated. Little hand-to-hand fighting in open warfare; half of force not left behind for reserves, as is situation mentioned in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 201). All fighting stopped at nightfall, or "when they had no more arrows they quit and came home to make some more" (SM).

701 Leader (noŋo·i'il) selected by chief, who did
553 not himself accompany war parties; leader would be man who had killed one or more foes in previous fights and thus earned title of noŋo·i'il, previous to his appointment to leadership. After some of Koso had settled in South Fork valley they and [648] Koso across Sierras to E were asked by Tübatulabal to aid latter in war against Yokuts group; these allies not paid for their assistance, but gave help as evidence of their friendliness.

727 Prisoners, war dance.- Prisoners of either sex not taken; scalping, torture denied by all informants. Soldiers took dead enemies' bows and arrows, or "just one arrow" (MM) and displayed these when they returned home; these bows (mugutiŋ a·lin, dead bow) put to practical use by men who had taken them (SM).

726 War dances of incitement, or victory dances
727 after return home not held (SM); FP said no victory dance, but described a round dance, which was

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sickness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:
"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and
women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and
they danced around a fire in a big circle for a
long time. A few singers who knew the war songs
stood between the fire and the circle of dancers;
they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for
dances at a burning. During the night of a war
dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly,
principally to the men. The next morning the men
would go off to war."
When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon
Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held;
"the people were too angry to have a round
dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when
bent upon making peace, met together and "talked
things over; usually they promised each other
not to fight any more." No money or gifts ex-
changed by way of settlement for dead (SM).
72 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups il-
173 lustrate motives for warfare, manner of fight-
ing, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in lat-
ter half of last century.
"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds;
some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting
the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her.
The woman became angry and ran home and told her
husband; he sought out the Porterville men and
killed one. After this fight the Porterville
visitors went home, but the male relatives of
the Porterville man who had been killed returned
to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6
Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at
Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed
some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went
down and fought the Porterville people. The Por-
terville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal
chief to tell him the Porterville men would not
fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief
to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But
the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porter-
ville people; he told the messengers he would be
over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso
chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians
over there to bring their arrows and go with him
to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over
E to get some more Koso; when they came there
were about 50 of them; they camped one night at
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chief promised that thereafter his men would be
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72 173 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The [648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 562 [602] Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the proceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives. [567]

428 424 538 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs, outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes; [436]

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538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals [552] mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater [171] extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

●721 who had no friends, and with the Koso; the Tübatulabal and the Koso once had a big fight at Walker's pass." FC had picked up arrowheads on a battlefield on Nichols peak, which lies on border of Tübatulabal-Kawaiisu areas. As among most California tribes, wars did not last long, nor were
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701 (wa·tam), grown able-bodied men, constituted "a big war party" (SM). Night before going to war, soldier could sleep with wife; in morning he rose early, swam; not subject to any food taboos. Soldiers took only arrows with them, no food, because "they didn't go a long way off to fight, and they'd come back in evening." Women did not accompany war parties. Raids staged in usual manner (Kroeber, Handbook, para. 2, 400); if possible men, women, children killed inside houses, after which raiders hurriedly retreated. Little hand-to-hand fighting in open warfare; half of force not left behind for reserves, as is situation mentioned in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 201). All fighting stopped at nightfall, or "when they had no more arrows they quit and came home to make some more" (SM).

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727 after return home not held (SM); FP said no victory dance, but described a round dance, which was

682 Murders not condoned, either within or outside
●721 tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money
671 did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full
425 amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he
422 whose arrow first touched deer could claim it,
578 although another man's arrow might have killed
627 animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle
626 of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of
[837] couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his
[836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 A good man, man with a big heart, did not be-
577 come angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women
[578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

11. From there Bat took leave (and) arrived there by the deer. 12. Then Horsefly got black (in appearance) in between the eyes of the deer. 13. There Horsefly struck the deer (in between the eyes). 14. The deer jumped from here when (Horsefly) struck him. 15. Then they (Horsefly and Bat) from there went in the deer's tracks. 16. Then they found him. 17. He is lying there. 539X

18. Then Bat asks his older brother, "What is this?" he says. 19. "That is his eye; he sees with it far away" (answers Horsefly). 20. "What is that?" (Bat) says (pointing at) his nose (nose of the deer). 21. "His nose it is" (answers Horsefly). 22. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 23. "His horn it is; with it he fights the brush" (answers Horsefly). 24. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 25. "That is his penis; with it he copulates," (Horsefly) says. 26. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 27. "That is his testicle," (Horsefly) is saying. "That makes him erotic." 28. "What is that?" (asks Bat, pointing at) his tail. 29. "That is his tail," (Horsefly) says. 30. "What is that?" (Bat) says, (pointing at) his anus. 31. "That is his anus," (Horsefly) says. 539X 826

32. Then (Bat) struck with his own arrow away into his (the deer's) anus. 33. Deer got up. 34. Then his (Bat's) older brother (i.e., Horsefly) scolded Bat. 35. Then, "Bat, go," (Horsefly) says. 36. Bat took leave (following) in the tracks of the deer. 539X

37. Then (Bat) went and found a man; he (the man) is skinning the deer. 38. Then the Bat arrived close to there. 39. "Hello," Bat says. 40. It is said (the man) is not talking. 41. Then Bat hit the man on his head. 42. Then (the man) jumped backward. 43 (Bat) is licking his own hand and his (the man's) brains.

44. From there the Bat took leave. 45. He packed the deer away. 46. The Bat arrived at his own house. 47. They are crying when (Bat) arrived. 48. Then Bat entered inside the house. 49. Then the fire went out. 50. Then the old woman went and dropped (unconscious). 51. Then Horsefly made the fire flame up. 52. Bat is sitting by the door.

53. Bat is saying to the Horsefly, "Go get the deer," he says. 54. So Horsefly began to lift it. 55. He quit there and came back; "Heavy," he is saying. 56. Then Bat by himself with one hand lifted it there and came here.

57. "Quick, you fellows, eat" (Bat orders). 58. So they quickly ate. 59. Then Bat danced.

60. Then (Bat) shot the old woman, and from there the Horsefly, and from there his own wife. 61. The little girl he left over.

62. Then the little Bat is opening her dress for her. 63. "Uncle, uncle, uncle," the little girl is saying. 64. "Your uncle is opening your dress for you" (Bat explains). 65. Then little Bat went and climbed on her. 66. Then the little Bat is copulating with her all night. 67. Little Bat made a baby the next day for that little girl. 68. There it got ended.

5. WAR WITH THE YOKUTS

1. Then Tugayal is living; and also his younger brother, and also Coyote, and also many people. 2. Then Coyote says, "Pretty soon we go to war to the Yokuts," says Coyote, the outlaw.

3. Then they went down the river. 4. There they went and slept.

5. Then Tugayal got up when the Morning Star arose. 6. Then he went and bathed. 7. Then they went from there. 8. Then they went and arrived close to the house.

9. Then Coyote says, "Right here, you fellows sit here; let some of us go first" (advance line in the war). 10. Then they (the advance guard) took leave. 11. There they mauled the people. 12. Straightway Coyote is jumping around and dodging about. 13. Then Lapapil is not touched. 14. Then Coyote told: "It is his heart and you fellows don't know, it is (that) his heart is in his head (in the) one who stands, it is (there that one finds) his heart," says Coyote. 539X 725●

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535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
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women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and
they danced around a fire in a big circle for a
long time. A few singers who knew the war songs
stood between the fire and the circle of dancers;
they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for
dances at a burning. During the night of a war
dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly,
principally to the men. The next morning the men
would go off to war."
When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon
Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held;
"the people were too angry to have a round
dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when
bent upon making peace, met together and "talked
things over; usually they promised each other
not to fight any more." No money or gifts ex-
changed by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups il-
lustrate motives for warfare, manner of fight-
ing, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in lat-
ter half of last century.
"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds;
some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting
the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her.
The woman became angry and ran home and told her
husband; he sought out the Porterville men and
killed one. After this fight the Porterville
visitors went home, but the male relatives of
the Porterville man who had been killed returned
to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6
Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at
Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed
some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went
down and fought the Porterville people. The Por-
terville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal
chief to tell him the Porterville men would not
fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief
to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But
the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porter-
ville people; he told the messengers he would be
over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso
chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians
over there to bring their arrows and go with him
to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over
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long time. A few singers who knew the war songs
stood between the fire and the circle of dancers;
[292] they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
feather skirts for this dance, as they did for
dances at a burning. During the night of a war
dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly,
principally to the men. The next morning the men
would go off to war."
When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon
Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held;
"the people were too angry to have a round
dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when
bent upon making peace, met together and "talked
things over; usually they promised each other
not to fight any more." No money or gifts ex-
changed by way of settlement for dead (SM).
72 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups il-
173 lustrate motives for warfare, manner of fight-
ing, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in lat-
ter half of last century.
"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds;
some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting
the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her.
The woman became angry and ran home and told her
husband; he sought out the Porterville men and
killed one. After this fight the Porterville
visitors went home, but the male relatives of
the Porterville man who had been killed returned
to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6
Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at
Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed
some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went
down and fought the Porterville people. The Por-
terville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal
chief to tell him the Porterville men would not
fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief
to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But
the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porter-
ville people; he told the messengers he would be
over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso
chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians
over there to bring their arrows and go with him
to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over
E to get some more Koso; when they came there
were about 50 of them; they camped one night at
yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the
Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Por-
terville the next day; they were prepared either
to fight or settle up. The Porterville people
were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and
agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville
chief promised that thereafter his men would be
good. The next year the Porterville people

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (PN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of
[177] Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:

"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and they danced around a fire in a big circle for a long time. A few singers who knew the war songs stood between the fire and the circle of dancers; they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for dances at a burning. During the night of a war dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly, principally to the men. The next morning the men would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

● 728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
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622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his [702] [728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to [754] admonish evil shamans when they were causing sick- 627 ness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among [171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to 578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely 576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his [525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; "he would send somebody over to a person's house [574] if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported 462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

T 821 789 791 Among Tübatulabal, rain machines sometimes buried at owner's death (SM); SM, however, had expected to inherit his stepfather's outfit, before key part of it was stolen, and be taught songs which accompanied its use; what remained of outfit SM had, in 1932, in his possession (pl. 1a).

T 754 791 Bear shamans.- Bears feared, respected (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215, 219); Bill Viejo Chico, shaman, boastingly said when he died he would turn into bear (PN). Bear shamanism, however, only weakly developed; if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bearclaw, from bear; one man, who died at Ventura (Tübatulabal?), took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house while among Tübatulabal (SM). FP said man with power from bear cured people by singing, smoking; never sucked out disease, but kept patient with him all night. All informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears.

T [75] ●

C [171] Bear shamanism, strongly developed according to my informants among Chumash, was, however, of great interest to Tübatulabal. SM had heard from grandfather of prowess of Ventura bear shamans, who used dried bearskins which were stored in cave N of Tejon. "When they got mad at each other they used to kill persons with that bearskin. Somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him. When they first made that bearskin, no one would tell when he saw it, because if you told, the bear would kill you. The Tübatulabal didn't do this; just the Ventura Indians" (SM).

C 773 754 791 [41] 789

C T 754 789 791 Chumash also had peculiar development of bear shamanism which Tübatulabal were aware of but did not imitate; this consisted of "bear machine" which SM's grandfather had told him about, but which SM had never seen. To make machine run, Chumash used white powder (ayi·p, alum?) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory. Since so little is known of Chumash ethnography, SM's description of Chumash apparatus and its use is given here in full. "The Ventura Indians used a bearhide and made it run like a car. When the old men made this machine they tried that bear. They came over here (to Tübatulabal area) and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place 10 mi. above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bearhide was standing up, like a real bear. It had 2 reins on it, like a horse; when the driver wanted to turn around he pulled a rein. He was sitting inside the bear, on a flat rock; he looked out through the eyeholes. They traveled at night only, and made bear sounds as they traveled. The driver talked to the bear as the bear

T [823]

C 754 789 791

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet. Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life "would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
[777] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with
[778] takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured; often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

159 The following autobiography was taken in English from FP, her daughter LT interpreting, in 1933. FP gave the autobiography within a space of 2 weeks; a day or so after our last session together she went to Bakersfield for shamanistic treatment; on the return trip she was run over by a car and killed.

When first asked to tell the story of her life, FP demurred, saying she "had never been anywhere, just stayed in the South Fork valley all her life." The autobiography she gave is little more than an outline, which she was beginning to fill in with increasing amounts of detail, however, during the last few days I worked with her.

For the sake of clarity I have arranged the material in chronological order; parts of it were not so dictated. A photograph of FP is given in pl. 1b.

An autobiography of MM, FP's husband's brother's son, the Mike Miranda of the following pages, was obtained in text by Dr. C. F. Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

I was born about 2 yrs. after the soldiers killed all those Indians over at Kernville (1863); my older brother was still being kept in a cradle then and I was born about 2 yrs. later.

159 My mother used to tell me about the massacre;
173 Jose Chico pulled my father out from those men and the soldiers didn't kill him; he ran away. There was one man who was shot in the eye, but he had power and recovered. Lots of men were killed. The fight started over the Indians' killing other people's cattle; Jose Chico interpreted for the white men and the Indians; he was the man who took my father out. There were 3 men saved when the soldiers shot at the Indians.

159 One man had an amulet, a bearclaw with beads
173 on it. He was running and he got out of breath
751 and dropped that claw; then he was killed. The people found it afterward. If he hadn't lost his power he would have escaped all right. Another man had rattlesnake for his pet. He was badly hurt; his insides were all cut up; when the people saw him after the massacre there was a rattlesnake lying on top of him, and that snake made that man get all right. Rattlesnake was his pet and took care of him. That man's name was hi·ay·ši·l; he was a Monilabal (Yokuts). He got all right again; my father saw him when he was helping bury those dead Indians; he saw that rattlesnake come and help him. FN has a rattlesnake for her pet, too; perhaps she got it from dreaming. She never took jimsonweed, I know.

159 I was born at omomIp (no. 6, fig. 11). My
163 mother had 8 children; most of them died before
165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

159 When I was a little girl I used to go with my
482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy
857

T [P. 53 b] Tubatulabal NS22
Y

796 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers
276 would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the
Y setting of broken bones; while this painful
752 work was done during the coma, the healing,
276 which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T F.M. knew but little about the acquisition
Y of supernatural power. His few statements con-
756 form to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana'twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na'nək ma ana'təlhːn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi'ːt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T
Y
[551]

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[445 had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten
774 after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
609] might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 158 SM had never heard of any member of community who deliberately set fire to others' property; insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

[753]

522 [624] [837] At fiestas during dances at night, if woman slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; *man's brother standing off* at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time, however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

[171]

[674]

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

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626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[751] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after
622 obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch. Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

159 ing over; everybody here stopped going. The last
484 time we went to Visalia we left Annie and Irene
up at Onyx and then they went to Riverside, to
school down there.

159 I was feeling good all that time. We always
221 used to go live at Canebrake in the summer, and
753 then we'd come down to the Mack ranch in winter,
so that Esther and Johnnie could go to school at
Weldon. At the Mack ranch though I began to
dream bad again; I'd see one woman whom I don't
know, holding my head. That's why my ear hurts
now; I have been sick like that for 4 yrs.

159 Then we had to leave our house at the Mack
ranch. A white man wanted to live in that house.
We moved up to Rafael Chico's place; they kept
asking us at the Onyx rancheria, "Why don't you
move up here, to Rafael's?" But there were too
many drunken men around up there; they would come
and fight inside the houses. We didn't like that.
And those witches live too close to Rafael's. I
was sick all the time up there. We lived there 2
months; I coughed, coughed all the time. So 2
yrs. ago last April we moved down here (near
Weldon) from there. When we moved down here I
got well. But last summer I got this cough again,
only not so bad as I have it now. I can't do
much now; I can't make tobacco this year, because
I'm too sick. We got lots last year; enough to
last this year too, I think. I got some chia seeds
last year too, over by the little hill in Charley
Andress' meadow. But it's too hot to go cut the
tobacco this year, and kneeling hurts me. I'd
like to go to that Indian doctor they have over
at Bishop; there's a good one over there. Maybe
Legora and I will go over this fall. If I could
see that doctor I think I'd be all right again.

Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut.
February 20, 1936.

[p. 80(b)]

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child
[862] of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when
[841] latter seated. If mother became pregnant while child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins over-
[597] worked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

721 who had no friends, and with the Koso; the Tübatulabal and the Koso once had a big fight at Walker's pass." FC had picked up arrowheads on a battlefield on Nichols peak, which lies on border of Tübatulabal-Kawaiisu areas. As among most California tribes, wars did not last long, nor were [727] fatalities heavy.

[754] Motives.- Motives for making war of usual variety (Kroeber, Handbook, 843), except witchcraft not mentioned by informants. Not every quarrel led to war; when Tübatulabal on one occasion broke formation at communal antelope drive (see section on Basic Subsistence) and Yokuts killed some of Tübatulabal taking part in drive, revengeful actions by their hosts did not lead to Tübatulabal-Yokuts war; "the Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Tejon, and Ventura people who were taking part in the drive just went home right away, and the Tübatulabal didn't keep fighting with the Yokuts because of this" (SM). On other hand, theft of seeds from women by strangers might promulgate series of intertribal raids.

726 Personnel of war parties.- Thirty soldiers
701 (wa·tam), grown able-bodied men, constituted "a big war party" (SM). Night before going to war, soldier could sleep with wife; in morning he rose early, swam; not subject to any food taboos. Soldiers took only arrows with them, no food, because "they didn't go a long way off to fight, and they'd come back in evening." Women did not accompany war parties. Raids staged in usual manner (Kroeber, Handbook, para. 2, 400); if possible men, women, children killed inside houses, after which raiders hurriedly retreated. Little hand-to-hand fighting in open warfare; half of force not left behind for reserves, as is situation mentioned in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 201). All fighting stopped at nightfall, or "when they had no more arrows they quit and came home to make some more" (SM).

701 Leader (nomo·i'il) selected by chief, who did
553 not himself accompany war parties; leader would be man who had killed one or more foes in previous fights and thus earned title of nomo·i'il, previous to his appointment to leadership. After some of Koso had settled in South Fork valley they and [648] Koso across Sierras to E were asked by Tübatulabal to aid latter in war against Yokuts group; these allies not paid for their assistance, but gave help as evidence of their friendliness.

727 Prisoners, war dance.- Prisoners of either sex not taken; scalping, torture denied by all informants. Soldiers took dead enemies' bows and arrows, or "just one arrow" (MM) and displayed these when they returned home; these bows (mugutin a·lin, dead bow) put to practical use by man who had taken them (SM).

726 War dances of incitement, or victory dances
727 after return home not held (SM); FP said no victory dance, but described a round dance, which was

622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, as-
[702] sembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his
[728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief him-
[754] self did not go to war. It was chief's duty to admonish evil shamans when they were causing sick-
627 ness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between
[171] chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to
578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely
576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his
[525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people;
[574] "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported
462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

[p. 55(b)]

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
773 over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
● [754] and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[771] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
776 said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at ayeček,
[823] "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings, save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
[757 and pantheon referred to above seem to have
789] existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In [illegible] mythology,
[771] according to Dr. Stanley Newm[illegible]bacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and tri[illegible]r; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

756 Aesthetics). Other animals as wolf, lizard, hum-
825 mingbird, frog also helped witch in actual prac-
tice of craft (FP).

756 Although inheritance of shamanistic power in
428 family lines denied by SM, FP pointed out that among Tübatulabal all shamans for past 4 generations had belonged to one family; Jose Chico, Bill Viejo Chico, 2 brothers, both shamans; Jose's daughter, makiawint, was witch; 2 of Bill Viejo's daughters are witches.

754 Witchcraft.- All illness, insanity, caused by evilly disposed shamans; "if there had been no a·ɣowa·l, people would have lived forever" (SM). Instances of witchcraft legion; witches killed young children with their power, "if they wanted to give the parents hard luck"; often killed close relatives, parents, siblings' children, for what reason unascertained. Bill Viejo Chico announced at fiesta he was "going to kill all the children"; other instances witches boasting of power openly, threatening victims referred to. In 1933 witch held to have caused death of Tübatulabal woman's son so that mother of dead man would have to pay witch for having her face washed before she could eat meat.

Shaman practicing malevolent powers went out to mts. and talked to his animals; animals went to prospective victim, spoke to latter in dream; next morning victim would be sick, and illness would increase daily, because witch talking to animal every night, thus causing victim to "dream bad." Examples of bad dreams were: MM dreamt he was cow, pursued by bull. He climbed tree; while in tree he changed into human form, saw bull, also as human, at foot of tree. Then both changed again into animals; bull gored cow's leg. Immediately after having had this dream MM became very ill. If he had dreamt bull killed cow, he would have died. SM dreamt rattlesnake bit him; this dream also sent by witch. Several other examples of bad dreams recorded (see Autobiography of FP; Voegelin, 1935 b, 215). In general, to dream of Coyote portended misfortune; Coyote witch's helper par excellence, often sent to make persons ill. If one dreamt Coyote bit one, sickness followed. To dream of witch injecting pain in certain part of body caused that region to become affected. To dream of witch, even though witch did not send dream, enough to cause illness.

754 Witches might also send ghost of dead relative,
775 traveling in dust spout as among Miwok (Merriam, 1909, 433), to sicken person; "the whirlwind strikes one, enters one's head, and one dies" (SM); FP had this happen to her. Lights, which could be seen traveling fast at night, sometimes sent by witches to look for victim; MM, from home in foothills, some 25 yrs. ago, saw 2 lights racing over floor of valley; lights approached gate of rancheria, retreated. Capture of person's soul by witch one cause of insanity (SM). Air shot, such as used in shamans' contests, not used by witches to sicken victims.

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might also use poison (muśmal); one of witches at Onyx 278 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob- 177 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners 824 active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in 775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every 751 night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of 755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made 756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't 626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated [757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop 627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after 622 obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch. Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister 754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
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756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching
middle age. Curing performance constituted all-
night ceremony which began after dark; held
either in doctor's house, if patient came from
distance, or in patient's house if doctor had
been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished
to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors
blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over pa-
tient while singing; others used plain stick,
pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as
they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who
came to see patient; "no one except the doctor
could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for
deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come
he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he
is coming close now.' Then he would go outside
of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer
gave him something; then the doctor returned to
the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After
Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain
from the patient, in the early morning. Only good
doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only
one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked
the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in
a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power
would help him get the pain out of his own body,
and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiog-
raphy of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new
customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley
Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman
had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or
worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have
them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted
upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes
she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
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NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

Kawaiisu NS13 Chumash NS7

T 756 754 T [426] American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawaiisu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz crystals used for making thunder showers in summer and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dewclaw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, although there were no clouds in the sky when he began" (FP).

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Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just made rain lots"; however, when women went to gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain now, because the white people won't pay him to do it" (FP).

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An interesting extension of rain doctor's activities as SM knew them from his Chumash stepfather, briefly described. At new moon, in month "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

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Among Tübatulabal, rain machines sometimes buried at owner's death (SM); SM, however, had expected to inherit his stepfather's outfit, before key part of it was stolen, and be taught songs which accompanied its use; what remained of outfit SM had, in 1932, in his possession (pl. 1a).

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Bear shamans.- Bears feared, respected (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215, 219); Bill Viejo Chico, shaman, boastingly said when he died he would turn into bear (PN). Bear shamanism, however, only weakly developed; if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bearclaw, from bear; one man, who died at Ventura (Tübatulabal?), took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house while among Tübatulabal (SM). FP said man with power from bear cured people by singing, smoking; never sucked out disease, but kept patient with him all night. All informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears.

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Bear shamanism, strongly developed according to my informants among Chumash, was, however, of great interest to Tübatulabal. SM had heard from grandfather of prowess of Ventura bear shamans, who used dried bearskins which were stored in cave N of Tejon. "When they got mad at each other they used to kill persons with that bearskin. Somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him. When they first made that bearskin, no one would tell when he saw it, because if you told, the bear would kill you. The Tübatulabal didn't do this; just the Ventura Indians" (SM).

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Chumash also had peculiar development of bear shamanism which Tübatulabal were aware of but did not imitate; this consisted of "bear machine" which SM's grandfather had told him about, but which SM had never seen. To make machine run, Chumash used white powder (ayi·p, alum?) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory. Since so little is known of Chumash ethnography, SM's description of Chumash apparatus and its use is given here in full. "The Ventura Indians used a bearhide and made it run like a car. When the old men made this machine they tried that bear. They came over here (to Tübatulabal area) and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place 10 mi. above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bearhide was standing up, like a real bear. It had 2 reins on it, like a horse; when the driver wanted to turn around he pulled a rein. He was sitting inside the bear, on a flat rock; he looked out through the eyeholes. They traveled at night only, and made bear sounds as they traveled. The driver talked to the bear as the bear

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NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

Chumash NS7 Yokuts NS29

C walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far
754 as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be
789 back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat
791 down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

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● 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T
754 825 177 776 791 [[71]] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T
Y
756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

T 788 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

765 572 Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that " in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 ● 754 [78] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomÏp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomÏp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomÏp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[263] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 2b) [p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.--Analyst]

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indi-
ans had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in
1893). The Indian agent gave my father and
mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to
Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there
with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
●754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband
and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he
was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you
live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay
some other place." So we all moved down to
yĭtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yĭtiyamup
by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My
sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake
sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-
in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold
me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad
about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and
got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all
the people," he said, and one woman came and hit
him over the ear. They had built a fire in the
middle between 3 houses that were there, on some
level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went
over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him
to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our
house at yĭtiyamup. I left there then and went
back to my parents' home. They were living at
u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yĭtiya-
mup with him, but his mother didn't like her be-
cause she drank too much and went around with
many men. That woman stayed a long time at the
rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso
valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess
he was jealous; that's why that woman left him
and went to Tule River reservation. She married
over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling
around here; first he went down to the Jesus
ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He
talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we
prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there
where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We
all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week
he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 "You'd better get your man back; if you don't you
aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The
priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told
everybody to come there for a week; he told
everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomip was visiting
781 my grandmother at yitiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anangayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomip, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nose-bleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlīt's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
484 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and
591 then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left;
[245] he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money
484 over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

[P. 49a] Palewyam. Tubatulabal U522

would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Rattlesnake (te´·ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wa´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´´no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo´no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
● 755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother
626 went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching
middle age. Curing performance constituted all-
night ceremony which began after dark; held
either in doctor's house, if patient came from
distance, or in patient's house if doctor had
been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished
to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors
blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over pa-
tient while singing; others used plain stick,
pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as
they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who
came to see patient; "no one except the doctor
could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for
deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come
he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he
is coming close now.' Then he would go outside
of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer
gave him something; then the doctor returned to
the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After
Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain
from the patient, in the early morning. Only good
doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only
one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked
the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in
a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power
would help him get the pain out of his own body,
and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiog-
raphy of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new
customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley
Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman
had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or
worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have
them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted
upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes
she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

302 men, women (SM), women only (FP), for dances. Women, young girls sometimes rubbed mashed roots of Plagiobothrys nothofulvus Gray (ši'iwišt), foothill floral area, over cheeks to color face red; this done merely "to make themselves pretty" (FP). Women also sometimes painted faces with earth and kept paint on all day, staying indoors, [756] "to make face lighter" (FP). Shamans engaging in contests painted faces with alternate stripes of red and white raying out from nose across cheeks; rest of body not painted; paint not applied in [317] honor of visitors. Red earth obtained from vicinity of Koso Hot Springs, east of Little lake in Koso territory; Tübatulabal either went for it or Koso brought it to them.

304 Tattooing done on women only; women "had it done because they liked it, to make them look pretty" (FP); not done at any specific age, although small girls were not tattooed "because it hurt too much" (FP). Old woman, not necessarily relative, did the tattooing; all women formerly had one or more marks. Pattern drawn on skin with charcoal (tu·l), obtained from "any wood" (FP); pricked in with spine of Tetradymia spinosa H. & W. (pokpo·giništ); marks, black at first, later turned blue. Usually done on face between mouth and chin, on back of hand, inner surface of forearms (fig. 5).

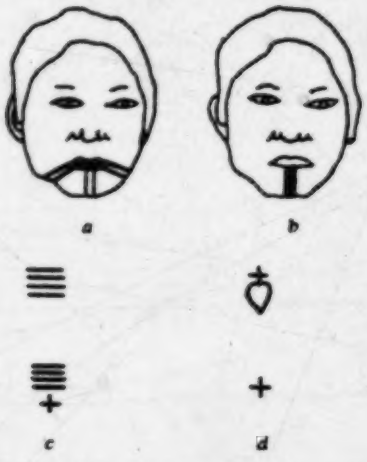

Fig. 5. Women's tattoo patterns. a, b, facial; c, 1½ in. long, inner surface of forearms (FP); d, inner surface of forearm.

Women had septum of nose pierced with pointed hot stick for nose plugs; after piercing, stick kept in hole about 7 days until wound healed. This done "any time" (SM). Lobes of female infant's ears pierced for earrings shortly after birth, "because the baby doesn't feel it much then" (SM). Some men pulled out facial hair [302] around mouth; others wore sparse mustaches (kaŋa·l), 4-5 in. long.

[p. 24(a)]

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener [171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central 324 groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife. [171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose [171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable; 286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night; 372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside under shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at 373 spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu- [756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man kneit (Kroeber, 462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from 177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

317 and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

285 [171] Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed by shamans in shooting contests. [462] [756]

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 16a, b). [171]

285 824 Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wInapI·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šI·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šI·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

T 323 [[71]] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on T 415 Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso T [532] woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); PN denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.

● 756 177 [321] Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

●756 177 latter possessed similar objects, used for rain making in early days, but that such "were buried with owner when he died."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Musical instruments few, simple; 3 varieties rattles used; drum (tamburin, Sp.) lacking; SM had made one at Tejon and brought it home, but "Tübatulabal didn't use them." Musical rasp also lacking.

Rattles.- Split-stick rattle (ka·ba·ba·yništ) made from peeled stalk dry elderberry (ku·hupĭl), Sambucus velutina D. & H., foothill floral area, split down center; split ends both same length; total length of specimen made by SM 18 in., length of split section 14 in., handle 4 in. Made by men; used at dances to accompany dance songs (SM).

[171] Cocoon rattle (pa·ẓo·alginišt) similar to Maidu rattle (Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37b); consisted of slender stick about 12 in. long with 4-6 cocoons (či·ko·lolondiŋ hani·n, butterfly's house) tied on upper end. Slit made in cocoon at one end, 2-3 small pieces rock put in, slit end tied with twine and cocoon attached with twine to stick. Old men used cocoon rattles to accompany songs they sang softly to themselves at night after going to bed (SM).

Dewclaw rattle (ša·lišt) consisted of 8 dewclaws (ša·lu·n) threaded through short buckskin thongs knotted at one end and tied to stick about 5 in. long. When rattle shaken, end of stick to which dewclaws attached held downward. This rattle used by rain doctor.

Whistle.- Quill whistle made "from a big feather cut like a [cane] pipe," mentioned by FP; her father had used such (see p. 73). PN agreed quill whistle used, but neither informant could remember name for this whistle or give further details; SM knew nothing about it.

Boys and girls made whistles from short hollow sections of Eriogonum nudum Dougl., foothill floral area (šiko·nišpu·l).

Flute.- Flute (lu·lu'išt) made of peeled elderberry stalk from which pith had been poked out with stick; about 26 in. long; had 6 holes, first of which was 8 in. below mouth end, other 5 spaced at 1 1/2-in. intervals beyond it toward distal end; end blown. Man played flute to himself, for own amusement during daytime; did not take it into sweat house to play; young men sometimes played it when courting (SM).

Musical bow.- Musical bow (pi·bi·wi·ništ, also name for jew's-harp) used occasionally, "not very much"; man plucked bowstring of hunting bow with index finger as he held one end of bow in mouth (SM).

[p. 35(6)]

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits
317 in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars.
789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).
276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."
757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.
●[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and
887 female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tübatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, kožumye-he-hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kwni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as in·dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 ● 756 627 [579 177] Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

600 Reference has already been made in section on Recreation to social setting in which narration of myths occurred.

SHAMANISM

● 756 Shaman (a·ɣowa·l, curing shaman, witch) either man, woman; male shamans both cured and witched; women shamans always malevolent, never cured (all [838] informants). Transvestites not shamans. Two brothers, Jose and Bill Viejo Chico, both dead, last male shamans among TÜbatulabal; Jose Chico both cured, sickened persons; Bill Viejo, who had more power than Jose, mainly killed people (SM). In 1932 there were 2 women witches, whom everyone feared, living at Onyx rancheria.

Basis of shamanistic power.- Shamanistic power (po·nun) generally came unsought; "a person was born a doctor; when he was born he knew he was going to be one. He dreamt about getting the feather-tipped wand (see below); then he went far away and got it. If a man was not born a doctor, nothing could make him one. Some people were born bad doctors; they couldn't help it" (MM). "A doctor, when he was little, dreamt bad, then he became an a·ɣowa·l"(FP). Consensus of opinion was that drinking jimsonweed had nothing to do with acquiring shamanistic power; however, SM in 1932 stated that shamans drank jimsonweed after adolescence, "then they knew they were going to be doctors. The Kawaiisu doctors just dream; they don't take jimsonweed." As questing for supernatural power other than doctoring, by taking jimsonweed, well developed (see section on Rituals), perhaps drinking of jimsonweed had also become incorporated to some degree in pattern of acquiring shamanistic power, although statements of majority of informants point to conclusion that shaman's career foreordained, whereas acquirement of other types supernatural power depended on individual's initiative.

During shaman's training, animal appeared to prospective doctor in dreams and became doctor's pet (pungul). This animal fell into general class of supernatural beings referred to as yu·mu·gi·wal. Pet told prospective doctor what to do; gave latter songs in his dreams at night. Doctors dreamt for 3 nights; began dreaming when young men, women. While training they would go out in night and talk to pet; sometimes latter came to doctor "from over the ocean" (MM) after night of singing, when doctor in his teens.

[231] Doctors with power to cure had birds as pet; 756 eagle, tugayayal (species of hawk), chicken hawk, 825 etc.; no small birds. If prospective doctor saw deer in dream, obtained song from deer. Witches advised in dreams by coyote, spike buck, ghost of dead relative, rattlesnake; one of these talked to prospective witch in dreams, told him, her how to make people sick, kill them. Songs animals gave had words, were doctor's property (see section on

[p. 62(b)]

756 825 Aesthetics). Other animals as wolf, lizard, hummingbird, frog also helped witch in actual practice of craft (FP).

756 428 Although inheritance of shamanistic power in family lines denied by SM, FP pointed out that among Tübatulabal all shamans for past 4 generations had belonged to one family; Jose Chico, Bill Viejo Chico, 2 brothers, both shamans; Jose's daughter, makiawint, was witch; 2 of Bill Viejo's daughters are witches.

754 Witchcraft.- All illness, insanity, caused by evilly disposed shamans; "if there had been no a·ɨowa·l, people would have lived forever" (SM). Instances of witchcraft legion; witches killed young children with their power, "if they wanted to give the parents hard luck"; often killed close relatives, parents, siblings' children, for what reason unascertained. Bill Viejo Chico announced at fiesta he was "going to kill all the children"; other instances witches boasting of power openly, threatening victims referred to. In 1933 witch held to have caused death of Tübatulabal woman's son so that mother of dead man would have to pay witch for having her face washed before she could eat meat.

Shaman practicing malevolent powers went out to mts. and talked to his animals; animals went to prospective victim, spoke to latter in dream; next morning victim would be sick, and illness would increase daily, because witch talking to animal every night, thus causing victim to "dream bad." Examples of bad dreams were: MM dreamt he was cow, pursued by bull. He climbed tree; while in tree he changed into human form, saw bull, also as human, at foot of tree. Then both changed again into animals; bull gored cow's leg. Immediately after having had this dream MM became very ill. If he had dreamt bull killed cow, he would have died. SM dreamt rattlesnake bit him; this dream also sent by witch. Several other examples of bad dreams recorded (see Autobiography of FP; Voegelin, 1935 b, 215). In general, to dream of Coyote portended misfortune; Coyote witch's helper par excellence, often sent to make persons ill. If one dreamt Coyote bit one, sickness followed. To dream of witch injecting pain in certain part of body caused that region to become affected. To dream of witch, even though witch did not send dream, enough to cause illness.

754 775 Witches might also send ghost of dead relative, traveling in dust spout as among Miwok (Merriam, 1909, 433), to sicken person; "the whirlwind strikes one, enters one's head, and one dies" (SM); FP had this happen to her. Lights, which could be seen traveling fast at night, sometimes sent by witches to look for victim; MM, from home in foothills, some 25 yrs. ago, saw 2 lights racing over floor of valley; lights approached gate of rancheria, retreated. Capture of person's soul by witch one cause of insanity (SM). Air shot, such as used in shamans' contests, not used by witches to sicken victims.

[p. 63(a)]

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx 278 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob- 177 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners 824 active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in 775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every 751 night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made 755 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother ● 756 went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't 626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated [751] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop 627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch. 622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister 754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

● 756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over patient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

Kawaiisu NS13 Chumash NS7

T American currency from $10-50; formerly equiva-
756 lent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a
754 doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a
patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of pa-
tient pays shaman before curing commences; fee
T not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Consider-
[426] able borrowing often occurs between relatives if
someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immedi-
ate shamanistic treatment.

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tüba-
756 tulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m),
789 all my material relating to this type shamanistic
activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawai-
821 isu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash
791 from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until
C part of his outfit (taŋganišt) was stolen from
821 him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz
789 crystals used for making thunder showers in summer
and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in
[823 striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides,
415] rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone
[276] mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dew-
claw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather
shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers ab-
stained from meat, eating only acorn mush and
seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit
outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone.
Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said
his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather
shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3
times; a cloud came up and it rained right away"
K (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had
821 "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled
789 with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in
791 water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM).
Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable
reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob
Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke
in and stole his meat. He returned, found what
had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises
in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, al-
T though there were no clouds in the sky when he
K began" (FP).

Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just
821 made rain lots"; however, when women went to
789 gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them,
791 women gave him some of sugar they made from cane;
same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob
Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain
T now, because the white people won't pay him to do
C it" (FP).

An interesting extension of rain doctor's ac-
824 tivities as SM knew them from his Chumash step-
821 father, briefly described. At new moon, in month
789 "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain
791 doctor filled little black stone bowl with water
and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other
kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his
house for month; "he did this to make all the
seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these
seeds, the same way that he talked when he went
outside to make rain."

C walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far
754 as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be
789 back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat
791 down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T
754 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes
776 obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who
791 had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T
754 SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but
825 denied persons with this pet could cure snake
177 bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches";
776 one of animals witch could send out to accomplish
791 evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake step-
[[71]] ping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T
Y
● 756 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning cere-
789 mony, or little fiesta for face washing (below),
791 shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

Y 756 788 [415] 791

in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T Y ● 756 789 791

Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

T 173 756 789 791

One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
● 756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomÏp
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomÏp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had disappeared. I could straighten out my arm again.
[262] After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's *granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing*

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomip was visiting
781 my grandmother at yitiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anamgayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomip, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
● 756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

[p. 76(b)]

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after
that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
484 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and
591 then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left;
[245] he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money
484 over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; [487] Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake [221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

● 756 159 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle backgroumd tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249

Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

[p. 84(a)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

17. Then I, already wanting to go, woke up with a start. 18. Then I got up at four o'clock. 19. Then I went out far away; when I arrived, I prayed (and) I blew (to get rid of the impurity of the dream). 20. I dreamed a bad one. 21. I blew (the bad dream away). 22. "Nothing, nothing (bad remains)," I say, "everything (is) good; to us nothing (bad) will happen." 23. It is the end. 539x

18. BULL DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along the valley. 2. Then I see cattle. 3. I go and hold my own gun. 4. Then I see the bull. 5. There is not a bull (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me. 6. Then from there I go down toward the canyon, I am going to the canyon. 7. Then I see the bull in front (of me). 8. Then, when he sees me, he runs away from me because I am holding my own gun. 9. Then I woke up. [177] [411] [756]

19. DEER DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along. 2. I cross the deep canyon. 3. On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains. 4. Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks. 5. Then I went and found many deer. 6. Then they jump about in every direction. 7. Then a big one stands still. 8. Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead. 9. Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart. 10. Then I woke up with a start.
11. It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say. [787]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

[P. 49a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal US22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´·ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

[828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

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●756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´´no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo´no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 396.

father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena'wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, 'n'wao, was east of Čena'wu. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's'ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'wel ti''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ti''i.[128]

The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

[P. 53 b] Tubatulabal NS22

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saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to <u>one</u> petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

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Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

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F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nək ma ana´təlhːn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ˈːt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 549] Tubatulabal NS22
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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [tɨpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Čeče'ɨs, who was Wati'sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu'ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about name-mention encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[P. 54b] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T Y 796 668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

T Y [302]

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
[757 refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
[262 of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and
263] eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bĭ·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[415 had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten
[774 after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they might throw something in the food that would make
[609 a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits
317 in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars.
789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).
276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."
● 757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.
[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and
887 female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship
857 (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[886] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

THERAPEUTICAL PRACTICES

757 General good health induced by sweat bathing, observing pregnancy, menstrual taboos, bathing in hot springs, taking some simple herb medicines, as salt-grass crystals in warm water every morning for laxative purposes, to clean out stomach. In sicknesses, before taking patient to shaman for treatment which partook of nature of religious ceremony herb medicines (ti·bo·hišt) might be administered by old man, woman. Such persons often doctored ailing members of family, without any singing ceremony; "anyone who knew the right medicine for an ailment would do this; 759 sometimes a herbalist would be sent for to treat a sick person; in that event he'd be paid. People 757 learned about the medicines from their parents or grandparents, or a man would know about a medicine and other people would pay him to tell them. [177] They learned a lot about medicines from the Mexicans, too. Now the witches have spoiled all the plant medicines except jimsonweed; they can't spoil that because it's too strong" (SM). In situations where shamans failed to effect cure, herb medicines might be administered after shamanistic treatment.

757 Ants also used as medicine; charms sometimes applied to body to relieve pain.

Plant, insect remedies.- Following plant, insect remedies, unless initialed otherwise, given by SM.

757 Piece jimsonweed root (mo·mo·ht), Datura 824 meteloides HBK., weed, about 12 in. long, dug, washed, macerated, set to soak for day in 2 qts. 278 cold water; in evening water strained, given to patient, who had abstained from food, drink for 3 days and had cleaned out stomach every morning during fast with bitter drink made from roots of reise blanco. After taking dose patient fell into stupor which lasted 12-24 hrs.; during this time he was turned from one side to other; if he lay on his back or stomach he would fail to revive. FP's father blew whistle when giving her jimsonweed (see Autobiography of FP). While under influence drug patient might walk around, but was watched carefully; sometimes had visions (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215); SM imagined row of fence posts were dancers in feather costumes when he took drug; MM one time saw man who told him to take jimsonweed again in week; next time MM took it he saw white lizard drop from his shoulder, black one from his knee; when he awoke his rheumatism had disappeared. Sometimes patients, upon advice of person seen in stupor, drank jimsonweed 3 times before they were cured.

Before digging root plant addressed briefly; drink could not be administered in summer as "the roots are all right then, but when it's hot you want water; if you drink water and then drink jimsonweed, you get bloated right away" (SM). If drug taken without fasting at least 3 days, dose immediately vomited.

● 757 824 278 SM had given jimsonweed to MM for rheumatism, after shaman failed to cure him; to RP when she was badly bloated, constipated; had taken it himself when wounded in leg, as anodyne; FP had taken it for rheumatism (see Autobiography of FP).

Dry pounded jimsonweed root used as poultice on sores to relieve inflammation.

Powdered tobacco and lime snuffed to clear nose during colds. Tobacco, lime mixed with water, drunk in evening in sweat house, among groups people or by individuals in order to induce vomiting, thus insuring dreamless slumber.

Large root of yerba mansa, Anemopsis californica (Nutt.) Hook (čahpanĭ·l), boiled in qt. water for hour, decoction strained, cupful drunk every 2 hours for day or so, for heavy colds. Piece of root 1 in. long of Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene (paništ), desert floral area, boiled in pint of water few minutes, dose taken 3 times during day for colds.

As laxative, 4-5 tsp. salt-grass crystals (p. 15) mixed with 1 tsp. ordinary salt in cup warm water used.

Leaves, flowers Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC) Rydb. (ča·dača·dapĭl), foothill floral area; stalks, flowers Ericameria monactis (Gray) McCl. (same name); roots of Encelia actoni Elmer, desert floral area, boiled, affected parts washed with decoction for rheumatism.

Leaves, flowers Diplacus longiflorus Nutt., or D. aurantiacus Jepson, both foothill floral area, boiled, decoction strained, drunk for stomach-ache. Dry heads Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled, tea drunk for stomach-ache, diarrhea.

Entire plant of turpentine weed, Trichostema lanceolatum Benth. (ši·gišt), foothill floral area, boiled, infusion snuffed up nose to stop headaches, nosebleed.

For bloody flux, entire plant Heliotropum curassavicum L., general in alkaline soils, boiled, decoction drunk; handful of dried flower heads of Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled 1/2 hr. in water, decoction strained, cupful given 3 times daily; mild enough to give children.

Stalks, leaves of Indian tea, Ephredra viridis Coville (u'tu·uđul), desert floral area, boiled; decoction "good for blood" (SM), used for syphilis (?).

Entire plants Eriogonum virgatum Benth. (šiko··nišpul), foothill floral area; E. baileyi Wats., E. gracillimum Wats., Chorizanthe staticoides Benth., desert floral area, boiled, infusions used as lotions for pimples.

Ripe seeds Argemone platyceras Link & Otto (šo·'lolo·pul), Great Basin floral area, pounded, used as poultice on open sores, piles. Ripe seeds of Echinocystis brandegei Cogn. (čawakišt) and E. horrida Cogn., foothill floral area, burned until black, rubbed with fingers in palm of hand until reduced to greasy paste which was smeared over pimples, rubbed over baby's umbilicus after navel

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (ʔimʔindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, moreover, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
[754] and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[71] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at ayeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
[823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
● [757 save woman's. Among TÜbatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[17] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which TÜbatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

754 278 177 824 Besides foregoing practices, witches might also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx rancheria said to possess poison which she obtained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 775 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 751 Various preventive measures taken against witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 755 756 626 Various attempts made to overcome effects of witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs [757] also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 627 622 754 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch. Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 8 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
756 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he
276 gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomip
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomip did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had disappeared. I could straighten out my arm again.
[262] After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 520] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw:l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.---P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´was) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278

the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616

Moiety.---The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796

Snake ritual.---This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.---This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.---This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756

Shamans' Contest.---There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237

Eagle purchase.---A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435]

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757]

Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

THERAPEUTICAL PRACTICES

757 General good health induced by sweat bathing, observing pregnancy, menstrual taboos, bathing in hot springs, taking some simple herb medicines, as salt-grass crystals in warm water every morning for laxative purposes, to clean out stomach. In sicknesses, before taking patient to shaman for treatment which partook of nature of religious ceremony herb medicines (ti·bo·hišt) might be administered by old man, woman. Such persons often doctored ailing members of family, without any singing ceremony; "anyone who knew the right medicine for an ailment would do this; 759 sometimes a herbalist would be sent for to treat 757 a sick person; in that event he'd be paid. People learned about the medicines from their parents or grandparents, or a man would know about a medicine and other people would pay him to tell them. [177] They learned a lot about medicines from the Mexicans, too. Now the witches have spoiled all the plant medicines except jimsonweed; they can't spoil that because it's too strong" (SM). In situations where shamans failed to effect cure, herb medicines might be administered after shamanistic treatment.

757 Ants also used as medicine; charms sometimes applied to body to relieve pain.

Plant, insect remedies.- Following plant, insect remedies, unless initialed otherwise, given by SM.

757 Piece jimsonweed root (mo·mo·ht), Datura
824 meteloides HBK., weed, about 12 in. long, dug,
278 washed, macerated, set to soak for day in 2 qts. cold water; in evening water strained, given to patient, who had abstained from food, drink for 3 days and had cleaned out stomach every morning during fast with bitter drink made from roots of reise blanco. After taking dose patient fell into stupor which lasted 12-24 hrs.; during this time he was turned from one side to other; if he lay on his back or stomach he would fail to revive. FP's father blew whistle when giving her jimsonweed (see Autobiography of FP). While under influence drug patient might walk around, but was watched carefully; sometimes had visions (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215); SM imagined row of fence posts were dancers in feather costumes when he took drug; MM one time saw man who told him to take jimsonweed again in week; next time MM took it he saw white lizard drop from his shoulder, black one from his knee; when he awoke his rheumatism had disappeared. Sometimes patients, upon advice of person seen in stupor, drank jimsonweed 3 times before they were cured.

Before digging root plant addressed briefly; drink could not be administered in summer as "the roots are all right then, but when it's hot you want water; if you drink water and then drink jimsonweed, you get bloated right away" (SM). If drug taken without fasting at least 3 days, dose immediately vomited.

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c 622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, košumye·he·huk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kuni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, [838 462] office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ka·dbagapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed 756 to have been caused either by witchcraft or 627 poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. [579 177] Violent deaths in crowds seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But
when we went outside that morning we found him
lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was
dead. There were tracks around there; they said
the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard
anything that night. But they tracked the Tule
man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told
somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that
boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after
that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about
it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that
boy when he gets big, anything about that." He
was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that.
When her second son was a baby, just crawling
around, I got a telegram. We were at yÍtiyamup;
Steban brought the telegram up there with him
when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in
the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother,
ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his rela-
tions had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They
were both working on ranches around here at that
time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest
son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went
ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at
Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It
was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night
long. At sunup we started off again; it was too
cold to start before the sun was up. We had to
go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes
a long time to get there in a buggy. But we ar-
rived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried
him. They were just staying around the house
waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses;
my brother's wife was living in one with 3
children and her married daughter lived in the
other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes.
I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to
burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we
burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that
without having my face washed, but my sister-in-
law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they
wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned
home. It only took us one day to get home; we
left there early in the morning and arrived at
the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He
was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there
he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene
(LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

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159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yÍtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[763] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
[285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was
591 too far; no one goes over there now for acorns
from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful
right near home. Those acorns that grow up at
[252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter.
You have to work with them a long time to get
them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all
right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones
come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with
them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda
574 at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and
438 return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd
just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each
other what we had been doing all the time. I'd
gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of
using acorn meal, but the children all liked
chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler
used to come around all the time to trade baskets
for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from
him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost
me $4 in trade.

159 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone
in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he
●763 was riding that horse and hit him on the side of
273 his head with his wing. Six months after that my
682 husband died; he was killed. He went over to
Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with
a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one
saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in
his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody
killed him and then took that money off him, be-
cause the pocket he had it in was cut off with a
knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his
wife down here, working for the Brown company; a
white man came and told him about Pete's being
killed. Then they all left that camp and came up
and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols';
Estefana and another girl went up and got her,
then we waited here all day. They were going to
bring my husband's body over here and bury it
down here, but they kept it over in Kernville
all day. My son had no money to pay a man for
bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man
said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then
that white man gave my son $7. The white men at
Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there
at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville
and that man brought the body over here.

159 When they brought Pete's body back from Kern-
764 ville everybody came and stayed at our place that
765 night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in
Spanish). We all cried; one person would start
crying, then everybody would cry, all night long.
The next morning we buried the body. I burned
all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mat-
tresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save
anything of his. The plates I broke and threw
away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well.
If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have
walked around inside the house, bothering us.
[231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son
and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one.

[p. 78(a)]

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524 Hand game (tïpi·mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

T 788 765 572 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [78] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

788 765 768 764 person's things, the ghost would return every night, looking for his things, and frighten the relatives when they went outside after dark. But if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 765 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usually given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made for him; if his relations didn't make one, they buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anangat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

[768]

788 765 173 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil, Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife, described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 765 173 "After that Kawičina showed the people where to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and

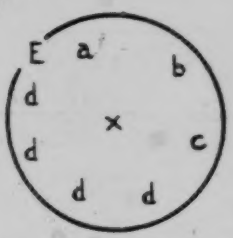

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

[p. 69(a)]

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomïp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people
[481] went. There were 4 camps of people over there. We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomïp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomïp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that
[824] we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[265] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 24) [p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.-- Analyst]

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yYtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[769] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
[285 with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
438] of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always
wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead
man's clothes, because they were burned, but his
horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they
can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut
my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off
so that it came down a little way over my shoul-
ders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black
too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never
used to wash their faces after a relative had
died, until they ate meat again; they bathed,
but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son
helped me get that money to eat meat again; I
paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a
cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia
and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked
522 bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after
that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk;
she went up to him and she said, "You killed my
father; now I'm going to kill you." He was
frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened
he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't
kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said
that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed
and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
then. We lived up at yĭtiyamup; Legora and Willie
585 and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down
all the time and make baskets. Not very many women
made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too.
Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with
278 a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't
ever talk to my son again. That man had poison;
something, I don't know what; all those Tule
reservation people have poison and they all know
about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian
poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison
up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches
living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they
say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that
she has it up here now. They put it in your food,
in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything
like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk
and slept outside on the ground all night. It was
cold; it was in November and there was frost on
the ground. November was the same month my hus-
band was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yĭtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

302 [765] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., [824] pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. 388 (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and [515] used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit [296] of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (XihabI·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for several days. At dances women put loose eagle [301] down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wInIt) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native [413] string to form flat, narrow brush. This hairbrush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apIn) made from colum- [177] nella of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugiIt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (nangawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual intercourse with him, as this would affect his hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MM).

[841]

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones,
763 attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death determined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives,
[765] friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one person would start crying, then everybody would cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule
767 mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-
887 handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position, face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM).
[766] Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SMN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575), fragment of tule matting with braided edge [177] (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi·mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

788 little balls." In evening grandfather took youth
787 outside, questioned him about what he had seen in trance; boy told old man what life he had obtained, if any. All youths could take ants thus; "many of them did" (SM).

787 Youths of 16 or more also fasted single day,
788 in evening swallowed small ball of tobacco and
776 lime, either in sweat house or outside in hills;
276 sometimes animal appeared to seeker, became latter's pet (SM). FP said younger women also took tobacco for same purpose.

788 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing
● 765 ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by
572 certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service. PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

T 788 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

●765 572 Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that " in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [784] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

788 person's things, the ghost would return every
●765 night, looking for his things, and frighten the
768 relatives when they went outside after dark. But
764 if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usu-
788 ally given in summer, during July, August, 1-2
765 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made
[768] for him; if his relations didn't make one, they buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anangat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

788 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil,
765 Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife,
173 described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 "After that Kawičina showed the people where
765 to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and
173

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

[p. 69(a)]

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
788 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
765 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
173 and went around the fire inside the enclosure,
535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug
765 a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
768 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feathers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomip, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

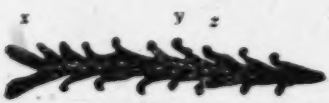

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomÏp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomÏp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomÏp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[263] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, pl-2b). [p. 73(b)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.-- Analyst]

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
765 fiesta over at cuhka·yl. She was living over
there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had
died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlit was making
a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They
killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they
boiled and fried it. I met wišimlit's youngest
son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him
before, because after wišimlit's man was killed
in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to
Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and
lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back
here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was. He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.
582 "Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."
But my mother didn't want me to go with him;
he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay
with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cuhka·yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from
Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one
eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big
the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the
mts. near the man's place for a long time. The
man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that
man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of
a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way
off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming
he would fly close to him, knock him down with his
wings; then he would cut that man's load all to
pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man,
too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he
never came back any more. That old man raised him;
anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago.
The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles
on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."
Four men went with him, away up on the S side
of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got
up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around
the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down
over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let
go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad
doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cuhka·yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That
time my mother said to him, "You're all right."
Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and
helping us. His mother, wišimlit, didn't pay any-
thing for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's
brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal
woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good
worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlit paid for her
and brought her to yitiyamup to be Steban's wife.
Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working
down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know
anything about it. When he came home there was a
wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we
came down to u·u·pu·lap again. We moved around too

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yïtiyamup
●765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[768] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
[285 with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
438] of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 8 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yĭtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yïtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 131 197 177 563 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual intercourse with him, as this would affect his [841] hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MM).

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones, 763 attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death determined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives, [765] friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one person would start crying, then everybody would 767 cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule 887 mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position, face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM).
● [766] Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SWN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

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846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child
[862] of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when
[841] latter seated. If mother became pregnant while child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins over-
[597] worked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
● 768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither
423 band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here,
[551] but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdzu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here
[648] again and died here. The Tübatulabal never had any fights with them."

Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

425 Patches of wild tobacco were free to be used
423 by anyone, but once woman had started tending plants in particular patch, plants became hers and sometimes women marked boundaries of their patches with sticks laid on ground. Same woman did
[421] not, however, tend one patch year after year (FP). No ownership of eagle eyries, seed areas, piñon or acorn trees (SM, FP).

428 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband
768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

428 was, however, mainly burnt, destroyed, or given away at owner's death or at burning later. Quantity of property destroyed at burnings varied; in event all not destroyed, some of man's property might find its way into his brother's or sons' hands, some of woman's into her sister's or daughter's keeping; husband did not inherit any property from wife or vice versa. FP complained that after her husband's death, SM, her husband's brother, tried to get some of his brother's property; "that was the way they used to do; they'd take everything away from the widow."

428 556 768 If man left 3 sackfuls shell money at his death, son "might save out 2 of them from his father's burning and keep them" to help establish himself as a rich man; this was all right, "because that relation (deceased) would know the son was going to burn that money again later on" (i.e., when son himself died). Man's bow, arrows usually not burnt because "they were hard to make"; deceased woman's mortars, metate, mullers, sometimes necklace, some of her baskets might also be saved by her relatives.

221 484 Movements and trade.- From Feb. through middle of Aug., food-gathering activities kept Tübatulabal shifting about in family groups in lower altitudes (2000-4000 ft.), chiefly in lower and upper Sonoran life zones, in valleys, foothills, river canyons. From Aug. to middle of Nov., groups moved into higher altitudes (5000-6000 ft.), first E to piñon grounds on w. slopes of Sierra Nevadas in Transition zone, then W to acorn grounds in Greenhorn mts. in upper Sonoran zone; family groups or individuals might also go on trading trips after piñon harvest. During short winter season from middle of Nov. to Feb., family groups returned to valley-foothill region in lower and upper Sonoran zones and men did some hunting, fishing, and procured salt from desert, but at this season people "mainly stayed home, not doing anything" (SM) and lived in small hamlets (fig. 11).

487 484 Adults, in couples or small groups, also traveled quite a bit outside home area (SM); Powers, 1875, met a Palagewan at Tule R. reservation who had visited Hopi (Powers, 394). Desire to trade, to hunt, fish, or gather food in certain areas, to play games, obtain services of shaman among reasons mentioned for taking trips. To E, Tübatulabal went as far as Randsburg on Mohave desert; to S, SW to Tejon in Tehachapi mts. and to Chumash villages near Ventura on Pacific coast; to W as far as Tulare lake, in central San Joaquin valley. As girl FP had camped on desert (see Autobiography of FP); SM as boy of 9 had been to Tejon ranch and Ventura with his father; in going to Chumash villages near Ventura, route lay through Walker's basin to Caliente, thence to Yokuts village, Lapau, then to Tejon, thence via Comanche creek to 2 Chumash villages, makakak and alko·laupal, near Ventura. Trip took 2 days on foot to Tejon, 2 more days from Tejon to Ventura (SM). MM's narrative of trip from Tejon to Caliente confirms former part of this

T 788 765 572 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that " in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [784] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

788 person's things, the ghost would return every
765 night, looking for his things, and frighten the
768 relatives when they went outside after dark. But
764 if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usu-
765 ally given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made
[768] for him; if his relations didn't make one, they buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anangat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

788 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil,
765 Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife,
173 described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 "After that Kawičina showed the people where
765 to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and
173

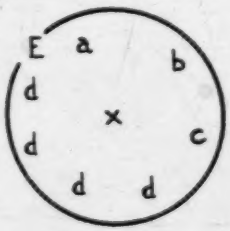

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

[p. 69(a)]

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
788 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
765 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
173 and went around the fire inside the enclosure,
535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and hand-games and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug
765 a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
● 768 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feathers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

159 And all the people were married there; Sumukat
585 married wIsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
[476] dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
● 768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yItiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yItiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place [illegible] time they were working the to-
bacco. One [illegible] father returned to camp, sick;
he could [illegible]k. And then he was sick in bed
for one wee[illegible]idn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yÍtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
● [763] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
[285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yÎtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman. 539X 159

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her. 837

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 539X
451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. [195]
464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking. 159 578

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter. 539X 159

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. [845
509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. 515. Then my wife is angry all the time. 768] [592]

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many 539X 159 [273]

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[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i.e. FRANK MANUEL. - Analyst

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šïmïndïŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (polcli·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

● 771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[77] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht.
He said he was going to turn into a plant and if
any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
[754] something" (SM). Mention has already been made of
belief that witches are not powerful enough to
destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from
addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging
roots, there seems never to have been any form
of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM,
FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called
jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[71] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
776 said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
[823] "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her
sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father ad-
ministered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle,
so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on
the other side of the world could hear him" (see
Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remem-
ber names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have
existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so
far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal
properties and its use in obtaining supernatural
power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had
also spoken to the people, but that no formula
was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[71] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personi-
fied, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture
hero he causes earth to be remade after flood
(Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire
for people, regulates division of labor (ante),
causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid).
He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207)
during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays
usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209,
211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's
character, mentioned how puzzling they found his
dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good,
smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as
well, but differences of opinion expressed on
whether it applied to inanimate objects such as
rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted
rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks,
streams seem not so much supernatural in them-
selves, but to serve as dwelling places for super-
natural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal
lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always
[173] lived in the region where they are found today,
[171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence
[173] of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Summer of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

252 Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone
412 used in preparing different types plant food. Mortars (pahal) included pit mortars, which were depressions 2-10 in. deep, 3-5 in. wide in level or gently sloping granite outcrops (Kroeber, [773] Handbook, 524, pl. 45). Manufacture of pit mortars attributed to Coyote, but fact recognized that mortar holes enlarged with use until at depth of 10 in. they became unusable.

412 Portable stone mortars (ku·pahal) from 6-35 in.
322 in total diameter; made by pecking out depression
324 in round soft gray stone with harder, pointed rock (SM). Small stone mortars readily transportable; taken on piñon expeditions. Large wooden portable mortars (ku·pahal) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45) made from hard wood, oak (SM), juniper (FP); bowl burnt out and interior smoothed with rough rock. These latter "easier to make than stone mortars" and commonly used around home, but were too large to take on trips. Basketry hopper used. Pestles (poho'owal) for all types mortars were roughly cylindrical, granite or slate rocks, picked up in river beds, used as found; length of pestles varied from 5-20 in., width from 2 1/2-5 in., depending on size of mortar.

412 Grinding slab (mana·l) oval or roughly rec-
324 tangular piece of granite or black slate, from 14-20 in. long, 10-15 in. wide, and 2-4 in. thick; used on one side only; grinding surface flat or slightly concave. Suitable slabs fairly abundant in area, and woman always kept one such in house, leaning up against wall. With slab, either small ovoid rub stone (takibit) 3-4 in. long, about 3 1/2 in. wide, 2 in. thick, flat on top and bottom surfaces (Gifford and Schenck, 92, pl. 31), or larger stone of same shape (takin) used; these picked up in river beds. Long cylindrical mullers not used. When in use, grinding slab set up with flat rock, about 2 in. thick, placed under upper end of slab, so that slab slanted downward, away from operator. Lower end of slab rested on flat basketry tray.

412 All informants familiar with 3-legged metate
177 and horned muller (Steward, 1933, 341, pl. 5g),
252 because one such introduced among them by former Jesus Miranda, Mexican who married Petra Miranda, Tübatulabal woman; this metate used primarily for grinding corn (FP). However, present-day Tübatulabal ordinarily pound parched corn or wheat into meal in pit mortars, following older pattern.

252 Cooking techniques included stone boiling, boiling in clay pots, parching with live coals on basketry tray, parching in fire, roasting on coals, in ashes, in pit ovens, on spits, in fire. General pattern of native cookery, which resulted in economy of effort, was to apply heat only once to any variety of food intended to be eaten in cooked state. Thus small seeds which had already been parched, and previously roasted piñons, after they were ground into meal, were merely mixed with cold water when made up into gruel (u'u·gil); neither seed nor piñon meal recooked by stone boiling (or any other method), parched foods being

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could PN give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·šawit) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that Tübatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
● [773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
[171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM).

[262] Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 ● 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibɪ·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having penetrated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

● [773]

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). PN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, PN).

101 Neighbors.- Tübatulabal had as neighbors to S the Kawaiisu (ka·wiš); to W at Poso Flat the Bankalachi (to·lowim); to W and SW various Yokuts groups living at Porterville, Shoko, Altau, and Tejon (monila·bal). At Bakersfield and along slough S to Kern lake lived another Yokuts group (pa·labatal). It is interesting to note that these Yokuts groupings as given by SM do not agree with Kroeber's map of the Yokuts terrain (Handbook, pl. 47), SM's information probably relating to later period than Kroeber's.

Farther SW of Tübatulabal were the Tejon Indians or Kitanemuk (witaŋhatal), the Chumash or Ventureño (cucpinu); NW around Tulare lake the Tachi Yokuts (taši); N the Western Mono (winaŋhatal), including the Northfork Mono (winaŋapul); NE and E the Owens Valley Paiute (i·wi·naŋhal); E the Koso or Panamint (ši·gawiyam). Kroeber gives Amahaba as Tübatulabal name for the Mohave (Handbook, 607), but none of my informants recognized this term.

103 Place names.- Large geographical features, as mt. ranges, not named, but several peaks, lakes, streams, and numerous small springs each had designation. Several Tübatulabal place names refer to mythical events which occurred within area; many other names mark sites which were of economic importance. Since entire area not traversed with informant, my list of place names probably represents only fraction of total. Translations of some of place names given below are those offered by informants and do not represent etymological analysis. Locations are listed from E (Owens lake) to SW (rapids of Kern r.), thence NE to Mt. Whitney. Section, township, and range are taken from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of Kernville quadrangle.

1. pabunta·bop, Owens lake; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Patsiwat for Owens lake: SM, FP said paca'awat name of village site (p. 41).

2. wīŋa·l, Walker pass; general term for summit; piñon grounds.

3. a·nandu·giš, mts. E of Canebrake creek; piñon grounds.

4. u·ga·bičiŋ elegapï·ban, Weasel's lookout; boulders on point of hill, W side of mouth of Chimney canyon, SW quarter, sec. 20, T25S, R36E. In a myth, Weasel kept a lookout here for soldiers approaching from W.

5. holomup, mt. and spring at head of Chimney canyon in piñon grounds.

6. šo·hoptap, creek 1 mi. W of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

7. i·wa'kana·p, 2 mi. N of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

8. palu·hi·yam, Little water; South Fork of Kern r.

9. ha·'alap, spring at head of Smith canyon; piñon grounds.

10. poiwištap, Willow place; head of Scodie canyon; piñon grounds.

11. pa·še·pan, spot at which there is a split

[p. 40(a)]

103 boulder at base of mts. (pl. 6d), 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, SW quarter, [773] sec. 20, T26S, R34E. Coyote broke this long boulder in 3 pieces when Bluejay tried to build a bridge from top of mts. across valley to Nichols peak.

12. hamboyam, Cane creek; general term for cane.

13. punʒi·ba·n, meadow containing pit mortar at base of foothills, 1/2 mi. NW of Onyx, SW quarter, sec. 5, T26S, R35E.

14. lelet, Nichols peak. At end of Mythical age Eagle elected to live on this peak (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207).

15. cu·iyala'a ka·ʒa·ban, Spider's pot; rocky ledges on w. edge of first flat SW of Weldon, [773] NE quarter, sec. 22, T26S, R34E. Spider had cooked chia mush; he came here and spread it out on a rock for his children to eat.

16. kutu'wi·ban, spring at head of canyon, first flat SW of Weldon, sec. 23, T26S, R34E. Eagle and his wife lived here.

17. ku·či·a·pu·lap, spring, head of second flat SW of Weldon.

18. wa·tiništ, Juniper place; 3 mi. SW of Weldon in foothills on s. edge of South Fork valley at mouths of 2 intermittently flowing streams; SE quarter, sec. 29, T26S, R34E.

19. Cave, 3 1/2 mi. W of Cook peak on Goat ranch; NW quarter, sec. 6, T27S, R34E. Abode of a mythological man-monster.

20. anayupun, flat, 4 mi. NE of Isabella on Murphy ranch; the E and W winds fought here.

21. paʒat, springs 2 mi. NE of Cook peak, E side of wide plain; SW quarter, sec. 24, T26S, R33E.

22. pi·li·wi·ban, mt. (?) near Isabella; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as Piliwinipan, near Whiskey Flat or Kernville.

23. yaha·waban, junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; "just a name; there was no village there" (SM); Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Yahaua-pan as name for village site here.

24. yu·mu·gi·wala'aŋ pa·i·na·'aban, obscure meaning in reference to mythological creatures; junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.

25. palakuč, fishing site on Kern r., 3 mi. SW of confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; NE quarter, sec. 1, T27S, R32E; near Indian [531] mound, now leveled, on Monroe Bechtel ranch. [532] Pictographs abundant at this site.

26. pi·ta·lap, summit on road from Hot Springs valley to Caliente and Tejon ranch.

27. palakuič, Walker basin.

28. paluntanakamapan, water where it falls; fishing site at rapids near w. end of Kern r. gorge; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as name for Bakersfield.

29. pawačahalap, acorn grounds 3 mi. W of Kernville, in Greenhorn mts.

30. wa·gi·na·pu·ban, Split mt., NW of Kernville; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Wokinapüipan as village site on Kern r.

[p. 40(6)]

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 - String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. [552] Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in [171] hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tübatulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.
487 Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and
437 in later times horses; these exchanged for piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
● 773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hištɬh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hištɬh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hištɬh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hištɬh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hištɬh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hištɬh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

462 Why hunting man's work, preparation of food
773 woman's, rationalized in Coyote myth, recorded in English from MM; shorter variant was given in Tübatulabal by SM (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). This myth, told in answer to query whether women ever hunted, may have wide distribution, but so far no parallels to it have been recorded among Californian or Great Basin tribes, although Dr. A. H. Gayton tells me that she has found mention that sexes were originally separated, in mythology of Navaho, Yana, Miwok, and Assiniboine. The myth is as follows:

462 Myth of Contest to Determine Division of Labor
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Before Indians lived on this earth, there were many different kinds of animals and birds living here; Chicken Hawk, Sparrow Hawk, Mt. Lion, Bear, Coyote, Eagle. Eagle was the chief. And all of these were men; there were no women, it is said.

These men hunted rabbits every day; but Coyote stayed home every time they went hunting, and hauled wood for his companions. He brought wood to each man's camp; that's all Coyote did all the time.

And when the men were tired of hunting rabbits, they hunted deer for a change. The next day, when all of them went to hunt deer, they went farther off than when they hunted rabbits; they went away up in the mts.

Up on the mts. the hunters saw smoke rising from a peak, opposite where they were standing. They said, "Perhaps somebody is living over there; perhaps there are people there." One hunter said, "I think we should tell Coyote about this, when we get home tonight." That's what he said.

In the evening the men returned home; every one of them had a deer. And Coyote had the firewood piled up at each man's camp. Each man cut a little piece of meat and gave the meat to Coyote; every man did this. Coyote ate that meat for his supper. After supper the men told Coyote, "We saw smoke from the top of that mt.; we saw it across on another mt., a long way off." And Coyote said, "Perhaps there is somebody living over there; let's send somebody over there tomorrow, to find out."

So the men chose one man to go, Road Runner (the chaparral cock). They said, "This fellow, Road Runner, can travel fast." Next morning Road Runner started, after breakfast; the rest of the men went off to hunt again. But Coyote stayed home to haul wood for the camps.

Road Runner went way up on the mt.; and as he went he saw a lizard running close beside him. Road Runner got close to Lizard; he grabbed Lizard and swallowed him. Perhaps Lizard was Road Runner's "life" and that was why Road Runner swallowed him.

Over on the mt. where Road Runner was going there were many women-creatures; lots of women, Eagle-Woman, Coyote-Woman, Mt. Lion-Woman, and

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[83]

many others. And all those women were sitting around a big pit mortar bed that had lots of mortar holes in it; lots of women were sitting down there pounding piñons. There were no men, only women there. Suddenly one woman said, "Oh! The edge of my vagina is pulsating." All the women laughed; soon another woman said, "Oh! mine is too." Then one of the women said, "Maybe somebody is coming; perhaps a man is coming." And all the women said, "Perhaps." Then one of those women looked and saw a man coming. She said, "You see; I told you. Somebody is coming, coming from over there now."

Road Runner saw those women sitting down there at the pit mortar, all of them. So he went down there; he said, "Hello."

"Hello," said all the women; and they asked him what he was doing up there in the mountains.

Road Runner said, "My companions saw your smoke yesterday, from across on that mt. And they told me to come here and find out whether people were living here. All of them are men over there," Road Runner said.

"And here there are no men," the women told Road Runner; "here all are women."

Soon all the women got up; they called to Road Runner, "Come on; come on down to our house," they said, and Road Runner went with them. When they arrived at their house they told Road Runner, "Come in."

They selected a cooking basket and they mixed ground chia seeds with water in the basket, until the basket was almost full, and then they gave the chia gruel to Road Runner to eat. Also they gave him a piece of deermeat.

Road Runner drank the chia; he drank it all, and when he was through eating he sat down for awhile. After awhile the chia made him sick; he felt like vomiting, and he vomited; he vomited lizard and the chia. Lizard chased all those women; they got up and ran when he chased them. "What kind of food does this man eat?" they said. Lizard was alive.

Then Road Runner recovered and those women returned after he recovered. Mountain Lion-Woman went into the house and brought out chia seeds, tied up in a little bag. She said to Road Runner, "When you get home give this to Mt. Lion."

Road Runner replied, "All right."

And another woman, Chicken Hawk-Woman, came out of the house with the same thing, a little bag, with acorns in it. She gave the bag to Road Runner. "When you get home you give this to Chicken Hawk," she said. Road Runner said, "All right."

Each of the women gave a little bag of food to Road Runner for each man over there at the camp. Road Runner told each one, "All right." The last woman to come was a big fat woman; she too had a little bag of seeds, and she said to Road Runner, "You give this to Coyote."

Then the women said, "In 3 days we will come over to your camp; 3 days from now we will all

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come over." Road Runner replied, "All right." Then he returned home; he had a large load to pack home.

Over at the hunters' camp Coyote kept watching all the time for Road Runner; Coyote was in a hurry, he wanted to spy Road Runner first. Every little while Coyote went up on a hill and looked to see whether Road Runner was coming. Then in the evening he saw Road Runner returning. Coyote went to meet him; he wanted to learn what Road Runner had discovered over there.

Coyote said to Road Runner, "Did you find out about things over there?" And Road Runner replied, "Oh, you'd better wait; you don't want to be told now; you wait." But Coyote came alongside of Road Runner and whispered,

"Hurry up! You'd better tell me!"

Road Runner said, "Wait until all our companions come home. Then you will find out," he said.

Soon the hunters returned to camp, in the evening. After supper they all gathered together; they were going to learn what Road Runner had discovered, now.

Road Runner said, "There are all women over there where I went; lots of women. Each woman gave me a little bag," he said, "and they told me to give each one of you a bag," Road Runner explained. Then he gave each hunter what a woman had sent by him. He told the hunters, "These women said they were going to come over here in 3 days."

"Good, good, good!" said Coyote.

In 3 days' time the women came. Each woman had a pack; one woman had acorns, one chia, one piñons -- all the different sorts of seeds to eat. And each woman had a bow and arrows; all of them had arrows, all those women. Road Runner went to meet the women; he went to tell each woman where each man's camp was situated. He said, "There's Mt. Lion's house over there; Mt. Lion lives over there." So Mt. Lion-Woman went over to Mt. Lion's house.

"There's Chicken Hawk's house over there; that's Chicken Hawk's house," said Road Runner. Chicken Hawk-Woman went over to Chicken Hawk's house.

Each of the women went to the house of the man who was of her own kind, as Road Runner directed. At last only one woman was left; oh!, a big woman; she came to Road Runner and he said, "There's Coyote's house, way over there." So the big, fat woman went to Coyote's house.

The next day all the men went hunting and all the women went to grind acorns and chia. The hunters returned in the evening; the women had everything cooked and ready for them when the hunters came home for supper.

The following day the women told the men, "We are going to go hunting now; you men go and grind some acorns."

When the women returned in the evening, each one of them had a deer; every one of the women

462 773 539

had a deer. Some of the men had finished their work and had come home before the women returned, but some of the men were still over by the pit mortar, cooking acorns; they didn't know very much about cooking acorns, those men.

At sundown, Coyote had not returned home; he was still up at the pit mortar, leaching acorn meal. Coyote felt aggrieved; he was angry, too. When sundown came and Coyote had not yet come home, Coyote-Woman went over to the pit mortar to help him. Finally Coyote and his wife finished leaching the acorns, and returned home too.

Next day all the men went up on the hills to hunt, and all the women went to the pit mortars to grind acorns and seeds. All the men went to hunt deer and this time Coyote went, too. He didn't haul any more wood; he went hunting. When the men had gotten far up on the mt., Coyote said, "You men wait. We're going to talk about those women." So the men stopped.

"Those women have bows and arrows and they hunt; they send us over to the pit mortars to grind acorns," Coyote said. "That's not right. I think women better handle the mortar and pestle," Coyote said. "That's just right for them; that's a woman's job, not a man's," Coyote said. "Tomorrow we're going to talk it over; we will have a big talk. We are going to shoot at a target. If those women win, then they can handle the arrow. If we win, then we can keep on hunting and handle the arrow, and the women will handle the pestle, all the time."

Everyone said, "All right. We'll do that."

When they returned home in the evening, after supper Coyote called to everyone to gather together; he told all the men and women to assemble, and then he said, "We are going to have a big talk here. Tomorrow we are going to shoot at a target; if you women win then you can handle the arrows, and we men will handle the pestle and grind acorns. But the way it is now, you women going hunting and we men grinding acorns - that's not right. That's women's work," Coyote said. "Tomorrow morning I am going to set up a target; we will shoot at it."

The women said, "All right."

That night Coyote couldn't sleep. At midnight he got up; he went way up on top of the mt. and built a fire. Then he returned home, and when he came back he said, "You people get up now; the morning star is up; get up now, hurry!"

Road Runner got up; he looked and said, "Oh, that's not the morning star over there; that's a fire you built up there on top of the mt., you devil," Road Runner told Coyote.

Coyote called out again, "Hurry up!" But everyone went back to sleep again. When daylight really came everyone got up; after breakfast Coyote set up a target, and then he called out, "Everybody line up to shoot. Get ready!"

One of the women, Mt. Lion-Woman, was a good shot; she was pretty hard to beat shooting.

Each couple lined up in a double column; each

462 woman was standing beside her mate, and each
●773 pair were going to shoot together, both at the
539 same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart, over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a
527 big time" for his induction; "everybody came; they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to all the people; he told them to put their money down to give to people who were sick or poor, and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP). New chief bore part of expenses for this feast; people present also contributed money and food; no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while [537] narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation. <1

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, TÜbatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside, ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1/v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyī

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
● 773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were
532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hī'lwal) who
173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM).
[776] Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

[778]

531 Symbolism apparently entirely lacking; informants could give no explanations for feather wand, woodpecker bands, other paraphernalia carried at mourning ceremonies (see Rituals); one item common among Great Basin, California tribes, that of decorating baby cradles according to sex of child (Kelly, 134; Steward, 1933, 273; Kroeber, Handbook, 536) consistently denied among Tübatulabal. A few basket patterns had descriptive names (ante).

[171]

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance;
773 not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earth-
773 quakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

"people didn't Know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
773 over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht.
He said he was going to turn into a plant and if
any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
[754] and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
something" (SM). Mention has already been made of
belief that witches are not powerful enough to
destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from
addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging
roots, there seems never to have been any form
of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM,
FP had heard of Chungichnich.

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771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called
jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
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said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
[823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her
sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father ad-
ministered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle,
so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on
the other side of the world could hear him" (see
Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remem-
ber names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have
existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so
far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal
properties and its use in obtaining supernatural
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774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had
also spoken to the people, but that no formula
was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[771] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personi-
fied, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture
hero he causes earth to be remade after flood
(Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire
for people, regulates division of labor (ante),
causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid).
He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207)
during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays
usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209,
211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's
character, mentioned how puzzling they found his
dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good,
smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as
well, but differences of opinion expressed on
whether it applied to inanimate objects such as
rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted
rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks,
streams seem not so much supernatural in them-
selves, but to serve as dwelling places for super-
natural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal
lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

774 776 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe mïgïtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 775 [828] Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·num; also name for heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu··lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 208).

● 773 [171] Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gayton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
● 773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made. The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections 263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather 258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu·t). Salt grass 137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base 824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks [272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball, 278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for 757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this [262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs 263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias 824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bI·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise 264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people [415 had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); PN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave [753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they ● 774 might throw something in the food that would make [609 a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

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774 776 human or animal in form, who dwelt in certain localities; all these humanly shaped beings, together with shaman's animal helpers and many other animals, as bear, deer, coyote, rattlesnake, owl, hawks, etc., referred to generically as yu·mu·gi·wal, term which SM equated with Yokuts tipni (Kroeber, Handbook, 512) when it was used in reference to animals. Belief in these yu·mu·gi·wal entered into many phases of daily life; yu·mu·gi·wal not necessarily malevolently inclined, but all such had to be respected, more or less feared. Included among them were small dwarfs or "brownies" (ya'hI'Iwal) about 3 ft. high, who "looked like Indians." When hunters out camping at night, these dwarfs sometimes threw pebbles at them as they sat around fire; men picked up pebbles, spat tobacco juice on them, threw them back to dwarfs who could be heard sniffing greedily at rocks in dark, licking off tobacco juice. Brownies also occasionally actually appeared to people (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207); "when he was ill, Tony Pablo saw one of these yumugiwal looking in through the window at him; the dwarf had come to see what was the matter with him, but he didn't make Tony sick" (MM). While in jimsonweed trance MM had seen dwarf, who advised him to take second dose of jimsonweed. Pictographs in area (figs. 13, 14) also attributed to these brownies.

Many yu·mu·gi·wal are water spirits; in every spring, pool, river there dwells spirit who owns that particular body of water. One evening SM had

532

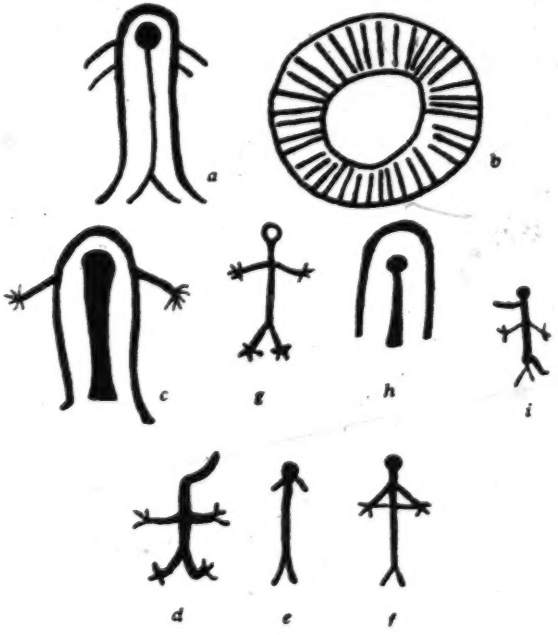

Fig. 13. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 6.

[p. 61(a)]

531
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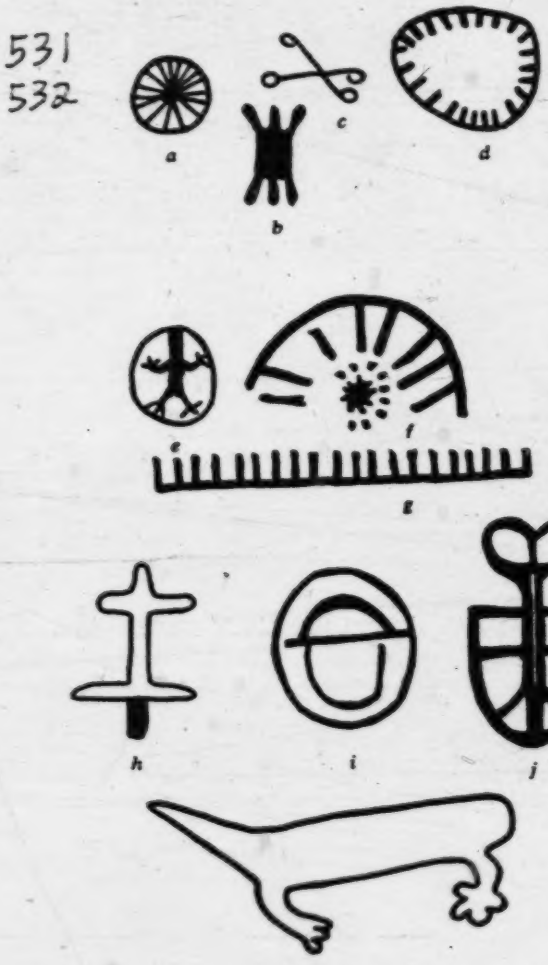

Fig. 14. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 2.

774
776 seen an old woman going from one spring to another on his rancheria; this old woman lived in and owned one of the springs; at another spring an otter (?), le·uše·p, could often be heard, crying "č, č, č." Man fishing at Kernville had seen small person, pa·nugiš, with human hands, fingernails 2 in. long, pulling at his line in water, whereupon fisherman had fled. Very tall man, black-skinned, was seen one morning standing on rock beside Fay creek; man who saw him went toward him, thinking creature was human being, but when man approached him, creature jumped in water, "where he lived in a large rock, which was his home" (SM). A tall man, poko, who wears a long dress of feathers or fur, lives in large rock by Chimney canyon; imut, another manlike creature, lives in mts.; anangayat lives in deep fissure

[p. 61 (6)]

774 776 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe migïtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 775 [828] Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·num; also name for heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu··lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

773 [171] Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gayton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

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756 Aesthetics). Other animals as wolf, lizard, hum-
825 mingbird, frog also helped witch in actual prac-
tice of craft (FP).

756 Although inheritance of shamanistic power in
428 family lines denied by SM, FP pointed out that among Tübatulabal all shamans for past 4 generations had belonged to one family; Jose Chico, Bill Viejo Chico, 2 brothers, both shamans; Jose's daughter, makiawint, was witch; 2 of Bill Viejo's daughters are witches.

754 Witchcraft.- All illness, insanity, caused by evilly disposed shamans; "if there had been no a·ɣowa·l, people would have lived forever" (SM). Instances of witchcraft legion; witches killed young children with their power, "if they wanted to give the parents hard luck"; often killed close relatives, parents, siblings' children, for what reason unascertained. Bill Viejo Chico announced at fiesta he was "going to kill all the children"; other instances witches boasting of power openly, threatening victims referred to. In 1933 witch held to have caused death of Tübatulabal woman's son so that mother of dead man would have to pay witch for having her face washed before she could eat meat.

Shaman practicing malevolent powers went out to mts. and talked to his animals; animals went to prospective victim, spoke to latter in dream; next morning victim would be sick, and illness would increase daily, because witch talking to animal every night, thus causing victim to "dream bad." Examples of bad dreams were: MM dreamt he was cow, pursued by bull. He climbed tree; while in tree he changed into human form, saw bull, also as human, at foot of tree. Then both changed again into animals; bull gored cow's leg. Immediately after having had this dream MM became very ill. If he had dreamt bull killed cow, he would have died. SM dreamt rattlesnake bit him; this dream also sent by witch. Several other examples of bad dreams recorded (see Autobiography of FP; Voegelin, 1935 b, 215). In general, to dream of Coyote portended misfortune; Coyote witch's helper par excellence, often sent to make persons ill. If one dreamt Coyote bit one, sickness followed. To dream of witch injecting pain in certain part of body caused that region to become affected. To dream of witch, even though witch did not send dream, enough to cause illness.

754 Witches might also send ghost of dead relative,
775 traveling in dust spout as among Miwok (Merriam, 1909, 433), to sicken person; "the whirlwind strikes one, enters one's head, and one dies" (SM); FP had this happen to her. Lights, which could be seen traveling fast at night, sometimes sent by witches to look for victim; MM, from home in foothills, some 25 yrs. ago, saw 2 lights racing over floor of valley; lights approached gate of rancheria, retreated. Capture of person's soul by witch one cause of insanity (SM). Air shot, such as used in shamans' contests, not used by witches to sicken victims.

[p. 63(a)]

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
● 775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

539x

15. Then there (Lapapil) got shot. 16. Then (Lapapil) went and fell down dead. 17. Then they came from there toward the rear. 18. "You fellows (go) next; we (have) already no (more) arrows" (Coyote tells the rear guard). 19. Then they from there fought next. 20. Then they from there ran away. 21. Right here their invulnerable one was already killed there (i.e., Lapapil).

22. Then they came back from there. 23. Lapapil was killed and also little Liklik. 24. Then Lapapil was grabbed here and taken away, and also little Liklik. 25. Then they came and arrived here. 26. Then Coyote says, "Tomorrow we will return again." 27. "Good," says Tugayal. 28. Then from there they went back again the next day. 29. There they went and arrived. 30. Then Coyote says, "Even I (will) encircle (them)," says Coyote. 31. "Good," says Tugayal. 32. Coyote went and encircled the house.

33. There he saw children. 34. (They) are playing (with) the eyes and also the head of Lapapil. 35. Then Coyote asked them, "What did you fellows grab?" says Coyote. 36. "The eyes and also the head of the one who stood, the invulnerable one, Lapapil" (answer the children). 37. "What do you fellows do when you arrive with his eyes?" (asks Coyote). 38. "Here we are turning back; we are rolling it; when we arrive there by the prepared fire we encircle it; fetching it by the skin we come and arrive" (answer the children). 39. Then Coyote: "Even I stand there, the outlaw," says Coyote. 40. Then from there Coyote shot them (the children). 41. From there Coyote divided himself in half in order to resemble the boys. 42. Then from there Coyote grabbed the eyes from there. 43. Coyote rolled them.

44. Then his anus says to Coyote, "Too fast you are traveling," his anus says to Coyote. 45. Then from there Coyote slowly came. 46. "Good," says his anus. 47. From there Coyote came toward the house. 48. There Coyote went and arrived by the fire. 49. There Coyote encircled there and went away from the fire.

50. Then Coyote grabbed the skin of Lapapil. 51. From there jumped Coyote. 52. "The little boys stood there, and you fellows didn't know it; (it was actually) I stood there, the outlaw," (Coyote) says. 53. Then Coyote got shot. 54. Coyote came and ran.

55. Then, it is said, Tugayal grabbed little Liklik from the head-pole. 56. From there they came. 57. Then they came and arrived here. 58. Then Tugayal took to his own aunt his younger brother (and) his eyes.

59. Then there his aunt put (the younger brother) in the cooking-basket. 60. He came back to life again. 61. There it is ended.

6. VISIT TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD

539x
775●

1. Many are the Old-Timers who lived. 2. Then the wife of one man got sick. 3. Then she died. 4. Then they went to bury her. 5. Her husband is crying very much. 6. Then they went back when they had finished burying her.

7. That one, her husband, is still crying. 8. Then from there he came back to the burial place, coming to see his own wife. 9. There he sits all night on the burial place. 10. From there he went in the morning toward his own home. 11. Then in the evening also he came back again toward the burial place; there also he stayed all night. 12. From there also he went toward his own house in the morning. 13. Then also from there, in the evening, he came back again toward the burial place. 14. Then that one approached very close. 15. His wife came out there; she stood there when she saw that one, her own husband, was coming.

16. Then there, when her husband saw his own wife coming out, he hastened toward that one. 17. Then that woman went the other way. 18. Her husband hastened to catch up to that one, his own wife. 19. He is going close. 20. He did not overtake her. 21. Already, it got dark there. 22. There her husband slept. 23. Then in the morning he got up when it was already getting light. 24. There his wife is standing. 25. From there her husband went toward her. 26. From there the woman went. 27. Then he followed her. 28. Far away they arrived at the edge of the ocean.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

29. There that woman went and stood. 30. From there she talked. "Why are you following me?" she says to that one, her own husband. "I am bad," she says. 31. There that one, her husband, stood when that one, his own wife, is saying (this). 32. "Good," says that one, his wife, "if you want to go with me, then we will cross the ocean." 33. "Good," says her husband. 34. "And do you see that mountain? We will go out there, and when we get on top then Crow will come to us when he sees (us) going out; Crow will pass by very close to our eyes; 'Caw,' he says here, and goes away; he takes an eye out here and goes away."

35. From there they went on top of the water; in a dustspout. 36. Far away they arrived there on the mountain. 37. Then they went out on top. 38. Then Crow came. 39. Then that man took out his amulet. 40. Then he fastened it on his own head. 41. Then Crow passed by here and went away; "Caw"; when passing by here (Crow) took (the man's) amulet (instead of his eye). 42. From there they went downward. 43. Then that one, his wife, said, "Do you see that valley?" she says. 44. "Yes," says that one, her husband. 45. Then they arrived very close. 46. Then that one, his wife, says, "Go in that house; the house (is) a big one; and I will go the other way. (There are) many houses there, and in the evening I will see you," says that one, his wife.

47. "Good," says that one, her husband. There that one, her husband, arrived in the house. 48. There a man, the chief, lives. "Come in, come in," he says. 49. There the man sat down. 50. Then that chief said, "What are you coming to do here (so) far away?" 51. "I am following my own wife," he says. 52. "Don't say (that), your wife is bad. She may not go back again, but you will see her pretty soon in the evening. People dance (then)."

53. Then already when it became night one man yelled—this one (is) a clown—"Make ye fire immediately, make fire," says that clown. "Come ye immediately, come," the clown says. 54. Then all the people came. 55. Then they danced all night; (there is) hand-game, and also they are dancing, and also, (there is) gambling. 56. Then they quit in the morning.

57. From there they all scattered. 58. From there that man went back again to the chief. 59. Then the chief says, "Do you desire your own wife?" he says. 60. "Yes," says the man. 61. "Well, pretty soon I will call that one your wife and she will go with you," he says. 63. Then the man came. 64. Then the chief said, "Call the wife of this man." 65. Then that man went; there he brought her. *"Go with your husband," says the chief. 66. "Good,"* says the man. 67. "But after three days, then you will touch your own wife," says the chief. 70. "Good," says the man.

71. From there they came. 72. Then they arrived far away. 73. Then also (they) came in a dustspout on top of the water. 74. Then they emerged from the water; they are still coming. 75. There they returned in the dark. 76. There they slept. 77. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 78. Then the man touched his wife. 79. Then he turned away back again. 80. Then they came in the morning from there. 81. Far away they came as it got dark; there again they slept.

82. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 83. Then he turned toward his own wife. 84. Then he touched his own wife; right away he climbed on his own wife; he copulated with his own wife. 85. Then when he had finished copulating, he slept. 86. Then, at daylight, he woke up. 87. Then he saw (something); (a stalk of) yucca is lying alongside of him. 88. There the man got up. 89. There he is standing.

90. "I can't help it now," he says; "the chief told me rightly (that) I should not take that one." 91. From there he went to his own house. 92. He arrived there, at home. 93. Then he tells those people, "I am one who has been a traveler when I followed my own wife far away across the ocean; I arrived there and I brought that one, my own wife, back in vain," he says. 94. "Then that chief told me rightly, but I did not believe him when he says, 'After three days you sleep with your own wife,' the chief says to me in vain, and right away I took that one, my own wife, before three days." 95. "Then she was turned into yucca." 96. "From there I came alone." 97. It stood (ended) pretty soon.

105 follow their profession, and had certain supernatural guardian-helpers, such as Coyote, to aid them in their nefarious designs against such persons as had incurred their ill-will. The native term for a shaman is a·ɨowa·l; women might have shamanistic power as well as men, but there were noticeable differences as to how members of the two sexes exercised it. A male a·ɨowa·l could either sicken a person, or cure him of sickness, whereas a woman a·ɨowa·l could only use her power for evil. "Bad" a·ɨowa·ls, women and men who use their power only for giving people "hard luck," are the most feared members of the community; the Tübatulabal gossip about them in low tones and see every misfortune as a result of their malice. The deeds of evil shamans often caused the latter to meet a violent end; exasperated members of the community would first obtain permission from the chief, and then kill such individuals. Curing shamans were on the other hand respected and their prestige grew as the number of cases they cured mounted, just as it dwindled and they became suspect of evil designs when they failed to cure patients. A curing shaman devoted an entire night to ministering to his patient; he danced, sang, and sucked at the affected spot in an effort to extract the disease object which had been injected by witchcraft and was causing the illness. During the night's performance the shaman's animal helper arrived from afar off and advised the shaman how to treat the patient. Any number of persons might witness a curing performance, but the shaman conferred with his supernatural helper privately, outside of the house where the cure was taking place. After extracting the disease object, which often looked like a spider, worm, or clot of blood, the shaman oftentimes gave his patient certain practical advice, such as to move from the dwelling house where he was staying, or to take certain herb medicines. Sometimes a doctor divulged the identity of the witch who had sickened his victim; he always knew, just as he knew who had stolen anything, or where lost objects could be found; if, however, the witch was a relative of his he was likely to shield him or her.

Various herb medicines were also used to treat illness; the plants used were many, but jimsonweed (Datura meteloides) was preëminent among them. Jimsonweed was once a man, who, when he died, told the people to dig his roots if they were in need of help; therefore, before a Tübatulabal digs the roots, he makes a short speech to the plant.

Not only was jimsonweed taken medicinally for various disorders, and used as an anodyne, but young men and women who were past puberty were urged to drink a decoction made from the roots, in order to obtain supernatural guardian spirits and "long life." Small groups of young people who had decided to take jimsonweed were put under the charge of an old man who knew how to ad-

[776]

[p. 5(a)]

262 136 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods included deer (tohi·l), antelope (yÿta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwÿt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cÿmil), gray squirrel (cawanÿnt), blue squirrel (šÿ'ÿgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bÿ·l), bluejay (a·ɣayibišt).

224 776 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts. usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 [533] 224 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

[237] [276] [301]

224 411 825 [349] Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows; at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

[281]

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[806] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life";
● 776 many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyi

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were
532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hi'lwal) who
173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM).
Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk
[776] indicates sites visited, [illegible] figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; pic[illegible] of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šimindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

[p. 60(a)]

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, moreover, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
[754] and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[71] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
776 said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
[823] "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among TÜbatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[17] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which TÜbatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

774 776 human or animal in form, who dwelt in certain localities; all these humanly shaped beings, together with shaman's animal helpers and many other animals, as bear, deer, coyote, rattlesnake, owl, hawks, etc., referred to generically as yu·mu·gi·wal, term which SM equated with Yokuts tipni (Kroeber, Handbook, 512) when it was used in reference to animals. Belief in these yu·mu·gi·wal entered into many phases of daily life; yu·mu·gi·wal not necessarily malevolently inclined, but all such had to be respected, more or less feared. Included among them were small dwarfs or "brownies" (ya'hI'Iwal) about 3 ft. high, who "looked like Indians." When hunters out camping at night, these dwarfs sometimes threw pebbles at them as they sat around fire; men picked up pebbles, spat tobacco juice on them, threw them back to dwarfs who could be heard sniffing greedily at rocks in dark, licking off tobacco juice. Brownies also occasionally actually appeared to people (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207); "when he was ill, Tony Pablo saw one of these yumugiwal looking in through the window at him; the dwarf had come to see what was the matter with him, but he didn't make Tony sick" (MM). While in jimsonweed trance MM had seen dwarf, who advised him to take second dose of jimsonweed. Pictographs in area (figs. 13, 14) also attributed to these brownies.

Many yu·mu·gi·wal are water spirits; in every spring, pool, river there dwells spirit who owns that particular body of water. One evening SM had

532

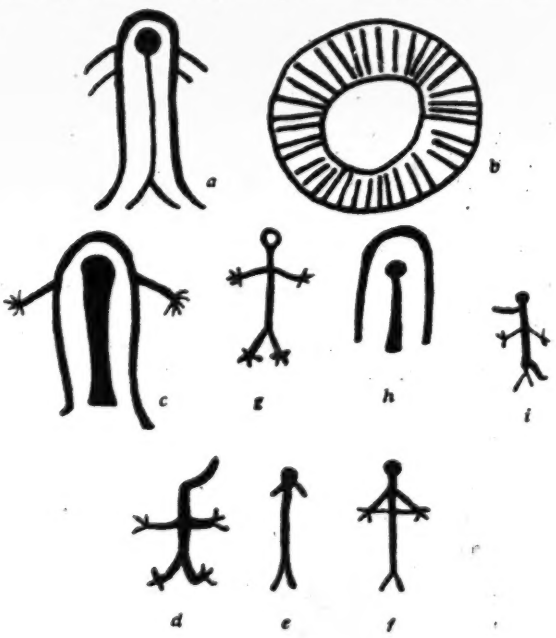

Fig. 13. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 6.

[p. 61(a)]

531
532

Fig. 14. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 2.

774
776 seen an old woman going from one spring to another on his rancheria; this old woman lived in and owned one of the springs; at another spring an otter (?), le·uše·p, could often be heard, crying "č, č, č." Man fishing at Kernville had seen small person, pa·nugiš, with human hands, fingernails 2 in. long, pulling at his line in water, whereupon fisherman had fled. Very tall man, black-skinned, was seen one morning standing on rock beside Fay creek; man who saw him went toward him, thinking creature was human being, but when man approached him, creature jumped in water, "where he lived in a large rock, which was his home" (SM). A tall man, poko, who wears a long dress of feathers or fur, lives in large rock by Chimney canyon; imut, another manlike creature, lives in mts.; anangayat lives in deep fissure

[p. 61 (6)]

774 776 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe mĭgĭtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 775 [828] Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·num; also name for heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu··lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

773 [171] Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gayton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 ●776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [[71] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; TÜbatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among TÜbatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recov-
[262] ered from effect of taking drug, and could by then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet.
Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
[177] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured;
[178] often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

788 787 little balls." In evening grandfather took youth outside, questioned him about what he had seen in trance; boy told old man what life he had obtained, if any. All youths could take ants thus; "many of them did" (SM).

787 788 ●776 276 Youths of 16 or more also fasted single day, in evening swallowed small ball of tobacco and lime, either in sweat house or outside in hills; sometimes animal appeared to seeker, became latter's pet (SM). FP said younger women also took tobacco for same purpose.

788 765 572 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service. PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead man's clothes, because they were burned, but his horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off so that it came down a little way over my shoulders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
● [777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never used to wash their faces after a relative had died, until they ate meat again; they bathed, but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son helped me get that money to eat meat again; I paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
522 somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk; she went up to him and she said, "You killed my father; now I'm going to kill you." He was frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
585 then. We lived up at yïtiyamup; Legora and Willie and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down all the time and make baskets. Not very many women made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too. Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
278 quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't ever talk to my son again. That man had poison; something, I don't know what; all those Tule reservation people have poison and they all know about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that she has it up here now. They put it in your food, in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk and slept outside on the ground all night. It was cold; it was in November and there was frost on the ground. November was the same month my husband was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

[778]

531 Symbolism apparently entirely lacking; informants could give no explanations for feather wand, woodpecker bands, other paraphernalia carried at mourning ceremonies (see Rituals); one item common among Great Basin, California tribes, that of decorating baby cradles according to sex of child (Kelly, 134; Steward, 1933, 273; Kroeber, Handbook, 536) consistently denied among Tübatulabal. A few basket patterns had descriptive names (ante).

[171]

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance;
773 not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earth-
773 quakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

[p. 58(b)]

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet. Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life "would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
[177] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with
[178] takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured; often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular
functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather
skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

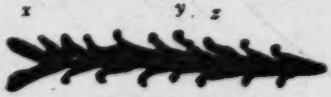

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wišt) tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totshoid[u] dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elaborate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomĭp was visiting
781 my grandmother at yĭtiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anangayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomĭp, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

262 136 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods included deer (tohi·l), antelope (yɪ̈ta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwɪ̈t), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cɪ̈mil), gray squirrel (cawanɪ̈nt), blue squirrel (tɪ̈šɪ̈'ɪ̈gal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bɪ̈·l), bluejay (a·ɣayibišt).

224 776 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts. usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 [533] 224 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; [237] [276] [301] if no deer sighted, within short while space cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

224 411 825 [349] Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows; at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
674 thin and died after awhile. A long time after
756 that wišimlīt's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got
sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's
friend came over here with him that time; he was
a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon
worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told
him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell
where everything is; they see everything. Ramon
told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine.
The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon
pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the
one who stole your rain machine." The other doc-
tor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors
know everything; who is making you sick, or if
you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison;
everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
"Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told
674 him. The man didn't want to go very much; he
just stopped every little while. My husband was
there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the
head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything;
he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that
doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
756 He should have though, then he could make rain
789 now. The man who found it buried it somewhere
else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit
(a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he
doesn't want to make it any more. The people
won't pay him anything for doing it. He says,
"Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat.
252 He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The In-
dians used to use everything in a deer; they'd
put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside
the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil
that up; it was fine. We never did that; just
the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a
Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
● 782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they
could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave
the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the
ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father.
"You're going on a good road (going to die),"
Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said
it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my
mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uγa·l) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
491 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
[415] "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
487 day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
[482] lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
262 plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
●784 at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la·lwašti·l) of Miwok type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača·i·ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living house, save that
[415] it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

595 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as
837 wo·'iin.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born,
163 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died be-
165 fore they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or
[578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law
784 in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

T 788 765 572 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [784] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching
755 middle age. Curing performance constituted all-
night ceremony which began after dark; held
either in doctor's house, if patient came from
distance, or in patient's house if doctor had
been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished
to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors
blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over pa-
tient while singing; others used plain stick,
pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as
they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who
came to see patient; "no one except the doctor
could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for
deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come
he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he
is coming close now.' Then he would go outside
of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer
gave him something; then the doctor returned to
the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After
Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain
from the patient, in the early morning. Only good
doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only
one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked
the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in
a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power
would help him get the pain out of his own body,
and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiog-
raphy of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new
customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley
Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman
had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or
worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have
them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted
upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes
she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 198) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

● 787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would have long life (MM). If person

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788 765 572 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service. PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlīt's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
● 787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

17. Then I, already wanting to go, woke up with a start. 18. Then I got up at four o'clock. 19. Then I went out far away; when I arrived, I prayed (and) I blew (to get rid of the impurity of the dream). 20. I dreamed a bad one. 21. I blew (the bad dream away). 22. "Nothing, nothing (bad remains)," I say, "everything (is) good; to us nothing (bad) will happen." 23. It is the end. 539x

18. BULL DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along the valley. 2. Then I see cattle. 3. I go and hold my own gun. 4. Then I see the bull. 5. There is not a bull (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me. 6. Then from there I go down toward the canyon, I am going to the canyon. 7. Then I see the bull in front (of me). 8. Then, when he sees me, he runs away from me because I am holding my own gun. 9. Then I woke up. [177 411] [756]

19. DEER DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along. 2. I cross the deep canyon. 3. On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains. 4. Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks. 5. Then I went and found many deer. 6. Then they jump about in every direction. 7. Then a big one stands still. 8. Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead. 9. Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart. 10. Then I woke up with a start.
11. It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say. [787]

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575),
[177] fragment of tule matting with braided edge (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
● [788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi-mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

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788 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing
765 ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by
572 certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service." PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

T
788 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."
765 Money received in ta·gin relationship spent
572 "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T
587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T
572 Failure to observe meat taboo implied disre-
754 spect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse.
[78] Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T
Y
171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T
788 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner
765 announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta"
768 or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, pos-
764 sessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

788 765 768 764 person's things, the ghost would return every night, looking for his things, and frighten the relatives when they went outside after dark. But if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 765 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usually given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made for him; if his relations didn't make one, they [768] buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anangat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

788 765 173 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil, Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife, described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 765 173 "After that Kawičina showed the people where to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and

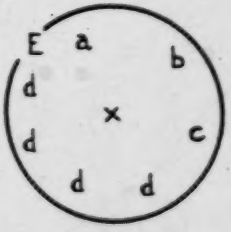

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
788 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
765 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
173 and went around the fire inside the enclosure,
535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.
[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
765 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feath-
768 ers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
● 788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

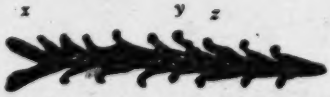

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

535 Social dances sometimes given "just for fun" according to FP, although SM denied this; in summer such dances held outdoors; in winter, inside sweat house (PN), or dwelling house if latter large enough. Not customary to hold dance at end of piñon, acorn harvests (FP, SM), although people "could, if they wanted to" (FP).

788 Minor rituals, elements of ritual.- Several minor rituals have been referred to; they include weather shaman's treatment of seeds (see section on Shamanism), deer hunting ritual (see section on Basic Subsistence), offering of tobacco at eclipse, etc. At strange body of water, before drinking, person put small amount of eagle down on water and said to spirit living in stream (SM), "I am going to drink this water; don't make me sick." Offerings for minor rituals included tobacco, eagle down, shell money; seeds, meal not used. From context of informants' remarks eagle down not attached to ends of stick, although I did not inquire specifically about this. Offerings were left on bare ground which had been brushed clean with hands; no altars; formulas accompanied most ritual offerings.

346 Ceremonial structure for larger rituals and ritual dress have been mentioned; ritual apparatus simple (above). Ritual number 3; dancing proceeded clockwise.
[801]

[p. 71(6)]

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits 317 in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars. ●789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).

276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."

757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.

[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk
887 of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

CYCLE OF LIFE

843 Birth.- Woman knew she was pregnant when menstrual periods stopped; during her pregnancy she "worked hard, climbed mts.; if she stayed in the house she'd get fat and the baby wouldn't [262] move" (FP). During last month of pregnancy woman ate no meat, very little salt; if she ate meat then, her husband would fail to see deer when hunting (SM). Some husbands did not kill any animal or eat meat when wife pregnant; others did so. One man "killed a fox by smashing its head, while his wife was pregnant; the baby was [845] born without any eyes or nose. Another time that same man killed a king snake when his wife was carrying a baby; the baby was born with a king-snake mark across its chest" (FP). Husband could have intercourse with wife during period of pregnancy. Sudden fright during pregnancy caused miscarriages; FP, LT said some babies born at 8th month, but expressed surprise when 7-months babies mentioned.

844 Older woman, usually a relative, attended woman in labor; husband often assisted, sometimes attended wife if no woman relative available. Husband or attendant dug shallow trench about 3 ft. long, either inside or outside living house, depending on weather; fire built in bottom of trench, slabs of stone laid on top of fire, then layers of earth, tule mats on top of stones. Woman in labor lay on top of this trench (to·ŋišt); during childbirth knelt, grasping [171] vertical stick; attendant pushed baby down onto mat on ground as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 158). Woman stuffed her hair in her mouth to prevent vomiting as baby emerged. To prevent breech presentation, if this expected, woman held suspended head downward; baby righted itself inside womb and would be born head first (FP). In [789] protracted labor person possessing amulet containing supernatural power might be called on to rub amulet over parturient's body (see Autobiography of FP).

Mother of baby pulled out afterbirth, cut cord and tied it about 3 in. from navel, with native twine; cord usually dropped off after 3 days; was saved by mother and kept wrapped in buckskin. Newborn baby washed in plain warm water by attendant and wrapped in soft deerskin, wildcatskin blanket. Maternal grandmother of infant buried afterbirth outside house.

846 After birth mother and infant lay on mat over [853] hot trench for 6 days. First 2 days baby fed thin gruel made of water, acorn or piñon meal, from mother's fingers; mother milked out colostrum for ca. 2 days, baby nursed on third day. If mother had no milk she rubbed her breasts with [262] soaproot brush dipped in warm water to induce flow. For one month she drank only warm water, "else her blood would get thick and she'd die" (LT); ate no meat, salt or grease as these foods would get into her milk and make baby sick (FP); if she ate meat husband would not be able to see deer (SM).

[p. 45(a)]

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht.
He said he was going to turn into a plant and if
any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
[754] something" (SM). Mention has already been made of
belief that witches are not powerful enough to
destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from
addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging
roots, there seems never to have been any form
of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM,
FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called
jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[771] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
[823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her
sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father ad-
ministered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle,
so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on
the other side of the world could hear him" (see
Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remem-
ber names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
[757] and pantheon referred to above seem to have
789] existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so
far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal
properties and its use in obtaining supernatural
power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had
also spoken to the people, but that no formula
was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[771] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personi-
fied, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture
hero he causes earth to be remade after flood
(Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire
for people, regulates division of labor (ante),
causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid).
He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207)
during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays
usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209,
211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's
character, mentioned how puzzling they found his
dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good,
smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as
well, but differences of opinion expressed on
whether it applied to inanimate objects such as
rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted
rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks,
streams seem not so much supernatural in them-
selves, but to serve as dwelling places for super-
natural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal
lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

Kawaiisu NS13 Chumash NS7

T 756 754 T [426] American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawaiisu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz crystals used for making thunder showers in summer and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dew-claw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, although there were no clouds in the sky when he began" (FP).

T K Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just made rain lots"; however, when women went to gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain now, because the white people won't pay him to do it" (FP).

T C An interesting extension of rain doctor's activities as SM knew them from his Chumash stepfather, briefly described. At new moon, in month "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

T 821 789 791

Among Tübatulabal, rain machines sometimes buried at owner's death (SM); SM, however, had expected to inherit his stepfather's outfit, before key part of it was stolen, and be taught songs which accompanied its use; what remained of outfit SM had, in 1932, in his possession (pl. 1a).

T 754 791

Bear shamans.- Bears feared, respected (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215, 219); Bill Viejo Chico, shaman, boastingly said when he died he would turn into bear (PN). Bear shamanism, however, only weakly developed; if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bearclaw, from bear; one man, who died at Ventura (Tübatulabal?), took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house while among Tübatulabal (SM). FP said man with power from bear cured people by singing, smoking; never sucked out disease, but kept patient with him all night. All informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears.

T [751]

C [171]

Bear shamanism, strongly developed according to my informants among Chumash, was, however, of great interest to Tübatulabal. SM had heard from grandfather of prowess of Ventura bear shamans, who used dried bearskins which were stored in cave N of Tejon. "When they got mad at each other they used to kill persons with that bearskin. Somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him. When they first made that bearskin, no one would tell when he saw it, because if you told, the bear would kill you. The Tübatulabal didn't do this; just the Ventura Indians" (SM).

C 773 754 791 [41] 789

Chumash also had peculiar development of bear shamanism which Tübatulabal were aware of but did not imitate; this consisted of "bear machine" which SM's grandfather had told him about, but which SM had never seen. To make machine run, Chumash used white powder (ayi·p, alum?) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory. Since so little is known of Chumash ethnography, SM's description of Chumash apparatus and its use is given here in full. "The Ventura Indians used a bearhide and made it run like a car. When the old men made this machine they tried that bear. They came over here (to Tübatulabal area) and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place 10 mi. above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bearhide was standing up, like a real bear. It had 2 reins on it, like a horse; when the driver wanted to turn around he pulled a rein. He was sitting inside the bear, on a flat rock; he looked out through the eyeholes. They traveled at night only, and made bear sounds as they traveled. The driver talked to the bear as the bear

C T 754 789 791

T [823]

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C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [[71]] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; TÜbatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among TÜbatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); FN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 ●789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

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in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

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Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

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One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

Although belief that like causes like is implicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yÏtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yÏtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlÏt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yÏtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yÏtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlÏt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wiśimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
● 789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

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789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

T American currency from $10-50; formerly equiva-
756 lent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a
754 doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee
T not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Consider-
[426] able borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m),
756 all my material relating to this type shamanistic
789 activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawai-
821 isu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until
● 791 part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from
C him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz
821 crystals used for making thunder showers in summer
789 and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides,
[823 rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone
415] mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dew-
[276] claw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away"
K (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had
821 "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled
789 with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM).
791 Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, al-
T though there were no clouds in the sky when he
K began" (FP).

Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just
821 made rain lots"; however, when women went to
789 gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them,
791 women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain
T now, because the white people won't pay him to do
C it" (FP).

An interesting extension of rain doctor's ac-
824 tivities as SM knew them from his Chumash step-
821 father, briefly described. At new moon, in month
789 "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water
791 and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

T 821 789 791 Among Tübatulabal, rain machines sometimes buried at owner's death (SM); SM, however, had expected to inherit his stepfather's outfit, before key part of it was stolen, and be taught songs which accompanied its use; what remained of outfit SM had, in 1932, in his possession (pl. 1a).

T 754 791 Bear shamans.- Bears feared, respected (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215, 219); Bill Viejo Chico, shaman, boastingly said when he died he would turn into bear (PN). Bear shamanism, however, only weakly developed; if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bearclaw, from bear; one man, who died at Ventura (Tübatulabal?), took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house while among Tübatulabal (SM). FP said man with power from bear cured people by singing, smoking; never sucked out disease, but kept patient with him all night. All informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears.

T [75] C [171] Bear shamanism, strongly developed according to my informants among Chumash, was, however, of great interest to Tübatulabal. SM had heard from grandfather of prowess of Ventura bear shamans, who used dried bearskins which were stored in cave N of Tejon. "When they got mad at each other they used to kill persons with that bearskin. Somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him. When they first made that bearskin, no one would tell when he saw it, because if you told, the bear would kill you. The Tübatulabal didn't do this; just the Ventura Indians" (SM).

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C T 754 789 791 T [823] Chumash also had peculiar development of bear shamanism which Tübatulabal were aware of but did not imitate; this consisted of "bear machine" which SM's grandfather had told him about, but which SM had never seen. To make machine run, Chumash used white powder (ayi·p, alum?) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory. Since so little is known of Chumash ethnography, SM's description of Chumash apparatus and its use is given here in full. "The Ventura Indians used a bearhide and made it run like a car. When the old men made this machine they tried that bear. They came over here (to Tübatulabal area) and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place 10 mi. above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bearhide was standing up, like a real bear. It had 2 reins on it, like a horse; when the driver wanted to turn around he pulled a rein. He was sitting inside the bear, on a flat rock; he looked out through the eyeholes. They traveled at night only, and made bear sounds as they traveled. The driver talked to the bear as the bear

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C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear. and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 ●791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

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in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T Y 756 789 791

Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

T 173 756 789 791

One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

T 756 754 T [426] American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted TÜbatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawaiisu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz crystals used for making thunder showers in summer and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dewclaw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among TÜbatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, although there were no clouds in the sky when he began" (FP).

756 789 821 791 C 821 789 [823 415] [276] K 821 789 791 T K

Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just made rain lots"; however, when women went to gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain now, because the white people won't pay him to do it" (FP).

821 789 791 T C

An interesting extension of rain doctor's activities as SM knew them from his Chumash stepfather, briefly described. At new moon, in month "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

824 821 789 791

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could FM give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·ŝawYt) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that TÜbatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
[773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
[171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
● [794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 496) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht.
He said he was going to turn into a plant and if
any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
[754] something" (SM). Mention has already been made of
belief that witches are not powerful enough to
destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from
addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging
roots, there seems never to have been any form
of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM,
FP had heard of Chungichnich.

● 794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called
jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[771] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
[823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her
sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father ad-
ministered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle,
so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on
the other side of the world could hear him" (see
Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remem-
ber names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have
existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so
far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal
properties and its use in obtaining supernatural
power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had
also spoken to the people, but that no formula
was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[771] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personi-
fied, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture
hero he causes earth to be remade after flood
(Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire
for people, regulates division of labor (ante),
causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid).
He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207)
during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays
usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209,
211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's
character, mentioned how puzzling they found his
dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good,
smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as
well, but differences of opinion expressed on
whether it applied to inanimate objects such as
rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted
rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks,
streams seem not so much supernatural in them-
selves, but to serve as dwelling places for super-
natural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal
lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (FN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans
[177] were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

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[p. 71(a)]

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
●796 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed;
276 some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recov-
[262] ered from effect of taking drug, and could by then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
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[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.---The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.---This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.---This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.---This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.---There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.---A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

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saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

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Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

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F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nək ma ana´təlhːn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ˀːt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948.NS29 Yokuts NS29
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756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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796 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

668 At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

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[302] No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- (Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
● [797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[72] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[62] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal
[72] area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, however (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Summer of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[65] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

[p. 9(a)]

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (PN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of
[177] Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yĭtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yĭtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yĭtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yĭtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here, first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

535 Social dances sometimes given "just for fun" according to FP, although SM denied this; in summer such dances held outdoors; in winter, inside sweat house (PN), or dwelling house if latter large enough. Not customary to hold dance at end of piñon, acorn harvests (FP, SM), although people "could, if they wanted to" (FP).

788 Minor rituals, elements of ritual.- Several minor rituals have been referred to; they include weather shaman's treatment of seeds (see section on Shamanism), deer hunting ritual (see section on Basic Subsistence), offering of tobacco at eclipse, etc. At strange body of water, before drinking, person put small amount of eagle down on water and said to spirit living in stream (SM), "I am going to drink this water; don't make me sick." Offerings for minor rituals included tobacco, eagle down, shell money; seeds, meal not used. From context of informants' remarks eagle down not attached to ends of stick, although I did not inquire specifically about this. Offerings were left on bare ground which had been brushed clean with hands; no altars; formulas accompanied most ritual offerings.

346 Ceremonial structure for larger rituals and ritual dress have been mentioned; ritual apparatus simple (above). Ritual number 3; dancing [801] proceeded clockwise.

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

[778]

531 Symbolism apparently entirely lacking; informants could give no explanations for feather wand, woodpecker bands, other paraphernalia carried at mourning ceremonies (see Rituals); one item common among Great Basin, California tribes, that of decorating baby cradles according to sex of child (Kelly, 134; Steward, 1933, 273; Kroeber, Handbook, 536) consistently denied among Tübatulabal. A few basket patterns had descriptive names (ante).

[171]

● 802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance;
773 not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earth-
773 quakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

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821 773 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance; not counted above 8 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

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823 773 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earthquakes (šuwa·l šidi·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

[p. 58(b)]

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two T Y [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would T Y 517 dance the ha'tam (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524 MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču'wis, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala'sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama'ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya'man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (utoi''i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
●813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hcl.) Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first [171] variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tïba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šïmïnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapïl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ï·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapï·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ïihyïmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lhpa'apï·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu·lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ɬayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellowhammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gïnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awï·t) and other worms, grubs, in- [171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawït) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t) [177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

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Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

T 756 754 T [426] American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawaiisu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz crystals used for making thunder showers in summer and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dew-claw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, although there were no clouds in the sky when he began" (FP).

T K Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just made rain lots"; however, when women went to gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain now, because the white people won't pay him to do it" (FP).

T C An interesting extension of rain doctor's activities as SM knew them from his Chumash stepfather, briefly described. At new moon, in month "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

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Among Tübatulabal, rain machines sometimes buried at owner's death (SM); SM, however, had expected to inherit his stepfather's outfit, before key part of it was stolen, and be taught songs which accompanied its use; what remained of outfit SM had, in 1932, in his possession (pl. 1a).

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Bear shamans.- Bears feared, respected (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215, 219); Bill Viejo Chico, shaman, boastingly said when he died he would turn into bear (PN). Bear shamanism, however, only weakly developed; if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bearclaw, from bear; one man, who died at Ventura (Tübatulabal?), took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house while among Tübatulabal (SM). FP said man with power from bear cured people by singing, smoking; never sucked out disease, but kept patient with him all night. All informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears.

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Bear shamanism, strongly developed according to my informants among Chumash, was, however, of great interest to Tübatulabal. SM had heard from grandfather of prowess of Ventura bear shamans, who used dried bearskins which were stored in cave N of Tejon. "When they got mad at each other they used to kill persons with that bearskin. Somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him. When they first made that bearskin, no one would tell when he saw it, because if you told, the bear would kill you. The Tübatulabal didn't do this; just the Ventura Indians" (SM).

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Chumash also had peculiar development of bear shamanism which Tübatulabal were aware of but did not imitate; this consisted of "bear machine" which SM's grandfather had told him about, but which SM had never seen. To make machine run, Chumash used white powder (ayi·p, alum?) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory. Since so little is known of Chumash ethnography, SM's description of Chumash apparatus and its use is given here in full. "The Ventura Indians used a bearhide and made it run like a car. When the old men made this machine they tried that bear. They came over here (to Tübatulabal area) and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place 10 mi. above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bearhide was standing up, like a real bear. It had 2 reins on it, like a horse; when the driver wanted to turn around he pulled a rein. He was sitting inside the bear, on a flat rock; he looked out through the eyeholes. They traveled at night only, and made bear sounds as they traveled. The driver talked to the bear as the bear

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159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomïp was visiting
781 my grandmother at yïtiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anamgayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomïp, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nose-bleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came--oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while [537] narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation.

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, Tübatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1/v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

[778]

531 Symbolism apparently entirely lacking; informants could give no explanations for feather wand, woodpecker bands, other paraphernalia carried at mourning ceremonies (see Rituals); one item common among Great Basin, California tribes, that of decorating baby cradles according to sex of child (Kelly, 134; Steward, 1933, 273; Kroeber, Handbook, 536) consistently denied among Tübatulabal. A few basket patterns had descriptive names (ante).

[171]

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 773 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance; not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

● 823 773 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earthquakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

[p. 58(b)]

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, moreover, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
[754] something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[771] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at ayeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
● [823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings, save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
[757 and pantheon referred to above seem to have
789] existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[771] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

T 821 789 791 Among Tübatulabal, rain machines sometimes buried at owner's death (SM); SM, however, had expected to inherit his stepfather's outfit, before key part of it was stolen, and be taught songs which accompanied its use; what remained of outfit SM had, in 1932, in his possession (pl. 1a).

T 754 791 Bear shamans.- Bears feared, respected (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215, 219); Bill Viejo Chico, shaman, boastingly said when he died he would turn into bear (FN). Bear shamanism, however, only weakly developed; if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bearclaw, from bear; one man, who died at Ventura (Tübatulabal?), took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house while among Tübatulabal (SM). FP said man with power from bear cured people by singing, smoking; never sucked out disease, but kept patient with him all night. All informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears.

T [75] C [171] Bear shamanism, strongly developed according to my informants among Chumash, was, however, of great interest to Tübatulabal. SM had heard from grandfather of prowess of Ventura bear shamans, who used dried bearskins which were stored in cave N of Tejon. "When they got mad at each other they used to kill persons with that bearskin. Somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him. When they first made that bearskin, no one would tell when he saw it, because if you told, the bear would kill you. The Tübatulabal didn't do this; just the Ventura Indians" (SM).

C 773 754 791 [411] 789

C T 754 789 791 T [823] Chumash also had peculiar development of bear shamanism which Tübatulabal were aware of but did not imitate; this consisted of "bear machine" which SM's grandfather had told him about, but which SM had never seen. To make machine run, Chumash used white powder (ayi·p, alum?) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory. Since so little is known of Chumash ethnography, SM's description of Chumash apparatus and its use is given here in full. "The Ventura Indians used a bearhide and made it run like a car. When the old men made this machine they tried that bear. They came over here (to Tübatulabal area) and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place 10 mi. above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bearhide was standing up, like a real bear. It had 2 reins on it, like a horse; when the driver wanted to turn around he pulled a rein. He was sitting inside the bear, on a flat rock; he looked out through the eyeholes. They traveled at night only, and made bear sounds as they traveled. The driver talked to the bear as the bear

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[253] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do, they just moved all around; they'd camp under
173 some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

221 dug near streams for drying; tobacco and salt
222 grass gathered on floor of valleys, cane for
224 sweets at Cane creek; manzanita berries gathered
226 in mts. Fish corralled, dried; fishing at summer fish camps in canyon of unaugmented Kern after snow floods had subsided; mussels obtained near Kernville. Brush fired for rabbits on floor of valleys; communal antelope drive with Yokuts near Bakersfield in San Joaquin valley. Trading expeditions to Yokuts, Chumash at Tejon, Ventura.

Middle of August to September. Piñons gathered in lower borders of piñon areas; juniper berries gathered. Some fishing using fish poison as streams became lower; water too warm for much fishing in lower reaches of Kern r. Birds, small game trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

September to middle of October. Piñons gathered and cached at higher altitudes, e. part of area; wild grapes gathered near Inyo-Kern in Indian Wells valley on return trip from piñon gathering; acorns gathered near hamlets. Small game, birds trapped at piñon grounds; deer hunted.

Middle of October to middle of November. Ripe Digger pine nuts gathered near hamlets and in Hot Springs valley; acorns gathered by women and cached in Greenhorn mts., around Poso Flat, and in Paiute mts. while men hunted deer at acorn grounds; "deer, rabbits fat at this time." Ducks obtained on rivers; fishing with fish poison on Erskine creek in Hot Springs valley. Trips made by families to Tulare lake to eat ducks and fish.

Middle of November to February. Life centered in hamlets; acorn, piñon caches, stores of dried fish, meat drawn upon. Fish speared in November and December from balsas on rivers; deer, rabbits, ducks, quail, etc., occasionally hunted, trapped. Individuals made trips across Sierras E [317 484] to Mohave desert to obtain rock salt from lakes which were in flood at this season.

262 Food preferences and rejections.- Of vegetable
● 824 foods oily varieties highly esteemed; among acorns which were staple food, oily or sweet varieties which required little leaching preferred. Buckeye nuts, obtainable in quantity on slopes of Kern r. gorge, "too bitter," although occasionally used. Of 2 varieties pine nuts gathered, nuts from piñon pine (referred to throughout as piñons) ranked second to acorns as staple; piñons which had been strung on native twine rated as delicacies; black piñon mush (p. 18) considered better than white. Among small seeds those of 2 varieties of Mentzelia referred to as being better than chia seeds "because they had more grease" (SM).

252 Niceties in matter of diet extended to prepara-
824 tion of food and tobacco. Special varieties of willows, Salix hindsiana Benth. and S. exigua Nutt., used to wrap up fish which were to be roasted, tobacco when it was to be cured, as these willows did not impart any odor to food. Digger [276] pine nuts, not piñons, mixed with tobacco "because they gave a better flavor" (FP,ES,SM).

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hcl.) [171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tïba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šïmïnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapïl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ï·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapï·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ïihyïmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apï·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu·lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ẓayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellow-hammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gïnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awï·t) and other worms, grubs, in-[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawït) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t) [177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

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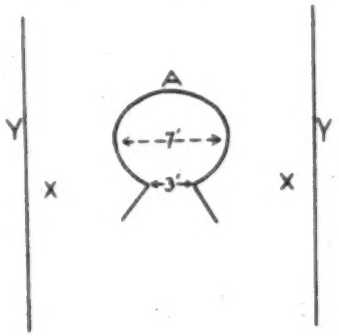

Fig. 2. Fish corral. A, wall of corral, X, men with poles, Y, banks of stream.

226 Another method of obtaining fish in large quantities was to stupefy them; roots, stalks, leaves of plant (pa·lu·ɣ) which "looks like cane, grows in moist soil, has leaves that get reddish-yellow in fall" and which SM identified from drawing as sp. of Smilacina, mashed slightly, [171] thrown into quiet pools. Buckeye, turkey mullein, soaproot, all available to Tübatulabal and used by other tribes as fish poison, not used (SM, FP). In poisoning fish, no dam built; as fish floated to surface they were scooped up in conical twined tule baskets.

226 411 In winter fish sluggish, "hardly move"; mainly harpooned or speared from rafts in Kern r. and South Fork valley lakes by individuals. Fish spear long pole with 2 wooden points sharpened by rubbing on rock.

252 Fresh fish cleaned, roasted whole; 4 large fish often tied together, wrapped in branches of odorless willows (poyiwošt; p. 11) and cooked in ashes at fishing place; carried home in willow wrapping. Mussels cooked by roasting in shells in hot ashes. [251] Fish one of foods Tübatulabal stored for winter use.

● 824 137 Ethnobotany.- Botanical collections made chiefly in South Fork, Kern valleys, and surrounding foothill regions in May-July; collections checked with SM, ES chiefly. Some 220 species collected, 130 of which informants said were put to economic or medicinal uses; 56 of these ethnobotanical species belong to foothill floral area, 40 to desert floral area, 10 to Great Basin floral area; remainder general in distribution.

In identifying specimens, informants tasted, smelled plants if dubious about identification.

Of plant foods, those starred mentioned most frequently by informants; possibly these plants used most commonly for food in aboriginal times.

Nuts, large seeds (generic term, punṭil) included: *Acorns (generic term, wa'ant). Six varieties used: (1) acorns (maṇi·l) from blue oak (maṇi·'u·l), Quercus douglasii H. & A., foothill floral area; these grow on n. slopes of Paiute mts. at s. borders Tübatulabal area; nuts mature annually, large, "don't taste bitter after leach-

824
137

ing" (SM); "pretty good; not very bitter" (FP). (2) Acorns (winiya·l) from black oak, Q. californica (Torr.) Cooper; grow in Greenhorn mts.; nuts mature biennially; "good, oily; don't need much leaching" (SM); "these were the best; we went for them every yr." (FP). (3) Acorns (yu·mukt) from Wislizenus or live oak (yu·mu·gul), Q. wislizeni A. DC., foothill floral area; grow in some profusion in lower foothills of 3 valleys; nuts small, mature biennially, "bitter" (SM), "take all day to leach" (FP). (4) Acorns (takwat) from California scrub (takwa·dul), Q. dumosa Nutt. (?); grow "over by Paiute mts., also on Greenhorn mts."; nuts mature annually, "rather small, bitter" (SM). (5) Acorns (wa'anwit) from maul oak (wa'anul), Q. chrysolepis Liebm., foothill floral area; grow "up in mts. W of Chimney meadows" (SM); nuts mature biennially, "pretty bitter" (SM). (6) Acorns (ši·bi·l) from valley oak (ši·bi·'ï·l), Q. lobata Nee; grows in San Joaquin valley; nuts large, abundant, mature annually; "sweet"; Tübatulabal made trips into Yokuts territory "around Porterville" to gather these (SM).

*Piñons (tïbat) from single-leaf or piñon pine, Pinus monophylla, Great Basin floral area; cones mature biennially; nuts rich in oil; piñon pine found at altitudes 4000-6000 ft., chiefly in e. part of Tübatulabal area.

*Pine nuts (wohont) from Digger or gray pine (wohonol), Pinus sabiniana, foothill floral area; cones mature biennially; trees common throughout foothills in area.

Buckeye nuts (pa·ša·'ul) from California buckeye, Aesculus californica Nutt.; foothill floral area; grows in great profusion on steep sides of Kern r. gorge.

Sunflower seeds (ta·lata·ugibï·l); post-white; formerly planted in gardens.

Seeds, berries (generic term, anht) included: *Chia seeds (pa·ši·l), Salvia columbariae Benth.; *thistle sage seeds (paclst), S. carduacea Benth.; desert floral area.

*Bunch grass or wild rice (u·gibï·l), Echinochloa crus-galli (L); alkaline weed.

*Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. (ku·l) and M. gracilenta T. & G., desert and Great Basin floral areas.

*Wild oats (ma·št).

*Rabbit's foot or beard grass (po·mbikanan, furry), Polypogon monspeliensis (L.) Desd.; general in distribution.

*Seeds of wild heliotrope, Heliotropium curassavicum L., alkaline areas in general, and seeds of Eriogonum species (tu·nabo·l). Specimen of 2 other varieties of seed plants (šo·'itih and pa·wagul) not obtained.

*Gooseberries (wopnil), Ribes quercetorum Greene, foothill floral area; abundant in lower foothills of area.

*Boxthorn berries (pi·'ict), Lycium torreyi Gray, desert floral area.

Manzanita berries (kïnal), Arctostaphylos sp.

●824
137 *Juniper berries (wa·'at), Juniperus californica Carr, var. utahensis and J. utaliensis Lemmon; Great Basin floral area; berries of both species mature second yr.

Elderberries (ku·hupïl), Sambucus velutina D & H; foothill floral area; eaten (SM), not eaten (FP).

Wild grapes (wo·lo·nt), probably from Vitis californica Benth.; gathered in Koso territory near Inyo-Kern.

Deadly nightshade berries (mane·ẓa'), Solanum nigrum L., foothill floral area.

Roots (generic term wi·šin) included: Tule roots (si'i·bï·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl; marshes in general.

*Cattail roots (to·ibï·l), Typha latifolia L.; general in ponds.

Bulbs (generic term ko·mbin) included: Mariposa lily bulbs (ho·ẓišt), Calochortus venustus Dougl., and C. palmeri Wats.; foothill floral area.

Bulbs (yambal) which were 1 1/2 in. long, "looked like potatoes"; plentiful at Fay ranch in mts. N of Weldon and at Tejon (SM).

Stalks (generic term u·'un) included: *Spanish bayonet (kuyat), Yucca whipplei Torr.; foothill and desert floral areas. Cf. kuya'dibï·l, center stalk of Y. whipplei, used in manufacture of bull-roarer.

*Red thistle (čiyiyal), Cirsium occidentale (Nutt.) var. coulteri Jepson; foothill floral area.

Mescal (kukt), Nolina parryi Wats.; desert floral area.

Wild rhubarb (aba·nal), species of dock.

Leaves (generic term nanhabï·l), pods, receptacles (ča'a·bil) included: *Leaves, stalks, heads of wild onion (ši·wil), Allium peninsulare Lemmon, A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic (wowo·l, testicles), A. lacunosum Wats.; foothill floral area.

*Leaves of Coreopsis bigelovii (Gray) Hall (ibi·l, also generic term for flower); desert and dry interior floral areas.

*Leaves, stems of small red variety of clover (panwal); of larger variety (panwal u·wan), Trifolium involucratum Ort., foothill floral area; and of variety which was tall, "sour" and grew in moist places (panwal tuwuganan).

*Leaves (tu·t), stems of salt grass (tu·bu·l), Distichlis spicata (L.) Greene; saline soil.

Leaves of Cotyledon laxa (Lindl.) Brew. & Wats. (ma·šali·nu, Spanish loan word); foothill floral area.

Leaves of fiddle necks (ugabul), Lotus scoparius (Nutt.) Ottley, and Ellisia membranacea Benth. (ka·mu·yah), foothill and desert floral areas, respectively.

Leaves, stalks of Monardella candicans Benth. var. exilis Gray (ka·lukt, the armpit); desert floral area; of Pellaea compacta Max (tča), foothill floral area; of mountain tea (u'tu·dul), Ephredra viridis Coville.

[p.15 (b)]

824
137
[117
252]

Leaves, stems watercress (beros, Spanish loan word), Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum (L.) Britt. & Rendle, not eaten aboriginally; sometimes boiled now for greens; leaves of wild mustard (hi·ulit), Sisymbrium officinale L., fried in grease; "learned this from Mexicans" (SM).

Immature pods of tree yucca or Joshua tree (umu·bi·l), Yucca brevifolia Engelm.; desert floral area.

Receptacle of cacti (ya·l), Opuntia caseyi Britt. & Rose var. magenta Pursh and O. basilans Engelm.; desert floral area.

Some plant species named, but put to no use, as: wild lilac (to·bu·l), Ceanothus divaricatus Nutt., foothill floral area; choya cactus (u·šil), desert floral area; California poppy (yogobul), Eschscholtzia californica Cham. and E. minutiflora Wats. (same name), foothill, desert floral areas, respectively; several varieties of lupines (šimindiŋ taman, rattlesnake's teeth, so named because pistils and stamens protrude from keel of flower like teeth, SM), Lupinus sparsiflorus Benth., L. odoratus Heller, desert floral area, L. albifrons Benth., L. densiflorus Benth. var. lacteus C.P.S., foothill floral area, L. microcarpus Sims, var. ruber C.P.S., L. micranthus Dougl. Few other plants also named, rejected as food (p. 12).

For 86 plant species SM could give no economic, medicinal uses or names, referring to all of them as weeds (mašil): Albronia pogonantha Heimerl.; Achillea millefolium L. var. lanulosa Piper; Agoseris alpestris Greene; Azolla filiculoides Lam.; Baeria chrysostoma F. & M.; Brickellia californica T. & G.; Bromus rubens L.; Castilleia miniata Dougl.; Centaurium venustum Rob.; Centromadia (Henizonia) pungens (T. & G. Greene); Cerastium arvense L.; Chaenactis stevioides H. & G.; Cheilanthes covillei Max.; Chenopodium californicum Wats.; Chorisanthe staticoides Benth., C. watsonii T. & G., C. thurberi (Gray) Wats.; Chrysothamnus teretifolius Hall; Cotula coronopifolia L.; Cryptantha miriculata (A. DC.) Greene; Cuscuta californica Choisy; Datisca glomerata Brew. & Wats.; Delphinium hansenii Greene, D. purpusii Brandegee; Dicentra chrysantha (H. & A.) Walp.; Emmenanthe penduliflora Benth.; Encelia actoni Elmer; Epilobium californicum Hausskn.; Epipactis gigantea Dougl.; Ericameria cuneata (Gray) McCl. var. spathulata Hall; Erigeron divergens T. & G.; turkey mullein, Eremocarpus setigerus Benth.; Eriogonum argillosum J. T. Howell, E. angulosum Benth., E. mohavense Wats.; Eriophyllum ambiguum Gray, E. pringlei Gray, E. confertiflorum Gray; Euphorbia serpyllifolia Pers.; Galium angustifolium Nuss.; Gilia latiflora Gray, G. capitata Dougl.; Godetia viminea Spach; Greeneocharis circumscissa (Torr.) Rydb.; Gymnogramma trianularis Kaulf.; Hugelia filifolia Jepson; Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene; Lepidospartum squamatum Gray; Linanthus aurens (Nutt.) Greene; Lotus strigosus (Nutt.) Greene, L. oblongifolius (Benth.) Greene, L. argophyllus

824 137 (Gray) Greene; Lycum cooperi Gray; Marrubium vulgare L.; Malacothrix californica DC.; Melilotus indica All.; Mimulus gluttatus D.C., M. cardinalis Dougl.; Mirabilis laevis (Benth.) Curran; Montia perfoliata (Donn) Howell; Nama demissum Gray; Oenothera alyssoides and O. alyssoides T. & G. var. decorticans Jepson, O. bistorta Nutt., O. caespitosa Nutt., O. contorta Dougl., O. pallida Lindl., O. palmeri Watson, O. scapoidea T. & G.; Pallaea and romedaefolia Fee; Penstemon laetus Gray, P. palmeri Gray, P. breviflorus Lindl.; Phacelia tanecilifolia Benth., P. hispica Gray var. cicutaria McB.; Platystemon californicum Benth.; Polygonum persicaria L.; Ranunculus aquatilis L.R. var. cymbalaria Pursh.; Rumex crispus L., R. hymenosepalus Torrey; Senecio douglasii DC.; Sidalcea malvaeflora Gray; Sisymbrium incisum Engelm.; Sphaeralcea (Malvastrum) exile (Gray) Jepson; Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC.) Rydb.; Stephanomeria exigua Nutt. var. pentachaeta Hall, S. virgata Benth.; Tropidocarpum gracile Hook.; Vaccaria vulgaris Host.

This list probably represents only small fraction of indigenous plants available to TÜbatulabal, of which they made no use; it serves to illustrate, in concrete fashion, selective processes at work, among people of hunting-gathering culture, in their utilization of their floral environment, and negative rôle which part of that environment played in their culture.

Plants put to other ethnobotanical uses, for curing, house building, etc., referred to in discussions of these subjects.

222 [462] 251 Gathering of plant food.- When acorns ripe, "all the people except very old persons and young children went together to get them" (SM); women chiefly collected them while men hunted, trapped. Acorns gathered from ground in small conical baskets, transferred when baskets full to large basket, in which they were brought back to camp and spread out on deerskins, tule mats for 3-4 days to dry, this preventing acorns from sweating when cached; then stored at acorn grounds, in elevated caches. Acorns gathered near home packed back to hamlets, cached near houses.

222 824 [887] When berries ripe on shrub (opo·bol), Rhamnus californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, which grows in foothill floral area, "the people knew piñons were ready to be gathered in the mts. So some men went out first to see where the piñons were good; just any men went; they decided, and then everybody went to the places where these men said the nuts were plentiful" (SM). All inhabitants of hamlet or of several hamlets went together; sometimes very old persons might not stay at piñon camp when weather became too cold, but return to hamlet alone. Piñons gathered when cones reached maturity, but before they had opened; men, boys knocked cones off trees with staves or pulled down branches with "shepherd's crook" staff; men, women picked up cones, put them in conical lug baskets which were emptied into larger conical

824 222 pack baskets as in gathering acorns. At camp when sufficient quantity of cones gathered, men, women prepared bed of sage (uyuga·dul), Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh., cones dumped on this, brush fired. Cones tested from time to time 824 to determine whether heat from burning brush had 222 caused scales to open sufficiently; if by time 251 brush burned down cones not sufficiently open, more brush was piled on top of them, roasting continued. After cones fully opened, allowed to cool; nuts shaken, picked out by hand from charred cones or winnowed from dirt and spread out on hides laid on ground around camp to dry for 3-4 days, as for acorns. Cached in pits. Those piñons which fell to ground from cones which had opened on trees as season advanced gathered by hand, brought home unroasted. Roasted piñons often pierced with sharpened twig of mt. lilac (utugu·bï·l), Ceanothus cuneatus, foothill floral area, and strung on long lengths of native twine; lengths of strung piñons festooned over houses when owners returned to village, or made into baskets (p. 32) at piñon grounds. Later these strung piñons eaten as delicacies.

222 462 252 During May, green cones of Digger pine twisted from branches, chiefly by men, boys; sliced down sides with obsidian knife; nuts picked out of soft shells, eaten immediately. Later in fall when cones matured but scales still closed, cones gathered by men, boys, roasted and treated in same manner as piñon cones.

222 Small seeds such as chia, wild oats, Mentzelia seeds, juniper berries, gooseberries, manzanita, and boxthorn berries gathered with seed beaters as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Bunch grass and Polypogon gathered on stem, dried in sun; seeds of wild heliotrope taken out by hand, [262 eaten raw on spot. Elderberries broken off on stalk, stalk shaken over basket into which ber- 264] ries fell. Tule, rush roots, mariposa lily bulbs dug in moist ground with digging stick; woman knelt on both knees, dug to one side or other of her body. Sunflowers treated as Steward describes (Steward, 1933, 239). Center stalk of Spanish bayonet and mescal knocked down at base with stave before stalks budded; prickly buds of Opuntia speared with sharply pointed stick; buds of tree yucca knocked off limb with staves. Leaves, stalks, small plants cut with obsidian knife.

412 Digging stick (u·lu·ini·l) straight stick, 4-6 ft. long, unweighted; made from piece of dry oak sharpened to point on end by rubbing on rock. Straight long stick (ma·wišul), 10 ft. or longer, used for knocking piñons off trees; shepherd's crook staff (olodi·l) had handle 3 1/2 ft. long with 5-in. crook at end. Crook made by bending end of green stick over knee and tying it in bent position with bark rope; stick then left to dry in hot sun for 3 days before crooked end untied.

Preparation of plant foods and beverages.- Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone

252 wild grapes; green Digger pine nuts; seeds of
262 wild heliotrope, which "smell like piñons, taste like hot peppers"; leaves, stems of salt grass, which was eaten plain or rolled in palm of hand with clover, Cotyledon laxa, or Ellisea membranacea; leaves of Coreopsis, wild onion, and fiddle-necks; leaves and heads of wild garlic; tender leaves, stalks of clovers. Some greens, etc., gathered in quantity by women, brought home and fed to family raw; these included gooseberries, tule roots, clover species, young tender stalks of red thistle, which were gathered before plant blossomed, and mariposa lily, yambal bulbs; latter peeled and eaten raw.

252 Manzanita berries crushed with rotary motion
262 on grinding slab or in mortar, made into drink
272 as fully described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 22, pls. 4b, 5). Dried whole boxthorn berries pounded in pit mortar, treated in similar fashion. Entire plant of Indian tea and Monardella candicans, either dried or fresh, boiled for short time in water, decoction drunk; sugar now added to tea from Monardella. Salt grass put in pot, covered with water; when saline crystals had dissolved in water, grass removed and decoction drunk. Mint, which grows around springs near houses, also used occasionally for nonmedicinal
[273] tea. Fermented or intoxicating beverages formerly unknown.

222 Manufactured foods and gum.- Honey dew, which
262 is produced in summer by aphids on stalks, leaves
263 of cane (paha·bil), Phragmites communis Trin.,
258 utilized as sweet (ha·bišt). Canes cut in July, August, spread out in hot sun to dry; then heaped on bearskin, "because bearskins are good and thick for beating," and flayed vigorously with hardwood stick beaters. Beating caused saccharine crystals on canes to adhere to bearskin; these crystals scraped off skin, winnowed on flat tray, put into small cooking basket, and made into stiff dough with cold water. Doughy mass removed from basket with hands, spread on twined tule tray (fig. 8a); end of tray folded over wet sweets, and tray put away for 6-7 days to allow sugary substance to dry. When dry, lumps of sweet broken off the hard brown loaf with rock and eaten dry with chia gruel. Presence of excess of carbohydrate which aphids derive from cane and are unable to assimilate, leaving it on cane as
● [824] honey dew, SM accounted for as follows: "The little bugs (tohawal, generic term for insects) make the sugar on the cane, like bees, and then they fly away. They do this in summertime, about in July; they leave a sticky stuff on the cane; this dries when the cane is cut, then is beaten off by pounding the cane. The bugs aren't on the cane when it's pounded. It isn't the juice inside the cane the bugs get out." Use of honey
171 dew as sweet also noted for Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 103), Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245), Yavapai and Papago (Gifford, correspondence). Owens Valley Paiute, like Tübatulabal,

171 use honey dew which forms on Phragmites communis, also on rush, Juncus; Yavapai and Papago obtain it principally from willow, but also from cane.

262 Tübatulabal also occasionally sucked sections
263 of freshly cut cane for its sweetness (SM).

Saline crystals which form in dry hot weather
258 on salt grass made into "salt" (tu:t). Salt grass
137 grows in saline areas, on valley floors, at base
● 824 of foothills; its utilization among Tübatulabal depended on weather, as "after a rain it takes a month for salt grass to get salt again" (SM). Grass cut, spread out on mats to dry in sun; after grass thoroughly dry same process followed as described above for obtaining honey dew, save that collected crystals made up into balls or flat cakes instead of being spread on tule tray. Chunks
[272 equal to 2-3 full tablespoons broken off dry ball,
278 dissolved in cupful of water and drunk either for
757] refreshment or as laxative and to rinse out stomach. Salt-grass crystals also obtained by children who took willow switches and "swept" salt grass with them early on summer mornings; when sufficient quantity of crystals had adhered to stick, child took it to shady spot and licked off crystals. Fresh salt grass soaked in water and this
[262 water sprinkled over raw chopped clover, or sprigs
263] of salt grass and clover rolled between hands and eaten. Substance manufactured from salt grass never used to season meat or mushes.

314 Chewing gum made from milky juice of Asclepias
824 erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bɪ·l); stalk of plant cut near top before it blossomed and juice collected in 4-in. tubular sections of jointed stalk of Eriogonum elongatum gramineum n. var. Stokes (ined.), (šiko·ništ). Joint of stalk served as natural stopper for bottom end of tubular section; juice run into stalk through open upper end; filled sections of stalk set in hot ashes to roast until plant juice inside has congealed; stalks then cut open, gum removed and chewed. This gum "better than store gum" (ES).

262 Meals.- Meals eaten twice daily around sunrise
264 and before sundown. At morning meal (wi·lil) and evening meal (tu·kil) men, children ate first, then women. Meat eaten at both meals, "if people
[415 had it." Men, women used spoons (ta·mil) made from antelope horn (ša·wun) for eating acorn mush (SM), or wooden spoons (FP); FN said spoons of elk, antelope horn not made. Acorn mush eaten with fingers (MM). No formula spoken before eating. Children pieced during day; "mothers gave
[753 them a cup of chia gruel" (SM). Food rarely eaten
774 after dark as ghosts "come around at night; they
[609 might throw something in the food that would make a person sick" (SM, FP). Because strangers potential enemies who might put poison in food, person avoided eating with them. Women when out for day gathering seeds, tending tobacco, etc., took lunch with them which they ate about 10 or 11 a.m.; men hunting deer "didn't take any food; they came home in the evening" (FP).

302 [765] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ɨihabɨ·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for several days. At dances women put loose eagle down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

[824] [388] [515] [296] [515] [301]

303 [413] Brush (wɨŋɨt) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native string to form flat, narrow brush. This hair-brush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 [177] [439] Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apɨn) made from columnella of giant clam (?), and in historic times red, blue, black glass beads used in combination for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (naŋgawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibĭ·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·nun) used
● 824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Scheneck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

317 and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

285 [171] Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed by shamans in shooting contests. [462] [756]

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 16a, b). [171]

285 824 Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wĭnapĭ·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šĭ·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šĭ·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

285 small willow or cottonwood roots used. Weft for
824 various types [illegible]ined ware made from whole or
split peeled [illegible] or redbud shoots, roots of
tree yucca, [illegible]ark of willow. Tules used
considerab[illegible]askets, mats; there are few
tules in eit[illegible]ern or South Fork valleys now,
but formerly they were plentiful at certain localities, especially in South Fork valley. Warp and weft of tule baskets consisted of whole tules, which were gathered, trimmed, dried, then soaked before being used, as was all fibrous material used for basketry.

292 Coiled baskets included:

171 285 (a) Cap, which was flat topped, resembled Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) type (Kroeber, Handbook, 560, pl. 55d). Specimen 1-20960 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 284, pl. 40), is 8 in. high, 4 1/2 in. wide at rim; design is in black and red; specimen 1-20961 (Mason, ibid.) is 7 3/4 in. high, 4 in. wide, has 14 stitches, 9 coils to inch. Caps started with yucca root; foundation consists of 2 stalks deer grass split in half; sewn with yucca. Worn by woman whenever she used pack strap, also when gathering piñons to protect hair from pitch.

415 285 (b) Sifter (wa·t) or small tray; slightly concave on inside. Specimens 1-19821-22 are 16 1/2 in. in diameter; 1-19823-25, 15-15 3/4 in. in diameter; 1-19814, 10 1/2 in. in diameter. Coil is clockwise, looking down on inside; one specimen has foundation consisting of 6 halved stalks of deer grass and one finely split willow shoot; is sewn with yucca root. Start leaves round hole 1/4 in. in diameter in center of tray; specimen 1-19824 has piece of cloth plugged into hole at start. Of all basketry ware extant in 1932, sifters seen most frequently; uses have been referred to (ante).

[525] (c) Parching tray (ša·gišt); was "made like a sifter, only larger"; used for parching small seeds, such as chia, with live embers. This tray may have been used also for women's dice gambling game; FP said game played on sifter, but PN said on "a pretty big basket, with rather high sides"; no specimen extant.

[252] (d) Cooking basket (hom'mol); these were large flat-bottomed baskets with flaring sides; sizes varied, some being 22 in. tall, 11 in. wide at top, 5 in. in diameter at bottom; others smaller. Used for stone boiling, to drain manzanita cider into, as storage baskets, etc. Specimen 1-20945, 20948-50 (illustrated in O. T. Mason, 478, pl. 192) are probably cooking baskets; 1-20947, large flaring basketry bowl, 17 1/4 in. high, 8 in. in diameter at top, 4 1/4 in. at base, is labeled "to be burnt on grave," which suggests that some of baskets of this type were made for display purposes only; unfortunately I did not inquire into this matter.

(e) Basketry ladle (hom'mobit); was small shallow basket, shaped like cooking basket, only difference being one of size. Specimen 1-19813, identified by ES from sketch as ladle, is 2 1/2

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child
[862] of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when latter seated. If mother became pregnant while
[841] child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins over-
[597] worked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

THERAPEUTICAL PRACTICES

757 General good health induced by sweat bathing, observing pregnancy, menstrual taboos, bathing in hot springs, taking some simple herb medicines, as salt-grass crystals in warm water every morning for laxative purposes, to clean out stomach. In sicknesses, before taking patient to shaman for treatment which partook of nature of religious ceremony herb medicines (ti·bo·hišt) might be administered by old man, woman. Such persons often doctored ailing members of family, without any singing ceremony; "anyone who knew the right medicine for an ailment would do this; 759 sometimes a herbalist would be sent for to treat 757 a sick person; in that event he'd be paid. People learned about the medicines from their parents or grandparents, or a man would know about a medicine and other people would pay him to tell them. [177] They learned a lot about medicines from the Mexicans, too. Now the witches have spoiled all the plant medicines except jimsonweed; they can't spoil that because it's too strong" (SM). In situations where shamans failed to effect cure, herb medicines might be administered after shamanistic treatment.

757 Ants also used as medicine; charms sometimes applied to body to relieve pain.

Plant, insect remedies.- Following plant, insect remedies, unless initialed otherwise, given by SM.

757 Piece jimsonweed root (mo·mo·ht), Datura
●824 meteloides HBK., weed, about 12 in. long, dug, washed, macerated, set to soak for day in 2 qts.
278 cold water; in evening water strained, given to patient, who had abstained from food, drink for 3 days and had cleaned out stomach every morning during fast with bitter drink made from roots of reise blanco. After taking dose patient fell into stupor which lasted 12-24 hrs.; during this time he was turned from one side to other; if he lay on his back or stomach he would fail to revive. FP's father blew whistle when giving her jimsonweed (see Autobiography of FP). While under influence drug patient might walk around, but was watched carefully; sometimes had visions (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215); SM imagined row of fence posts were dancers in feather costumes when he took drug; MM one time saw man who told him to take jimsonweed again in week; next time MM took it he saw white lizard drop from his shoulder, black one from his knee; when he awoke his rheumatism had disappeared. Sometimes patients, upon advice of person seen in stupor, drank jimsonweed 3 times before they were cured.

Before digging root plant addressed briefly; drink could not be administered in summer as "the roots are all right then, but when it's hot you want water; if you drink water and then drink jimsonweed, you get bloated right away" (SM). If drug taken without fasting at least 3 days, dose immediately vomited.

757
●824
278

SM had given jimsonweed to MM for rheumatism, after shaman failed to cure him; to RP when she was badly bloated, constipated; had taken it himself when wounded in leg, as anodyne; FP had taken it for rheumatism (see Autobiography of FP).

Dry pounded jimsonweed root used as poultice on sores to relieve inflammation.

Powdered tobacco and lime snuffed to clear nose during colds. Tobacco, lime mixed with water, drunk in evening in sweat house, among groups people or by individuals in order to induce vomiting, thus insuring dreamless slumber.

Large root of yerba mansa, Anemopsis californica (Nutt.) Hook (čahpanÝ·l), boiled in qt. water for hour, decoction strained, cupful drunk every 2 hours for day or so, for heavy colds. Piece of root 1 in. long of Langloisia matthewsii (Gray) Greene (paništ), desert floral area, boiled in pint of water few minutes, dose taken 3 times during day for colds.

As laxative, 4-5 tsp. salt-grass crystals (p. 15) mixed with 1 tsp. ordinary salt in cup warm water used.

Leaves, flowers Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC) Rydb. (ča·dača·dapīl), foothill floral area; stalks, flowers Ericameria monactis (Gray) McCl. (same name); roots of Encelia actoni Elmer, desert floral area, boiled, affected parts washed with decoction for rheumatism.

Leaves, flowers Diplacus longiflorus Nutt., or D. aurantiacus Jepson, both foothill floral area, boiled, decoction strained, drunk for stomach-ache. Dry heads Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled, tea drunk for stomach-ache, diarrhea.

Entire plant of turpentine weed, Trichostema lanceolatum Benth. (ši·gišt), foothill floral area, boiled, infusion snuffed up nose to stop headaches, nosebleed.

For bloody flux, entire plant Heliotropum curassavicum L., general in alkaline soils, boiled, decoction drunk; handful of dried flower heads of Eriogonum fasciculatum Benth. var. polifolium T. & G., foothill floral area, boiled 1/2 hr. in water, decoction strained, cupful given 3 times daily; mild enough to give children.

Stalks, leaves of Indian tea, Ephredra viridis Coville (u'tu·udul), desert floral area, boiled; decoction "good for blood" (SM), used for syphilis (?).

Entire plants Eriogonum virgatum Benth. (šiko··nišpul), foothill floral area; E. baileyi Wats., E. gracillimum Wats., Chorizanthe staticoides Benth., desert floral area, boiled, infusions used as lotions for pimples.

Ripe seeds Argemone platyceras Link & Otto (šo·'lolo·pul), Great Basin floral area, pounded, used as poultice on open sores, piles. Ripe seeds of Echinocystis brandegei Cogn. (čawakišt) and E. horrida Cogn., foothill floral area, burned until black, rubbed with fingers in palm of hand until reduced to greasy paste which was smeared over pimples, rubbed over baby's umbilicus after navel

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
●824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šimindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[751] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after
622 obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
754 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

T 756 754 American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment.

T [426]

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawaiisu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz crystals used for making thunder showers in summer and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. la), dew-claw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, although there were no clouds in the sky when he began" (FP).

756 789 821 791 C 821 789 [823 415] [276] K 821 789 791 T K

Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just made rain lots"; however, when women went to gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain now, because the white people won't pay him to do it" (FP).

821 789 791 T C

An interesting extension of rain doctor's activities as SM knew them from his Chumash stepfather, briefly described. At new moon, in month "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

● 824 821 789 791

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u·-
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomĭp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l[1] (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people went. There were 4 camps of people over there.
[481] We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomĭp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomĭp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of box-thorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half
[824] a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[262] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 2b). [p. 73(b)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.-- Analyst]

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A.lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hcl.)
[171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
●825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tĭba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šĭmĭnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapĭl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ĭ·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapĭ·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ĭihyĭmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apĭ·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu·lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ẓayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellowhammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gĭnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awĭ·t) and other worms, grubs, in-
[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawĭt) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t)
[177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

262 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods in-
cluded deer (tohi·l), antelope (yïta'batal), mt.
136 sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some
people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu·-
gu·kwït), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l),
jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt),
wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cïmil), gray squirrel
(cawanïnt), blue squirrel (ïšï'ïgal), golden-
mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chip-
munk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced
goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt)
which "stayed all year,--there were more of these
than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi·-
bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or
American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley
quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt),
dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bï·l), bluejay
(a·ʒayibišt).

224 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts.
usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because
776 of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin,
1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4
white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just
as though they were running on the ground" (SM).
Hunter out alone at night refrained from building
fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feel-
ings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once,
up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew
the songs" sang all night for hunters who might
[533] also join in songs; this old man usually did not
224 accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters
gave him piece of deermeat when they returned.
Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got
up in the mts., they sat down, looked around";
if no deer sighted, within short while space
[237] cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and
276 beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and
301 when they did this they saw deer right away. Some-
times they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin,
1935 b, 219).

224 Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows;
411 at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer
825 (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole
day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay
[349] resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made
of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side,
sometimes built along deer trails; as beater
chased deer down trail past this blind, man sta-
tioned inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-
[281] head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed
with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also
used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains,
and bones from head and filling up head and neck
with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing
dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint
body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted,
hunter crept up into bushes and with body con-
cealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight
that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach
hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt.
lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
● 825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could PN give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·šawit) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that Tübatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
[773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
[171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tüba-
487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money; shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and
437 in later times horses; these exchanged for piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
● [825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hĭštĭh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hĭštĭh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hĭštĭh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hĭštĭh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hĭštĭh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hĭštĭh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šimindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
● 825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

000 Reference has already been made in section on Recreation to social setting in which narration of myths occurred.

SHAMANISM

756 Shaman (a·ẓowa·l, curing shaman, witch) either man, woman; male shamans both cured and witched; women shamans always malevolent, never cured (all [838] informants). Transvestites not shamans. Two brothers, Jose and Bill Viejo Chico, both dead, last male shamans among Tübatulabal; Jose Chico both cured, sickened persons; Bill Viejo, who had more power than Jose, mainly killed people (SM). In 1932 there were 2 women witches, whom everyone feared, living at Onyx rancheria.

Basis of shamanistic power.- Shamanistic power (po·nun) generally came unsought; "a person was born a doctor; when he was born he knew he was going to be one. He dreamt about getting the feather-tipped wand (see below); then he went far away and got it. If a man was not born a doctor, nothing could make him one. Some people were born bad doctors; they couldn't help it" (MM). "A doctor, when he was little, dreamt bad, then he became an a·ẓowa·l"(FP). Consensus of opinion was that drinking jimsonweed had nothing to do with acquiring shamanistic power; however, SM in 1932 stated that shamans drank jimsonweed after adolescence, "then they knew they were going to be doctors. The Kawaiisu doctors just dream; they don't take jimsonweed." As questing for supernatural power other than doctoring, by taking jimsonweed, well developed (see section on Rituals), perhaps drinking of jimsonweed had also become incorporated to some degree in pattern of acquiring shamanistic power, although statements of majority of informants point to conclusion that shaman's career foreordained, whereas acquirement of other types supernatural power depended on individual's initiative.

During shaman's training, animal appeared to prospective doctor in dreams and became doctor's pet (pungul). This animal fell into general class of supernatural beings referred to as yu·mu·gi·wal. Pet told prospective doctor what to do; gave latter songs in his dreams at night. Doctors dreamt for 3 nights; began dreaming when young men, women. While training they would go out in night and talk to pet; sometimes latter came to doctor "from over the ocean" (MM) after night of singing, when doctor in his teens.

[231] Doctors with power to cure had birds as pet;
756 eagle, tugayayal (species of hawk), chicken hawk,
● 825 etc.; no small birds. If prospective doctor saw deer in dream, obtained song from deer. Witches advised in dreams by coyote, spike buck, ghost of dead relative, rattlesnake; one of these talked to prospective witch in dreams, told him, her how to make people sick, kill them. Songs animals gave had words, were doctor's property (see section on

[p. 62(b)]

756 Aesthetics). Other animals as wolf, lizard, hum-
●825 mingbird, frog also helped witch in actual prac-
tice of craft (FP).

756 Although inheritance of shamanistic power in
428 family lines denied by SM, FP pointed out that among Tübatulabal all shamans for past 4 generations had belonged to one family; Jose Chico, Bill Viejo Chico, 2 brothers, both shamans; Jose's daughter, makiawint, was witch; 2 of Bill Viejo's daughters are witches.

754 ◦Witchcraft.- All illness, insanity, caused by evilly disposed shamans; "if there had been no a·ɣowa·l, people would have lived forever" (SM). Instances of witchcraft legion; witches killed young children with their power, "if they wanted to give the parents hard luck"; often killed close relatives, parents, siblings' children, for what reason unascertained. Bill Viejo Chico announced at fiesta he was "going to kill all the children"; other instances witches boasting of power openly, threatening victims referred to. In 1933 witch held to have caused death of Tübatulabal woman's son so that mother of dead man would have to pay witch for having her face washed before she could eat meat.

Shaman practicing malevolent powers went out to mts. and talked to his animals; animals went to prospective victim, spoke to latter in dream; next morning victim would be sick, and illness would increase daily, because witch talking to animal every night, thus causing victim to "dream bad." Examples of bad dreams were: MM dreamt he was cow, pursued by bull. He climbed tree; while in tree he changed into human form, saw bull, also as human, at foot of tree. Then both changed again into animals; bull gored cow's leg. Immediately after having had this dream MM became very ill. If he had dreamt bull killed cow, he would have died. SM dreamt rattlesnake bit him; this dream also sent by witch. Several other examples of bad dreams recorded (see Autobiography of FP; Voegelin, 1935 b, 215). In general, to dream of Coyote portended misfortune; Coyote witch's helper par excellence, often sent to make persons ill. If one dreamt Coyote bit one, sickness followed. To dream of witch injecting pain in certain part of body caused that region to become affected. To dream of witch, even though witch did not send dream, enough to cause illness.

754 Witches might also send ghost of dead relative,
775 traveling in dust spout as among Miwok (Merriam, 1909, 438), to sicken person; "the whirlwind strikes one, enters one's head, and one dies" (SM); FP had this happen to her. Lights, which could be seen traveling fast at night, sometimes sent by witches to look for victim; MM, from home in foothills, some 25 yrs. ago, saw 2 lights racing over floor of valley; lights approached gate of rancheria, retreated. Capture of person's soul by witch one cause of insanity (SM). Air shot, such as used in shamans' contests, not used by witches to sicken victims.

[p. 63(a)]

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 ● 825 177 776 791 [171] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PM, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wlsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
591 were married; my people were living up there, making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for [241] her. We all got on well together; my family had lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We [432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white [476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yĭtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power, ●[824] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed [262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top, [163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yĭtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

11. From there Bat took leave (and) arrived there by the deer. 12. Then Horsefly got black (in appearance) in between the eyes of the deer. 13. There Horsefly struck the deer (in between the eyes). 14. The deer jumped from here when (Horsefly) struck him. 15. Then they (Horsefly and Bat) from there went in the deer's tracks. 16. Then they found him. 17. He is lying there. 539x

18. Then Bat asks his older brother, "What is this?" he says. 19. "That is his eye; he sees with it far away" (answers Horsefly). 20. "What is that?" (Bat) says (pointing at) his nose (nose of the deer). 21. "His nose it is" (answers Horsefly). 22. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 23. "His horn it is; with it he fights the brush" (answers Horsefly). 24. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 25. "That is his penis; with it he copulates," (Horsefly) says. 26. "What is that?" (Bat) says. 27. "That is his testicle," (Horsefly) is saying. "That makes him erotic." 28. "What is that?" (asks Bat, pointing at) his tail. 29. "That is his tail," (Horsefly) says. 30. "What is that?" (Bat) says, (pointing at) his anus. 31. "That is his anus," (Horsefly) says. 539x 826

32. Then (Bat) struck with his own arrow away into his (the deer's) anus. 33. Deer got up. 34. Then his (Bat's) older brother (i.e., Horsefly) scolded Bat. 35. Then, "Bat, go," (Horsefly) says. 36. Bat took leave (following) in the tracks of the deer. 539x

37. Then (Bat) went and found a man; he (the man) is skinning the deer. 38. Then the Bat arrived close to there. 39. "Hello," Bat says. 40. It is said (the man) is not talking. 41. Then Bat hit the man on his head. 42. Then (the man) jumped backward. 43 (Bat) is licking his own hand and his (the man's) brains.

44. From there the Bat took leave. 45. He packed the deer away. 46. The Bat arrived at his own house. 47. They are crying when (Bat) arrived. 48. Then Bat entered inside the house. 49. Then the fire went out. 50. Then the old woman went and dropped (unconscious). 51. Then Horsefly made the fire flame up. 52. Bat is sitting by the door.

53. Bat is saying to the Horsefly, "Go get the deer," he says. 54. So Horsefly began to lift it. 55. He quit there and came back; "Heavy," he is saying. 56. Then Bat by himself with one hand lifted it there and came here.

57. "Quick, you fellows, eat" (Bat orders). 58. So they quickly ate. 59. Then Bat danced.

60. Then (Bat) shot the old woman, and from there the Horsefly, and from there his own wife. 61. The little girl he left over.

62. Then the little Bat is opening her dress for her. 63. "Uncle, uncle, uncle," the little girl is saying. 64. "Your uncle is opening your dress for you" (Bat explains). 65. Then little Bat went and climbed on her. 66. Then the little Bat is copulating with her all night. 67. Little Bat made a baby the next day for that little girl. 68. There it got ended.

5. WAR WITH THE YOKUTS

1. Then Tugayal is living; and also his younger brother, and also Coyote, and also many people. 2. Then Coyote says, "Pretty soon we go to war to the Yokuts," says Coyote, the outlaw.

3. Then they went down the river. 4. There they went and slept.

5. Then Tugayal got up when the Morning Star arose. 6. Then he went and bathed. 7. Then they went from there. 8. Then they went and arrived close to the house.

9. Then Coyote says, "Right here, you fellows sit here; let some of us go first" (advance line in the war). 10. Then they (the advance guard) took leave. 11. There they mauled the people. 12. Straightway Coyote is jumping around and dodging about. 13. Then Lapapil is not touched. 14. Then Coyote told: "It is his heart and you fellows don't know, it is (that) his heart is in his head (in the) one who stands, it is (there that one finds) his heart," says Coyote. 539x 725

774 776 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe mĭgĭtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 775 Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·nun; also name for heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu·-lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

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Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

773 Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gayton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

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many others. And all those women were sitting around a big pit mortar bed that had lots of mortar holes in it; lots of women were sitting down there pounding piñons. There were no men, only women there. Suddenly one woman said, "Oh! The edge of my vagina is pulsating." All the women laughed; soon another woman said, "Oh! mine is too." Then one of the women said, "Maybe somebody is coming; perhaps a man is coming." And all the women said, "Perhaps." Then one of those women looked and saw a man coming. She said, "You see; I told you. Somebody is coming, coming from over there now."

Road Runner saw those women sitting down there at the pit mortar, all of them. So he went down there; he said, "Hello."

"Hello," said all the women; and they asked him what he was doing up there in the mountains.

Road Runner said, "My companions saw your smoke yesterday, from across on that mt. And they told me to come here and find out whether people were living here. All of them are men over there," Road Runner said.

"And here there are no men," the women told Road Runner; "here all are women."

Soon all the women got up; they called to Road Runner, "Come on; come on down to our house," they said, and Road Runner went with them. When they arrived at their house they told Road Runner, "Come in."

They selected a cooking basket and they mixed ground chia seeds with water in the basket, until the basket was almost full, and then they gave the chia gruel to Road Runner to eat. Also they gave him a piece of deermeat.

Road Runner drank the chia; he drank it all, and when he was through eating he sat down for awhile. After awhile the chia made him sick; he felt like vomiting, and he vomited; he vomited lizard and the chia. Lizard chased all those women; they got up and ran when he chased them. "What kind of food does this man eat?" they said. Lizard was alive.

Then Road Runner recovered and those women returned after he recovered. Mountain Lion-Woman went into the house and brought out chia seeds, tied up in a little bag. She said to Road Runner, "When you get home give this to Mt. Lion."

Road Runner replied, "All right."

And another woman, Chicken Hawk-Woman, came out of the house with the same thing, a little bag, with acorns in it. She gave the bag to Road Runner. "When you get home you give this to Chicken Hawk," she said. Road Runner said, "All right."

Each of the women gave a little bag of food to Road Runner for each man over there at the camp. Road Runner told each one, "All right." The last woman to come was a big fat woman; she too had a little bag of seeds, and she said to Road Runner, "You give this to Coyote."

Then the women said, "In 3 days we will come over to your camp; 3 days from now we will all

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

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man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying.

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out.

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there.

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying.

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

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If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

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Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

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The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

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595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [17] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

● [836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 ●837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

595 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as
●837 wo·'iin.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born,
163 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died be-
165 fore they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or
[578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law
784 in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

[837] [836]

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

[578]

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community
158 who deliberately set fire to others' property;
[753] insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
[624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[171] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yïtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yïtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
● 837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yïtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yïtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave. 539 X 159 624 527 789 756

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying. 539 X 159 832 833 837 836 [591] [588] [606]

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come 539 X 159 756

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying. 539X 159 682 648

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out. 539X 159 682 648

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there. 539X 159 833 837● [582]

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying. 539X 159 636 837

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman.

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her.

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. [195] 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking.

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter.

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. [845] 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that [768] (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. [592] 515. Then my wife is angry all the time.

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became [873] unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many

881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual intercourse with him, as this would affect his hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MM).

[841]

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones, attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death de-
763 termined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives,
[765] friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one person would start crying, then everybody would cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule
767 mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-
887 handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position, face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM).

[766] Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SWN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unaugmented Kern, koŝumye·he·huk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kmi·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, 624 office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing ● [838 462] from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the-big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served 624 more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ka·dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all 761 deaths except those incurred during war believed 756 to have been caused either by witchcraft or 627 poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. [579 177] Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

000 Reference has already been made in section on Recreation to social setting in which narration of myths occurred.

SHAMANISM

756 Shaman (a·ɨowa·l, curing shaman, witch) either man, woman; male shamans both cured and witched; women shamans always malevolent, never cured (all informants). Transvestites not shamans. Two [838] brothers, Jose and Bill Viejo Chico, both dead, last male shamans among Tübatulabal; Jose Chico both cured, sickened persons; Bill Viejo, who had more power than Jose, mainly killed people (SM). In 1932 there were 2 women witches, whom everyone feared, living at Onyx rancheria.

Basis of shamanistic power.- Shamanistic power (po·nun) generally came unsought; "a person was born a doctor; when he was born he knew he was going to be one. He dreamt about getting the feather-tipped wand (see below); then he went far away and got it. If a man was not born a doctor, nothing could make him one. Some people were born bad doctors; they couldn't help it" (MM). "A doctor, when he was little, dreamt bad, then he became an a·ɨowa·l"(FP). Consensus of opinion was that drinking jimsonweed had nothing to do with acquiring shamanistic power; however, SM in 1932 stated that shamans drank jimsonweed after adolescence, "then they knew they were going to be doctors. The Kawaiisu doctors just dream; they don't take jimsonweed." As questing for supernatural power other than doctoring, by taking jimsonweed, well developed (see section on Rituals), perhaps drinking of jimsonweed had also become incorporated to some degree in pattern of acquiring shamanistic power, although statements of majority of informants point to opinion that shaman's career foreordained, whereas acquirement of other types supernatural power depended on individual's initiative.

During shaman's training, animal appeared to prospective doctor in dreams and became doctor's pet (puŋgul). This animal fell into general class of supernatural beings referred to as yu·mu·gi·wal. Pet told prospective doctor what to do; gave latter songs in his dreams at night. Doctors dreamt for 3 nights; began dreaming when young men, women. While training they would go out in night and talk to pet; sometimes latter came to doctor "from over the ocean" (MM) after night of singing, when doctor in his teens.

[231] Doctors with power to cure had birds as pet; eagle, tugayayal (species of hawk), chicken hawk, 756 etc.; no small birds. If prospective doctor saw 825 deer in dream, obtained song from deer. Witches advised in dreams by coyote, spike buck, ghost of dead relative, rattlesnake; one of these talked to prospective witch in dreams, told him, her how to make people sick, kill them. Songs animals gave had words, were doctor's property (see section on

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 [422 436] [262] Horses (pungum, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM). Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibY·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

SHELTER

342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohošt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yIhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; Tübatulabal houses had [[71]] no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set [221] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [841] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 Most of Tübatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
[22] about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed [342] tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing con-
[862] tinued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when
[841] latter seated. If mother became pregnant while child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins over-
[597] worked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship
857 (na·mum); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life";
776 many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual intercourse with him, as this would affect his hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MM). [841]

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones, attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death de-
763 termined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives, friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one
[765] person would start crying, then everybody would cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule
767 mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-
887 handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position, face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM).
[766] Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SWN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
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757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šimindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
●842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wIsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yItiyamup. We stayed
●842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
845 to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[824] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yItiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

CYCLE OF LIFE

843 Birth.- Woman knew she was pregnant when menstrual periods stopped; during her pregnancy she "worked hard, climbed mts.; if she stayed in the house she'd get fat and the baby wouldn't move" (FP). During last month of pregnancy woman [262] ate no meat, very little salt; if she ate meat then, her husband would fail to see deer when hunting (SM). Some husbands did not kill any animal or eat meat when wife pregnant; others did so. One man "killed a fox by smashing its head, while his wife was pregnant; the baby was [845] born without any eyes or nose. Another time that same man killed a king snake when his wife was carrying a baby; the baby was born with a king-snake mark across its chest" (FP). Husband could have intercourse with wife during period of pregnancy. Sudden fright during pregnancy caused miscarriages; FP, LT said some babies born at 8th month, but expressed surprise when 7-months babies mentioned.

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Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

[p. 60(a)]

159 And all the people were married there; Šumukat
585 married wIsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yItiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yItiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman.

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her.

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking.

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter.

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. 515. Then my wife is angry all the time.

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many

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278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
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wo·go·loh ("Old Bill" Chico, dead)	mapali·p
yu·hu·nuc	ča·gum (Petra Miranda)
ne·yil (Tony Pablo)	ačawi·lot (FP, dead)
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CYCLE OF LIFE

843 Birth.- Woman knew she was pregnant when menstrual periods stopped; during her pregnancy she "worked hard, climbed mts.; if she stayed in the house she'd get fat and the baby wouldn't [262] move" (FP). During last month of pregnancy woman ate no meat, very little salt; if she ate meat then, her husband would fail to see deer when hunting (SM). Some husbands did not kill any animal or eat meat when wife pregnant; others did so. One man "killed a fox by smashing its head, while his wife was pregnant; the baby was [845] born without any eyes or nose. Another time that same man killed a king snake when his wife was carrying a baby; the baby was born with a king-snake mark across its chest" (FP). Husband could have intercourse with wife during period of pregnancy. Sudden fright during pregnancy caused miscarriages; FP, LT said some babies born at 8th month, but expressed surprise when 7-months babies mentioned.

844 Older woman, usually a relative, attended woman in labor; husband often assisted, sometimes attended wife if no woman relative available. Husband or attendant dug shallow trench about 3 ft. long, either inside or outside living house, depending on weather; fire built in bottom of trench, slabs of stone laid on top of fire, then layers of earth, tule mats on top of stones. Woman in labor lay on top of this trench (to ?ist); during childbirth knelt, grasping [171] vertical stick; attendant pushed baby down onto mat on ground as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 158). Woman stuffed her hair in her mouth to prevent vomiting as baby emerged. To prevent breech presentation, if this expected, woman held suspended head downward; baby righted itself inside womb and would be born head first (FP). In [789] protracted labor person possessing amulet containing supernatural power might be called on to rub amulet over parturient's body (see Autobiography of FP).

Mother of baby pulled out afterbirth, cut cord and tied it about 3 in. from navel, with native twine; cord usually dropped off after 3 days; was saved by mother and kept wrapped in buckskin. Newborn baby washed in plain warm water by attendant and wrapped in soft deerskin, wildcatskin blanket. Maternal grandmother of infant buried afterbirth outside house.

846 After birth mother and infant lay on mat over ● [853] hot trench for 6 days. First 2 days baby fed thin gruel made of water, acorn or piñon meal, from mother's fingers; mother milked out colostrum for ca. 2 days, baby nursed on third day. If mother had no milk she rubbed her breasts with [262] soaproot brush dipped in warm water to induce flow. For one month she drank only warm water, "else her blood would get thick and she'd die" (LT); ate no meat, salt or grease as these foods would get into her milk and make baby sick (FP); if she ate meat husband would not be able to see deer (SM).

[p. 45(a)]

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231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to

[262] eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

● [854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibY·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

482 Conical pack basket.- Acorns, piñons, camp
415 equipment, firewood transported by women in conical pack baskets (wo·niht); baskets carried well up over shoulders by means of pack strap (pongon), center of which passed across forehead or across chest (MM); 2 ends of strap were fastened to 2 buckskin loops set into basket. Basketry cap protected forehead. Conical carrying basket said never to have been used inside carrying net (SM, PN); RP, however, remembered having seen her grandmother carrying pack basket "in some sort of net."

482 Firewood, if not carried by women in pack
372 basket, was tied into load with native rope and load, attached to rope which passed over chest, carried by women on back (FP, PN). Men sometimes packed home large pieces of firewood, carrying such over shoulder (SM).

483 Carrying net.- Men used carrying net (tambahal)
415 exclusively (SM), to pack home deer, other large game, also when trapping eagles; net, with burden inside, slung over one shoulder and passed downward across chest.

415 Basketry water bottle.- Water carried by men,
482 women, in pitched basketry water bottles (iwat); such bottles also used for storing water at dwelling place. They were carried on back, by means of pack strap, ends of which were attached to 2 loops set into side of bottle, similar to loops on pack basket (supra). Small girls packed their own water in small pitched bottles, during trips over dry areas.

352 Baby carriers.- Two types of baby carriers
● 854 used; babies, from time of birth up to about 5 months old, kept on small cradle (wodawlil), "just the size of a little baby." This cradle consisted of an oval frame, 21 in. or so long, with parallel rows of small willow sticks laid transversely across frame. Single oak branch, 1/2 in. in diameter, peeled, and 2 ends bound together with sinew or twine to form frame. Tules wrapped around edge of frame, and small tule mat (paht) put over transverse rods; cradle lacked hood. Infant lay on it, wrapped in soft tanned wildcatskin; when infant nursed, mother held cradle in crook of arm; carried child about in same manner. No specimen of such cradle obtained, but FP said she had made one such for youngest grandchild few years ago.

Between ages of 5 months and year, child
[71] "crawled around indoors," but if mother had work to do outside she tied baby in Y-shaped cradle (umbo·al), similar to Yokuts, Kitanemuk cradle (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, fig. 48d), save that length of stick below crotch shorter in Tübatulabal specimen. Forked branch of Fremontia californica Torrey (u'upul) peeled, used for frame (naši·la·'waga·na'). One cradle (1-28570) measures 31 1/2 in. overall, 28 in. from crotch to top, has 10 crossbars lashed to frame with

352 deer sinew (tohi·lĭŋ tapn); all bars except bot-
●854 tom one bound on underside of frame. Second specimen (1-28571) measures 43 in. overall, 35 in. from crotch to top; has 10 crossbars, nailed to frame as above; both specimens made and used by SWN. Both these cradles lack hood (ku·man); formerly tule hood, narrow at sides where it was fastened to cradle near top, and wider across central section, would have been attached to such cradle (SM, FP); strings of beads, which served to amuse child, depended from hood. Child
[482] lay on tule mat, wrapped in wildcatskin, tied down with native twine. Woman packed cradle on back, using pack strap; when she arrived at destination she leaned cradle up against tree or boulder, in shade, planting sharpened end of forked-stick frame in ground.

301 Sex of child occupying cradle not indicated
352 by any sort of decoration on either type of
562 cradle (all informants); repeated questioning on this point always brought negative response.

501 Rafts and ferriage; horses.- Large green
226 tules (ši'i·bĭ·l), Scirpus acutus Muhl., from 6-8 ft. long, were tied with native twine into bundles of 4; these bundles were laid side by side and lashed together with native rope to make raft (ni·ht) 6-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide (SM). This raft was square at both ends and not built
[221] up on sides; could carry 2 men and was used for spearing large fish on smooth stretches of Kern r. or on former lakes in South Fork valley, during winter only. Such raft serviceable only so long as tules remained wet; when tules dried out, raft became leaky, was discarded. Single individuals made such, but any man might use raft; when not in use, rafts kept drawn up on river bank.

Willow pole 6-7 ft. long, 2-3 in. in diameter, pointed at one end, used to propel raft. Man doing poling either stood or sat, shifting pole from one hand to other, while second man speared fish.

501 Kroeber mentions "balsas of bundled tules,
481 with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, (which) were made" by Tübatulabal (Handbook, 608); this information evidently based on Powers' statement (Powers, 393), obtained from widely-traveled Tübatulabal named Chico at Tule River reservation (Powers, 394). None of my informants knew anything about craft such as Powers describes. Garcés "supplicated [the Indians] that they should make a raft" to take him across unaugmented Kern, "and they answered me that they knew not [how to do so]. They conveyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body" (Garcés, 281). Garcés' statements accord with PN's assertion that goods or young children were ferried across large streams on men's backs, and
[221] SM's that men, women, children were all good swimmers, and that tule rafts were used only in winter, for very specialized purpose. Pots, large

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432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomĭp was visiting
781 my grandmother at yĭtiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anangayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomĭp, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

T 323 [171] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid, 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

T 415 Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes T [533] being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay ● [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); FM denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.

756 177 [321] Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

848 married, "child would then have a stepfather, who would treat him as his own child" (SM).

551 553 Names, nicknames.- Name given child week after birth, usually by child's maternal grandmother, but also by paternal grandfather or father; either man, woman named boys and girls. Little formality attached to name giving; person "just told the parents the child's name." Children named for ancestors who had to have been dead at least 2, 3 yrs.; now sometimes named also for living relatives (SM). FP thought people "didn't care whether children were named for relatives or not." Names for males, females not used interchangeably; names not kept secret, often used in direct address; no taboo against pronouncing name of dead. Most names meaningless. Some examples of names follow; Gifford also gives several (Gifford, 1917, 227):

551

Men	Women
yukaya (MM)	wišimlīt
še·weh (SM)	čiwa'agum
tiya'bi ("Little Bill" Chico, dead)	šo·anuh
po'onol, a type of basket (Jose Chico, dead)	am be šum (LT)
wo·go·loh ("Old Bill" Chico, dead)	mapali·p
yu·hu·nuc	ča·gum (Petra Miranda)
ne·yil (Tony Pablo)	ačawi·lot (FP, dead)
tu·gayaya·l, a mythical bird (FM)	či·wa·wugum (PN)

551 553 Nicknames bestowed on men, occasionally on women by relatives, friends; had meanings; sometimes used oftener in referring to individual than proper name, but some individuals' nicknames not known generally. A few nicknames were:

551

Men	Women
mo'olohy, brown bear (SM)	u·nal, bear
elemgil, greedy	
muhumbišt, owl	
išt, coyote	
tomogul, bumblebee	

855 Childhood.- Young children seldom whipped, but frequently scolded; LT threatened to whip 4-yr.-old daughter with nettles once in my hearing, but was on whole indulgent to child, feeding her whenever she whined for food, holding her on lap frequently, always taking child with her on short trips, etc. MM so markedly indulgent with his adopted son, 8 yrs. old, that SM, MM's father, criticized him for always buying boy candy, giving him what he asked for. Older children of 12-15, both boys and girls, took protective interest in younger siblings, but were seldom left to take care of them for any length

[857]

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na-mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[888] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[886] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

159 The following autobiography was taken in English from FP, her daughter LT interpreting, in 1933. FP gave the autobiography within a space of 2 weeks; a day or so after our last session together she went to Bakersfield for shamanistic treatment; on the return trip she was run over by a car and killed.

When first asked to tell the story of her life, FP demurred, saying she "had never been anywhere, just stayed in the South Fork valley all her life." The autobiography she gave is little more than an outline, which she was beginning to fill in with increasing amounts of detail, however, during the last few days I worked with her.

For the sake of clarity I have arranged the material in chronological order; parts of it were not so dictated. A photograph of FP is given in pl. 1b.

An autobiography of MM, FP's husband's brother's son, the Mike Miranda of the following pages, was obtained in text by Dr. C. F. Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

I was born about 2 yrs. after the soldiers killed all those Indians over at Kernville (1863); my older brother was still being kept in a cradle then and I was born about 2 yrs. later.

159 My mother used to tell me about the massacre;
173 Jose Chico pulled my father out from those men and the soldiers didn't kill him; he ran away. There was one man who was shot in the eye, but he had power and recovered. Lots of men were killed. The fight started over the Indians' killing other people's cattle; Jose Chico interpreted for the white men and the Indians; he was the man who took my father out. There were 3 men saved when the soldiers shot at the Indians.

159 One man had an amulet, a bearclaw with beads
173 on it. He was running and he got out of breath
751 and dropped that claw; then he was killed. The people found it afterward. If he hadn't lost his power he would have escaped all right. Another man had rattlesnake for his pet. He was badly hurt; his insides were all cut up; when the people saw him after the massacre there was a rattlesnake lying on top of him, and that snake made that man get all right. Rattlesnake was his pet and took care of him. That man's name was hi·ay·ši·l; he was a Monilabal (Yokuts). He got all right again; my father saw him when he was helping bury those dead Indians; he saw that rattlesnake come and help him. FN has a rattlesnake for her pet, too; perhaps she got it from dreaming. She never took jimsonweed, I know.

159 I was born at omomIp (no. 6, fig. 11). My
163 mother had 8 children; most of them died before
165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

159 When I was a little girl I used to go with my
482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy

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159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters
stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. There, it is said, I was born; it is (where) I am living (now); my father says (this); and there, also, my older brother, it is said, all (of us siblings) were born. 2. Then, it is said, I grew up already; it is said I wandered about already. 3. Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me. 4. Then, it is said, I am crying. 5. Then, it is said, my mother is sick. 6. Then, it is said, I am crying very much when I am hungry. 7. Then, it is said, I took from there to here a little blanket. "Here, sit down, mother," I say, it is said; "No," she says. 8. Then, it is said, I eat food.

9. From there I grew up already. 10. Then I am learning already. 11. Then my father made my bow. 12. Then I am hunting. 13. Then I am killing wood-rats; (I) used to eat those birds, everything. 14. I used to bring to my own father (whatever I shot). 15. Then, "Good," says my father. 16. (I) used to kill everything, rabbits, cottontails, and also quail, and also pigeon. 17. Then I bring that to my own father. 18. And also I used to cause fish to swallow (bait). 19. I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip). 20. Then my mother boils those (fish); we used to eat them all the time.

21. Then father used to teach us. 22. "Wander about well(-behaved); steal nothing and also do not be nasty to the old men when you see (them); if you believe (my words), then you will get old." 23. "Good," we say, "then we are wandering about well(-behaved) all the time." 24. "Surely I got old already because I believe the talk of my own father." 25. Then he used to tell us myths in the evening when it was winter, (about) Coyote, (about) everything. 26. "Then go ye and bathe in the morning, when the Morning Star comes out; twice ye will dive in." 27. Then he says, "Good." 28. "Nothing will prick you; but if you will not bathe, then wood will prick you." 29. Surely, we used to bathe in the dark (before dawn); the water is very cold; we break the ice when we bathe; then (it is) good. 30. We do everything good all the time.

31. Then from there one Mexican came and arrived. 32. Then he says, "Would that your offspring would go watch over my pets (goats)." 33. "Good," says my father. 34. Then he took us; there we went and arrived at his house; and his pets (are) many. 35. Then we look after (them) every day and also we gather firewood in the evening when we arrive (at camp). 36. Then we used to run away when we were tired out; we come back toward our own house. 37. Then when we arrived, father used to scold us. 38. "Why did you come back?" he says. "(Because) we were tired." 40. Then he goes and puts us back again. 41. Presently we are coming back in the same way. 42. Then we do not go for a long time. 43. Then after a while the Mexican came and arrived. 44. "I already sold those, my own pets," he says; "and I left some," he says, "my present to your offspring," he says, "and ye come get (them)," he says. 45. "Good," says my father. 46. Then we went from there to go get (them). 47. Then we took (them) from there to here. 48. We brought (them) there (where) I used to look after (them). 49. Then from there we sold them.

50. Then from there I went to school. 51. Then I did not know the language of that teacher. 52. Then (there is) one Mexican; when I do not understand the language, then the Mexican tells me. 53. Then from there we went; then from school we went in the evening toward Weldon. 54. Then one man went and caught up to us there. 55. He is coming on horseback. 56. Then he talked to us, "Cold," he says. 57. Then we all say, "Cold!" too. 58. We do not understand what that means. 59. Then the man looks at us. 60. From there we came back in the evening toward our own house. 61. Then from there we are coming to school. 62. I went to school one year. 63. Then that teacher whipped me because I do not hear (i.e., understand) what she means. 64. She whipped me. 65. Then I got mad. 66. Then I tore my own book. 67. From there I went toward my own house. 68. Then from there I worked; I never went to school again.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

69. Then we went in the home of Peterson to cut posts. 70. There we made camp at the bottom of the mountain. 71. Then that next day my father cut juniper posts. 72. Then I used to make bread at noon and also in the evening. 73. When he arrives in the evening, he is eating that bread and also rabbit. 74. We cut many (posts). 75. We win a unit of money (ten cents) for one post. 76. Then I carry the posts on my own back. 77. I piled (them) there on the level place. 78. He (father) stayed there all summer in order to cut (posts). 79. Then in the evening I went to get water. 80. The water is there far away. 81. When it got dark already, then I came back, fetching water from there to here. 82. Then I got lost, coming back. 83. I took the downward way. 84. From there I got lost; there I yelled; then nobody (answered). 85. Then I cried. 86. Then I ran; I am dangling my own pail when crossing (the canyon). 87. Then my father talked there. 88. "Where are you going?" 89. "I got lost," I am saying, "the water which I got ran out." 90. "Come," (father) is saying, "let's go fetch water," he is saying. 91. From there we came back in order to fetch water from there toward our own camp. 92. We stayed there all summer. 93. Then we finished. 94. Then we came back in our own house. 95. Then when winter comes, we go back again in order to go and cut firewood. 96. Then we went away from everything. 97. Then there we cut (wood) all winter. 98. (There is) only much juniper firewood. 99. We finished there. 100. Then we came back toward our own house. 101. Then we arrived in our own house. 102. Then we are just living. 103. (There is) no work.

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104. Then we used to play. 105. We are playing tag in the bull-pine trees; we are climbing (the trees); we are chasing each other. 106. Then we make one boy "it." 107. And we are not playing on the ground (but) in the bull-pine trees. 108. That one (who is "it") chases us. 109. Then to catch us he touches someone. 110. Then that one stays "it" next. 111. Then we are running away up (in the trees). 112. We are jumping in different places in the branches of the bull-pine tree. 113. Then some are falling down (and) are running away from the branches of the bull pines. 114. Some are hanging on the branches of the bull pines. 115. We are playing during the day.

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116. And then again we are playing different games after that. 117. We are playing quoits; with the shoots of the bull pine, we are making the quoit; with it we play quoits. 118. Then we are cutting sticks; having finished making the quoit. 119. We are fixing the target. 120. We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins. 121. Five or six boys gamble with those quoits. 122. Some (are) proficient. 123. Then one is shooting first. 124. Each one (has) three quoits. 125. Then one is shooting first at that target. 126. Then he is shooting close. 127. Then next another one is shooting. 128. Then he is shooting on top of that quoit. 129. Then from there again another one is shooting. 130. Then he throws that quoit this way. 131. From there again another one is shooting. 132. Then he pushes aside those (which had been placed by the other boys). 133. Then there he is holding that target (i.e., he is closest to it); he is winning. 134. We are playing during the day.

135. Then, when we want to practice shooting at a target, we are going and gathering canes. 136. We are making many canes into arrows. 137. We are making arrows well. 138. We are putting feathers on them. 139. Then, having finished (the arrows), we are making the target. 140. We are tying the brush (for a target). 141. We are practicing shooting at that. 142. Then whoever is hitting it, then that hitter is hiding that target (which he hit) under the ground. 143. Then, "Shoot," (one of the boys) is saying to you. 144. Then you are shooting (at the target now concealed in the ground). 145. Right there you are leaving your own arrow (having shot it in the ground at the concealed arrow). 146. Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next. 147. Then he is hitting that target because he knows his own hiding place (better than the other who only knows the general spot in which he placed the target). 148. Then he pulls out that (hidden target) with his own arrow (which is firmly shot into the concealed target). 149. Then from there again he hides for him (another player) that one, that target under the ground. 150. "Now shoot," he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting. 151. "Leave your arrow right here," he is saying.

[411]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that 539 X
target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their 159
own houses without their own arrows, when losing. 526

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making 539 X
dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are 159
doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that 524
already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It 857
lasts a long time.

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we 539 X
are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is 159
seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. 526
Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are 857
saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then
he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does
the same next.

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being 539 X
summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 159
178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many 224
fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). [251]
181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are
again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We 226
are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from
there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working [464]
again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 539 X
188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunt- 159
ing and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) 222
different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in 857
the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer
gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting
the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them)
every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted.
197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us,
perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we
are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, [262]
and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we
used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being
autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then
already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is [252]
drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit
mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place
(a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigat-
ing it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring
that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating
that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I 539 X
shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that 159
day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is 527
saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there
they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the [225]
clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game
(will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they 624
gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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846 deer (SM). While on trench mother used scratching stick (o·wati·š), made from any piece of twig, so hair would not fall out; did not touch face with hands, else she would have pimples. Short time after birth girl babies' ears pierced for ear-
[304] rings, "because they don't feel it much then" (SM).

Father did not eat meat or salt until child's navel healed, else cord would rot; optional whether he hunted or fished (SM); many did not, for 2 weeks (MM, FP). Could, however, drink cold water. Did not sleep with wife for 2-4 months after child born.

853 Child was generally nursed whenever it cried; "some mothers slapped their babies when they cried all night, others nursed them" (MM). Nursing continued until child at least 2 yrs. old; LT's child of 4 frequently nursed, standing beside LT when
[862] latter seated. If mother became pregnant while
[841] child still nursing, latter weaned. Menstrual periods for woman usually recommenced about yr. after childbirth (FP).

854 Up to time when they could walk well, children
481 carried about in cradles (see section on Means of Transport).

842 Childless women took herb medicine to have children; FP's husband's stepfather, a Tejon Yokuts, prepared such for FP (see Autobiography
[845 of FP). Children born dead buried immediately;
754] parents not subject to meat taboo if this occurred; "not many babies died, unless a witch wanted to give their parents hard luck" (SM).

847 Abortion, infanticide.- Leaves of a "big tree"
824 (sp. ?) boiled and tea drunk by woman when she first knew she was pregnant if she wished to induce abortion; also women took medicine to prevent conception. Newborn infants "sometimes killed; one woman had a baby and killed it; she went off somewhere with her mother, so no one would know. They just buried the baby any place, like a dog; I don't see how they could do that. That woman was a witch" (FP).

845 Twins.- If person laughed about woman having twins (cono'), that person would also have twins. Twins treated well; if one treated badly, died, other would die too and give family bad luck, hence twins often accorded more consideration than other children. If mother of twins over-
[597] worked, unable to nurse both babies, relative might adopt one of them; ES, herself childless, had thus adopted her brother's son, one of pair of twins.

597 Orphans, illegitimate children.- Orphans, or
768 one of several children with one parent dead, other remarried, adopted by blood relatives. Observations (1930-1932) of 3 adopted children showed 2 treated indulgently, one as a menial.

848 Illegitimate child kept by mother, who lived with her family; father of child expected to bring meat to mother occasionally; if mother

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NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

MISCELLANEOUS

20. SPEECH TO BOYS

1. Let me teach ye, boys, and ye listen. 2. If ye will hunt the deer, ye will give a little to the old men. 3. Then the old men say "Good, good," (they) say. 4. You will get old. 5. Ye must not go in anyone's house; that is bad, ye might be given poison in the food. 6. Anyone who wants to drink jimsonweed, I will give it to him to drink; ye will live well; then jimsonweed will preserve ye, ye will not die quickly. 7. While hunting deer ye must take down-feathers; then Yumugiwal will not frighten ye, nor Bear nor Mountain Lion, nor anything there.

8. (Heed this caution, for once) a White Coyote killed a hunter (who was not cautious).

9. When ye are ready to come back, pray to the mountain; it is fitting. 10. Then ye must bring the meat of the deer and present it here and there to the people. 11. Ye must not show disrespect to (animals) while wandering on the mountain. 12. The Rattlesnake, Bear, everything hears; then ye will wander safely. 13. Ye must not kill Rattlesnake; he is bad. Rattlesnake has a meanness which may possibly make ye sick; it is bad (for Rattlesnake) to be killed. 14. Pretty soon (the end) is present.

21. CONCERNING BEARS

1. Old-Timers were in the habit of meeting Bear. 2. Then (they) talk to Bear: "What are you doing in my trail?" and, "Give me room this way," (they) say to that Bear. 3. Then that Bear sits down. 4. From there he makes them move aside. Then they pass by, those people; that Bear hears the talking (as Old-Timers pass by). 5. Everything tells (Bear)—the brush, the rocks, the trees tell him everything. 6. And if you speak disrespectfully of the Bear, he knows it immediately; the tree right there tells him. 7. Then he is mad when somebody talks (of him). "Good," Bear says, "I will meet you," he says. Surely he meets that talker. 8. He kills that one right off. 9. Then Old-Timers do not talk of Bear.

22. THE CLOWN

(*Morning*):

1. Then the clown rounds up the people when he wants to talk to (them). 2. When it is still dark in the morning (and they) are not yet interrupted in eating, "You fellows cook (for the fiesta of the day)," he says. 3. "Then you fellows, having finished eating, will gamble, and will dance and also play hand-games" (says the clown in the first speech of the day).

(*Noon*):

4. Then at noon the clown comes when he comes and talks. 5. "Then you fellows stop awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 6. Then the people quit all their own gambling. 7. Then they, every one, go and eat. 8. "When you fellows have finished eating then you gamble awhile, anything at all," he says, "you play awhile," he says, "do anything you please."

(*Evening*):

9. Then the clown also came in the evening. 10. Then he says to the people, "You fellows quit your gambling for awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says. 11. "Pretty soon when we have finished eating, we will dance," he says, "we will gamble and also play hand-games; you fellows should dance well," he says. 12. "Then when you fellows want to copulate, you should go toward the open places." 13. Then they are going there all night—in the open places.

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855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na-mum); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

● 881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual intercourse with him, as this would affect his hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MW).

[841]

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones,
763 attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death determined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives,
[765] friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one person would start crying, then everybody would
767 cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule
887 mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position,
[766] face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM). Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SWN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wiăt, tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totshoid[u] dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

● 881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elaborate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mum); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

●886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
788 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
796 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches
276 made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something when they drink you, so they will have long life."
[462] Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and watery."

[787] Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recovered from effect of taking drug, and could by
[262] then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

[p. 69(a)]

881 171 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed, among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 794 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 535 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my informants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (FN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to [727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and [797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans [177] were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot
[373] them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
● [387] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit
[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

824 (Gray) Greene; Lycum cooperi Gray; Marrubium
137 vulgare L.; Malacothrix californica DC.; Melilotus indica All.; Mimulus gluttatus D.C., M. cardinalis Dougl.; Mirabilis laevis (Benth.) Curran; Montia perfoliata (Donn) Howell; Nama demissum Gray; Oenothera alyssoides and O. alyssoides T. & G. var. decorticans Jepson, O. bistorta Nutt., O. caespitosa Nutt., O. contorta Dougl., O. pallida Lindl., O. palmeri Watson, O. scapoidea T. & G.; Pallaea and romedaefolia Fee; Penstemon laetus Gray, P. palmeri Gray, P. breviflorus Lindl.; Phacelia tanecilifolia Benth., P. hispica Gray var. cicutaria McB.; Platystemon californicum Benth.; Polygonum persicaria L.; Ranunculus aquatilis L.R. var. cymbalaria Pursh.; Rumex crispus L., R. hymenosepalus Torrey; Senecio douglasii DC.; Sidalcea malvaeflora Gray; Sisymbrium incisum Engelm.; Sphaeralcea (Malvastrum) exile (Gray) Jepson; Stenotopsis linearifolius (DC.) Rydb.; Stephanomeria exigua Nutt. var. pentachaeta Hall, S. virgata Benth.; Tropidocarpum gracile Hook.; Vaccaria vulgaris Host.

This list probably represents only small fraction of indigenous plants available to Tübatulabal, of which they made no use; it serves to illustrate, in concrete fashion, selective processes at work, among people of hunting-gathering culture, in their utilization of their floral environment, and negative rôle which part of that environment played in their culture.

Plants put to other ethnobotanical uses, for curing, house building, etc., referred to in discussions of these subjects.

222 Gathering of plant food.- When acorns ripe,
[462] "all the people except very old persons and young children went together to get them" (SM); women chiefly collected them while men hunted, trapped.
251 Acorns gathered from ground in small conical baskets, transferred when baskets full to large basket, in which they were brought back to camp and spread out on deerskins, tule mats for 3-4 days to dry, this preventing acorns from sweating when cached; then stored at acorn grounds, in elevated caches. Acorns gathered near home packed back to hamlets, cached near houses.

222 When berries ripe on shrub (opo·bol), Rhamnus
824 californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, which grows in foothill floral area, "the people knew piñons were ready to be gathered in the mts. So some men went out first to see where the piñons were good; just any men went; they decided, and then everybody went to the places where these men said the nuts were plentiful" (SM). All inhabitants of
● [887] hamlet or of several hamlets went together; sometimes very old persons might not stay at piñon camp when weather became too cold, but return to hamlet alone. Piñons gathered when cones reached maturity, but before they had opened; men, boys knocked cones off trees with staves or pulled down branches with "shepherd's crook" staff; men, women picked up cones, put them in conical lug baskets which were emptied into larger conical

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with
317 lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars.
789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).
276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."
757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.
[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk
887 of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

276 small mortar, and powdery substance stuffed into
●867 tubular pipe (wo·ša·giništ) made from 4- to 10-
in. length of hollow cane (paha·bul), Phragmites
communis Trin. Old men smoked once or twice
daily while in sweat house or after morning,
evening meals, "not all the time, like people
do now" (MM). Smoker held pipe horizontally;
took long slow puff from it, inhaling deeply,
then removed pipe from mouth and closed lips;
exhaled smoke slowly through nostrils. "The
smoke went up from the smoker's lungs right to
the top of his head, because that smoke was so
strong" (MM). From 2-3 such long puffs, no more,
taken at one smoking; tobacco so strong it soon
caused smoker to tremble violently as though
intoxicated. After indulging thus, smoker extin-
guished pipe by rubbing it in palm of hand, then
set it aside for future use. When tobacco in
[323] pipe consumed, cane tossed away. Pottery pipe
not used; steatite pipes used by rain makers.

171 Distributional discussion.- In general dis-
276 cussions of the use of tobacco in North America
the trait of chewing tobacco with lime is men-
tioned as having a continuous distribution from
the North Pacific Coast tribes S through the
greater part of Calif. (Linton, 2; Wissler, 26,
fig. 6; Sayce, 200; West, 99-100). Dixon, how-

Tribe	Tobacco species	Native names
C.,S. Miwok	N. bigelovii	ka'sü; kaku; hü'tla
W. Mono		pamu; cokx
O. V. Paiute	N. attenuata	pämüpi; pähmü; sägö
Koso		sohon, shogun
Tübatulabal	N. bigelovii; N. attenuata	šo'ogonht
Kawaiisu	N. attenuata; N. trigonophylla	soóda; koópi
Yokuts		sohow, personal name of plant; só.Gon, tobacco, tobacco plant; ba'um, tobacco smoke, cigarette
Costanoan		
Salinan		
Chumash	N. species	
Kitanemuk	N. species	tsiwut
Alliklik	N. species	
Gabrielino	N. species	shuki
Cahuilla	N. attenuata	pivat

[p. 38(a)]

881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual intercourse with him, as this would affect his hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MM).

[841]

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones,
763 attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death determined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives,
[765] friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one person would start crying, then everybody would
767 cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-
887 handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position, face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM).

[766] Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SWN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

426 Borrowing of clamshell money frequent in wintertime, "to pay for dry meat"; in summer "they didn't do that, because they had lots then, lots of seeds." No interest charged; borrower "just brought back whatever amount he had borrowed" (SM).

462 Division of labor.- Men and women both actively contributed to solving problem of basic subsistence, but along some lines of endeavor connected with subsistence there was well-established division of labor on sex basis. Men hunted, skinned their kill and packed home meat; speared fish, made corrals, and obtained salt. Women might help them in minor way during coralling of fish or at rabbit drives, but these essentially masculine enterprises. Women gathered vegetable foods, tobacco, prepared such for consumption; procured wood and water necessary for roasting, boiling various foods. They manufactured salt from salt grass and sweets from cane. Pounding of foodstuffs markedly woman's task and was frequently mentioned as hardest of her domestic occupations. On whole, men's duties usually called for expenditure of appreciable amount of vigorous, but sporadically applied exertion; women's tasks lighter, but lasted longer, more continuously pursued. Practically qualitative differences in physical capacities of men and women recognized by Tübatulabal, but this recognition remained largely unconscious, as myth given below shows. Also other factors, such as environmental considerations and age of men particularly, regulated matter of sexual division of labor; manner in which these several factors operated illustrated in customary activities of men, women when gathering piñons and acorns. At piñon harvest adult men and boys climbed trees to knock off cones, while women gathered cones from ground, prepared brush bed for roasting them and worked with men in taking nuts out of cones. Men [887] did some hunting at piñon grounds, as MM's autobiography shows (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227), but SM said few deer ranged to E where piñons abundant, so men did not occupy themselves with hunting much at this time, although old men might do some trapping. At acorn grounds, however, where deer came to feed on acorns and were plentiful, men hunted almost exclusively while women gathered acorns, which fell from trees and only needed to be picked up and dried (SM).

Another example of interplay of various factors which guided sex regulation of labor illustrated in tending and pruning of tobacco plants. [887] Ordinarily all this was done by women, but it was not unusual for old couples to work together pruning and harvesting plants (see Autobiography of FP); this part of tobacco process required greatest amount of physical activity. Rarely, if ever, though, did old man run counter to basic pattern and help his wife pound or "cook" tobacco.

Why hunting man's work, preparation of food

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 ● 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 [171] [773] [537] Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation. <1

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, Tübatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside. ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1/v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]

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787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

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796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recov-
[262] ered from effect of taking drug, and could by then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-
[582] washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other; man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[836] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to
776 take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life"; many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos-game woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.